

SOCIOLOGY DEPT.

OCT 15

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THE Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S NATIONAL POLITICAL WEEKLY

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October 5, 1918



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CONTINUING the Woman's Journal, founded 1870 by Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell, as a weekly newspaper devoted to winning equal rights and especially to winning equal suffrage for women, and published weekly in Boston, Massachusetts, from 1870 to 1917. Continuing also the Woman Voter, and the National Suffrage News. In succeeding the National Suffrage News, The Woman Citizen became the official organ of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and as such tries to maintain intimate contact between the Association and its two million members throughout the United States.

THE WOMAN CITIZEN

Founded June 2, 1917

Published every Saturday by

The WOMAN CITIZEN CORPORATION
at 171 Madison Avenue, New York

Ten cents a copy; yearly subscription (52 numbers). \$1.00. Postage to foreign countries fifty cents extra. Entered at the New York Post Office as Second Class matter, under the act of March 3, 1879. Copyright, 1918, by The Woman Citizen Corporation.

VOL. III OCTOBER 5, 1918 No. 19

PUBLISHED by the Woman Citizen Corporation, in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

The directors of the Corporation are Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, and Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore.

Alice Stone Blackwell is a special contributing editor.

Rose Young is the editor-in-chief.

Mary Ogden White, Mary Sumner Boyd, and Rose Lawless Geyer are associate editors.

Our Circulation Story

Circulation Contest

1. A pledge will constitute an entry.
2. No entries will be accepted after December 1, 1918.
3. Contest closes January 1, 1919.
4. In case of a tie for any one premium, the prize will be awarded to each qualifying contestant.
5. Only actual paid subscriptions will be counted in the awarding of premiums.

First Cash Premium

FIFTY DOLLARS

To the State Association that sends in the highest number over 200 (paid new subscribers). The net price per subscription to the State Association is .70, the .30 to go into the state, county or local treasury, as may be decided by arrangement between the state and its branches.

Second Cash Premium

TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the County Association that sends in the highest numbers over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the State Association, and would help to swell the state's total.

Third Cash Premium

TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the Local Club that sends in the highest number over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the County Association into the State Association, and thence to the Woman Citizen.

Fourth Cash Premium

TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the co-operating Subscriber who sends in the highest number over 50. This would be independent of state, county and club circulation activities, would apply to states that do not take up the circulation work in an official way, and would come directly to the Woman Citizen. The net price per subscription is \$1.00. No discount.

Do you take the *Woman Citizen*? If not, why not? It is the best publication you can get to keep you in touch with what women are doing in the world today.

MARYLAND WOMAN SUFFRAGE BULLETIN.

STATE CIRCULATION CHAIRMEN

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Relative Position of State Leagues in the *Woman Citizen's* Circulation Contest:

September 21st

1. Iowa
2. South Dakota
3. Georgia
4. Indiana
5. Michigan
6. Minnesota
7. New Jersey
8. Wisconsin
9. Massachusetts
10. New York
11. Ohio and Virginia
12. New Hampshire
13. Missouri
14. Alabama
15. Texas
16. Maryland
17. Pennsylvania
18. Maine
19. Louisiana
20. West Virginia
21. Connecticut
22. South Carolina
23. Tennessee
24. Kentucky
25. Arkansas
26. North Dakota and Washington, D.C.
27. Rhode Island
28. Nebraska
29. Washington, Oklahoma and Mississippi
30. Kansas and Illinois
31. North Carolina
32. Vermont

September 28th

1. Iowa
2. South Dakota
3. Georgia
4. Indiana
5. Michigan
6. Minnesota
7. New Jersey
8. Wisconsin
9. Massachusetts
10. New York
11. Ohio
12. Virginia
13. New Hampshire
14. Missouri
15. Alabama
16. Texas
17. Maryland
18. Pennsylvania
19. Maine
20. Louisiana
21. West Virginia
22. Connecticut
23. South Carolina
24. Tennessee, Kentucky
25. Arkansas
26. North Dakota, Washington D. C.
27. Rhode Island
28. Illinois
29. Nebraska, Oklahoma
30. Washington, Mississippi
31. Kansas, North Carolina
32. Vermont

JUST now suffragists the country over are working like beavers on behalf of the Fourth Liberty Loan Drive, just as they have worked in all three previous drives and in every avenue of war service work since war was declared.

As state political conventions have emphasized many times over, when registering their belief in suffrage, women have demonstrated beyond question their immediate right to citizenship. But despite all this, it is still necessary for American women to go on demonstrating, educating and persuading, in the hope that eventually every American woman will have the full rights of citizenship. If suffrage has been an interesting and a live question in the past it will be doubly so from now on.

Something of the importance the suffrage question has assumed in this country may be judged from the intensity with which the suffrage battle was fought in the Senate. The thrilling story of this struggle is told this week in the *Woman Citizen*. No woman can afford to miss it. Each number of the *Woman Citizen* brings to you some new development in what is acknowledged to be the liveliest political issue of the day.

"I assure you I would not be without the *Citizen* for worlds. We feel not only that we need it, but we also feel that all women owe you a debt of gratitude for your splendid service to the cause so near our hearts," is the way Elizabeth L. Buchanan writes from Memphis.

"We are great admirers of your paper," writes Kate Louise Roberts, of Newark.

It is interesting to note the "We" in so many of the letters that come to us. From that we take it the magazine carries an appeal to all members of the household.

"I like your paper," writes Mrs. Hannah T. Patchin, of Weyauwega, Wis. We are glad, because we feel Mrs. Patchin should be a good judge, as we learn in the same letter that she has been a reader of many of the suffrage magazines, national and state. "I took Susan B. Anthony's *Citizen* and Ballot Box," she writes, and then follows a list down to the *Woman's Journal* and then on to its successor, the *Woman Citizen*.

Yours for the Fourth Liberty Loan,

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Chairman.

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A GAS UNIT

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WOMEN'S OVERSEA HOSPITALS

Send All Funds for the Hospitals to the Treasurer,

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171 Madison Avenue, New York City

The Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

A Journal of Democracy

October 5, 1918

"We shall fight for things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

On Record at Last

THE United States Senate voted on the Federal Suffrage Amendment on Tuesday, October 1.

The vote stood:

For the amendment, 53.

DEMOCRATS—Ashurst, Arizona; Chamberlain, Oregon; Culberson, Texas; Gerry, Rhode Island; Gore, Oklahoma; Henderson, Nevada; Johnson, South Dakota; Kendrick, Wyoming; Kirby, Arkansas; Lewis, Illinois; McKellar, Tennessee; Martin, Kentucky; Myers, Montana; Nugent, Idaho; Owen, Oklahoma; Phelan, California; Pittman, Nevada; Ransdell, Louisiana; Robinson, Arkansas; Shafroth, Colorado; Sheppard, Texas; Smith, Arizona; Thomas, Colorado; Thompson, Kansas; Vardaman, Mississippi; Walsh, Montana—26.

REPUBLICANS—Calder, New York; Colt, Rhode Island; Cummins, Iowa; Curtis, Kansas; Fernald, Maine; France, Maryland; Goff, West Virginia; Gronna, North Dakota; Jones, Washington; Kellogg, Minnesota; Kenyon, Iowa; La Follette, Wisconsin; Lenroot, Wisconsin; McCumber, North Dakota; McNary, Oregon; Nelson, Minnesota; New, Indiana; Norris, Nebraska; Page, Vermont; Poindexter, Washington; Smith, Michigan; Smoot, Utah; Sterling, South Dakota; Sutherland, West Virginia; Townsend, Michigan; Warren, Wyoming; Watson, Indiana—27.

Against the Amendment—31.

DEMOCRATS—Bankhead, Alabama; Benet, South Carolina; Fletcher, Florida; Guion, Louisiana; Hardwick, Georgia; Hitchcock, Nebraska; Jones, New Mexico; Martin, Virginia; Overman, North Carolina; Pomerene, Ohio; Reed, Missouri; Saulsbury, Delaware; Shields, Tennessee; Simmons, North Carolina; Smith, Georgia; Smith, Maryland; Smith, South Carolina; Trammell, Florida; Underwood, Alabama; Williams, Mississippi; Wolcott, Delaware—21.

REPUBLICANS—Baird, New Jersey; Brandegee, Connecticut; Dillingham, Vermont; Drew, New Hampshire; Hale, Maine; Lodge, Massachusetts; McLean, Connecticut; Penrose, Pennsylvania; Wadsworth, New York; Weeks, Massachusetts—10.

Not voting because paired with absent Senators: Beckham, Kentucky, and Wilfley, Missouri, (Democrats) 2; Borah, Idaho, and Knox, Pennsylvania (Republicans), 2. Total—4.

Absent—Swanson, Virginia; King, Utah, and Hollis, New Hampshire, (Democrats), 3; Fall, New Mexico; Harding, Ohio; Sherman, Illinois; Johnson, California, and Frelinghuysen, New Jersey (Republicans), 5. Total—8.

The absent Senators were paired so that the full strength of each side was accounted for.

Senator Jones, of New Mexico, Chairman of the Woman Suffrage Committee, changed his original aye vote to nay, in order to move reconsideration of the question.

There is the record at last.

For months certain Senators have refused to commit themselves on the Federal Suffrage Amendment. Sometimes, to some people, these Senators have held out vague suggestions of probable favorable action on their part. They never for a moment intended to vote for the Amendment, but never for a moment did they intend, if they could prevent it, to let the Amendment come to vote and they themselves be forced to go on record against it. They wanted to dilly-dally. They wanted the vote held off. Most of all they did not want to be recorded as non-supporters of the President.

But the record is written.

They have denied democracy. They have shamed the nation. They have refused the Commander-in-chief of the Army help which he begged of them for the successful prosecution of the war. They have said to him, in effect, "Our judgment is better than yours on this matter. Allow us to decide for you what are essential war measures and what are not. This question of morale of which you make so much means nothing. That spiritual force of which you speak—we never felt it. We don't know what you are talking about. Let's get back to politics. We want to make some more speeches about helping you win the war."

Read their names once more. Count them. Twenty-one Democrats who repudiate the leadership of Woodrow Wilson. Identify the ten Republicans who opposed the War President on a measure that he urged upon them as a war measure. Then read this message from your own President and get ready for more work.

"We are stronger to-day with the right and the President and 62 Senators on our side than we were before. We would rather be defeated with the President and the sixty-two than win with the 34 who voted or paired against our measure. Where the President stood yesterday, the nation will stand to-morrow.

"There is no power on earth that can defeat woman suffrage in this country. We march forward with the same unflinching courage which has sustained the suffragists of America for fifty years. We are glad that the vote was taken. We know now exactly how to place our work."

Cheer up! The fighting is still good.

President Wilson Calls Suffrage Vital Aid to Victory

PRESIDENT WILSON

stepped into the breach of the Senate fight over the woman suffrage resolution on Monday, September 30, and in a personal address in the Senate chamber asked for its passage as a war measure.

The President addressed the Senate as follows:

"Gentlemen of the Senate:

"The unusual circumstances of a world war in which we stand and are judged in the view not only of our own people and our own consciences, but also in the view of all nations and peoples will, I hope, justify in your thought, as it does in mine, the message I have come to bring you.

"I regard the concurrence of the Senate in the constitutional amendment proposing the extension of the suffrage to women as vitally essential to the successful prosecution of the great war of humanity in which we are engaged. I have come to urge upon you the considerations which have led me to that conclusion. It is not only my privilege, it is also my duty to apprise you of every circumstance and element involved in this momentous struggle which seems to me to affect its very processes and its outcome. It is my duty to win the war and to ask you to remove every obstacle that stands in the way of winning it.

No Party Issue

"I had assumed that the Senate would concur in the amendment because no disputable principle is involved, but only a question of the method by which the suffrage is to be extended to women. There is and can be no party issue involved in it. Both of our great national parties are pledged, explicitly pledged, to equality of suffrage for the women of the country.

"Neither party, therefore, it seems to me, can justify hesitation as to the method of obtaining it, can rightfully hesitate to substitute federal initiative for state initiative, if the early adoption of this measure is necessary to the successful prosecution of the war and if the method of state action proposed in the party platforms of 1916 is impracticable, within any reasonable length of time, if practical at all.

"And its adoption is, in my judgment, clearly necessary to the successful prosecution of the war and the successful realization of the objects from which the war is being fought.

"That judgment I take the liberty of urging upon you, with solemn earnest for reasons which I shall state very frankly and which I shall hope will seem as conclusive to you as they seem to me.

Professions Not Adequate

"This is a people's war and the people's thinking constitute its atmosphere and morale, not the predilections of the drawing room or the political considerations of the caucus. If we be indeed Democrats and wish to lead the world to democracy, we can ask other peoples to accept in proof of our sincerity and our ability to lead them whither they wish to be led nothing less persuasive and convincing than our actions.

"Our professions will not suffice. Verification must be forthcoming when verification is asked for, and in this case certification is asked for—asked for in this particular matter. You ask by whom? Not through diplomatic channels. Not by foreign ministers. Not by the intimations of parliaments. It is asked for by the anxious, expectant, suffering peoples with whom we are dealing and who are willing to put their destinies in some measure

Tells Senate Granting of Vote to Women Is Necessary to Convince World Our Democracy Is Genuine

in our hands, if they are sure that we wish the same things that they do.

"I do not speak by conjecture. It is not alone the voices of statesmen and of

newspapers that reach me, and the voices of foolish and intemperate agitators do not reach me at all. Through many, many channels I have been made aware what the plain, struggling, workaday folk are thinking upon whom the chief terror and suffering of this tragedy falls.

"They are looking to the great, powerful, famous democracy of the west to lead them to the new day for which they have so long waited; and they think, in their logical simplicity, that democracy means that women shall play their part in affairs alongside men and upon an equal footing with them.

Will Cease to Follow

"If we reject measures like this in ignorant defiance of what a new age has brought forth, of what they have seen but we have not, they will cease to believe in us, they will cease to follow or to trust us.

"They have seen their own governments accept this interpretation of democracy—seen old governments like that of Great Britain, which did not profess to be democratic, promise readily and, as of course, this justice to women, though they had before refused it: the strange revelations of this war having made many things new and plain to governments as well as to peoples.

"Are we alone to refuse to learn the lesson? Are we alone to ask and take the utmost that our women can give—service and sacrifice of every kind—and still say we do not see what title that gives them to stand by our sides in the guidance of the affairs of their nation and ours?

"We have made partners of the women in this war. Shall we admit them only to a partnership of suffering and sacrifice and toil and not to a partnership of privilege and right?

"This war could not have been fought, either by the other nations engaged or by America, if it had not been for the services of the women—service rendered in every sphere—not merely in the fields of efforts in which we have been accustomed to see them work, but wherever men have worked and upon the very skirts and edges of the battle itself.

"We shall not only be distrusted, but shall deserve to be distrusted, if we do not enfranchise them with the fullest possible enfranchisement, as it is now certain that the other great free nations will enfranchise them. We cannot isolate our thought and action in such a matter from the thought of the rest of the world. We must either conform or deliberately reject what they propose and resign the leadership of liberal minds to others.

Too Noble for Slacking

"The women of America are too noble and too intelligent and too devoted to be slackers whether you give or withhold this thing that is mere justice. But I know the magic it will work in their thoughts and spirits if you give it to them.

"I propose it as I would propose to admit soldiers to the suffrage, the men fighting in the field for our liberties and the liberties of the world were they excluded. The tasks of the women lie at the very heart of the war, and I know how much stronger that heart will beat if you do this just thing and show our women that you trust them as much as you in fact and of necessity depend upon them.

"Have I said that the passage of this amendment is a vitally necessary war measure, and do you need further proof? Do you stand in need of the trust of other peoples and of the trust of our own women? Is that trust an asset, or is it not?"

"I tell you plainly, as the commander-in-chief of our armies and of the gallant men in our fleets, as the present spokesman of this people in our dealings with the men and women throughout the world who are now our partners, as the responsible head of a great government which stands and is questioned day by day as to its purposes, its principles, its hopes, whether they be serviceable to men everywhere or only to itself, and who must himself answer these questions, or be shamed as the guide and director of forces caught in the grip of war and by the same token in need of every material and spiritual resource this great nation possesses—I tell you plainly that this measure which I urge upon you is vital to the winning of the war and to the energies alike of preparation and of battle.

Vital to Right Solution

"And not to the winning of the war only. It is vital to the right solution of the great problems which we must settle, and settle immediately, when the war is over. We shall need them in

our vision of affairs, as we have never needed them before, the sympathy and insight and clear moral instinct of the women of the world.

"The problems of that time will strike at the roots of many things that we have not hitherto questioned, and I for one believe that our safety in those questioning days, as well as our comprehension of matters that touch society to the quick will depend upon the direct and authoritative participation of women in our counsels.

"We shall need their moral sense to preserve what is right and fine and worthy in our system or life as well as to discover just what it is that ought to be purified and reformed. Without their counselings we shall be only half wise.

Asks Lightened Tasks

"That is my case. This is my appeal. Many may deny its validity, if they choose, but no one can brush aside or answer the arguments upon which it is based. The executive tasks of this war rest upon me. I ask that you lighten them and place in my hands instruments, spiritual instruments, which I do not now possess, which I sorely need, and which I have daily to apologize for not being able to employ."

Standing With the President

RHODE ISLAND registered 100 per cent on the Federal Amendment by action of the Republican and Democratic parties in their respective conventions at Providence, on September 23 and 24. The two major parties not only endorsed the Federal Amendment by resolutions which were immediately telegraphed to Washington, but they wrote Federal Amendment planks in their platforms, called upon the senators from that state in Congress to vote for the Federal Amendment and pledged their support as political parties to the ratification of the amendment by the legislature.

Some suffrage impressions of the Rhode Island political conventions may be gained from the following story, which the *Woman Citizen* received from Mrs. Jerome M. Fittz, corresponding secretary of the Rhode Island Equal Suffrage Association. Mrs. Fittz writes:

"As a spectator at the recent Democratic and Republican conventions, I can declare that Rhode Island men, on the question of Woman Suffrage, have measured up to the machine.

"The idea of woman suffrage has been to some of us for the last fifty years, a sort of host, irrepressible and unbanishable but hypnotic in its influence and awful in its sway. And now in the year of Our Lord 1918 good Rhode Island men have lifted up their voices, declaring that this humbuggery about the distinctions of sex in political consideration has lasted just about long enough. I rejoice that neither party lent itself to sentimental predictions as to the wonders to be accomplished by women. They did not declare that women were going to create cucumbers out of sunbeams or perform feats beyond the pale of human possibilities.

"The Democrats' profession of belief in our cause sounded to me like a Proclamation and Reply—'You are ordered to support woman suffrage.' We shall obey this command to the end.

"The Republicans spoke as those, hospitable to an ideal, and brave enough to summon the factors necessary for the realization of that ideal.

"THOSE who are in close touch with sentiment in the State do not need petitions to prove that Missouri is now favorable to suffrage. Members of Congress who wish to properly represent their constituents cannot do so by opposing this inevitable reform."—*St. Louis Republic*.

"And as a result the women have not only captured the advanced redoubts, but the men holding the Rhode Island citadel have surrendered and have made terms based on justice,

right and an appreciation of American womanhood.

"Every possible courtesy has been shown to Rhode Island women by both Democrats and Republicans. Rhode Island Democrats and Republicans have written a new charter of Liberty for women."

DEMOCRATS and Republicans of Illinois have both adopted strong federal amendment planks in their platforms in their conventions held simultaneously at Springfield, September 20th. Both parties pledged themselves to support ratification when the federal suffrage amendment should be before the Legislature of Illinois.

On the day following the action of the Democratic Party, Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout, president of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, was received by President Wilson at the White House. She carried to the President the Democratic plank adopted at the convention. It read:

"The great task of winning the war has brought woman more prominently to the front. In every one of the movements which have for their purpose aid to the fighters at the front she has played a most important part. In many industries she has taken her place side by side with man and is performing the same tasks.

"These conditions make it of more than ordinary importance that she should possess the same rights, the same privileges and the same opportunity of protecting herself as man. Only by assuring them to her can we be assured that her entrance into many industrial fields will not tend to lower wages and to lead to conditions less favorable than men now enjoy. The worker without a vote has never been able to obtain for himself what the worker with a vote has been able to secure.

"This is only one of the many reasons why woman should enter into the same political rights as man now enjoys.

(Continued on page 382)

Our Own Congressional Record

SUFFRAGE HOUSE, WASHINGTON, D. C., September 24.—It is bromidic to say that the clans are gathering, but when you feel that you are saying it for positively the last time, the bromide takes on a certain historic dignity. And, positively, we feel that it is the last time. For

the last time the old body-guard is here. For the last time the trains are hourly bringing in women from all parts of the country—women who are leaving war work just long enough to rush in here for this final round-up for suffrage, which also is war work.

Mrs. Catt has been here for weeks. Mrs. Park is always here. So is Mrs. Gardener. Miss Hay is here, proud of the Republicans. Mrs. Dudley of Tennessee is here, confident of the Democrats. Mrs. Travis H. Whitney is here. Mrs. Cunningham and Mrs. Potter and Miss Gearing are here, to represent Texas. Mrs. Trout of Illinois is here. Mrs. Ralph Smith, of Nebraska, is here. Miss Mabel Willard of Massachusetts is here. Indiana is represented by Mrs. Stilwell, Mrs. Edwards and Miss Adah Bush, the latter en route to France in the service of the Y. M. C. A. Both Mrs. Edwards and Miss Bush have given valiant service in the handling of the publicity of the occasion. Mrs. Thompson of Montana is here. Miss Ludington of Connecticut is here. Mrs. Yost of West Virginia is here, Miss Cowles of Virginia is here, Miss Ruth White is here, Mrs. Ess of Missouri is here, Miss Priest of Nevada is here, Mrs. Frank Roessing and Miss Hannah Patterson of Pennsylvania are here, Mrs. Harriman of New York is here—indeed, there are not many states in the Union unrepresented by some one or more prominent women. By Friday Dr. Shaw, of the United States, will be here.

Suffrage House is crowded from roof to cellar. Coming into the offices on the second floor this morning I surprised some comfortable looking bedding on the point of departing from the two long lounges in one of the private offices.

ALL the talk is of victory. We know that we are going to win. The Republicans have said it. The Democrats have said it. The Republicans apparently are prepared to supply not only their half of the sixty-four votes needed, but will have one to spare, thirty-three in all. That will make two-thirds of their total complement—a splendid showing. They cast only forty-four of the ninety-six senatorial votes. Although the Democrats can at this writing muster only thirty votes, they are certain that somebody in the doubtful column on the Democratic side will come over, and save the party from the obloquy of defeating the measure. If the Democrats will give us but thirty-one votes out of their fifty-two, we are safe. We have the sincerest confidence in both sides. We are certain that both will make good to the full extent of the possibilities held out. We are revitalized, remade. The dreadful weariness of the past weeks of suspense is slipping from us. The exhausting demands of our double load of suffrage work and war work are to be lightened. We are to be free to meet the country's call upon us at the identical hour that the Fourth Liberty Loan drive opens. All our women are engaged for that in one way and another. Trying to raise money for the fight for democracy abroad while we fight our own fight for democracy at home! It is too much! What the men can't seem to realize, save for an immortal few, is that our own fight must go on, that we can't stop, that we would be traitors to democracy itself if we stopped. Yet human hands can't hold it all. Human shoulders droop under the load. Worst of all, the spirit sags. But now the end is in sight. We are saved. The bridge to victory has been thrown out. We walk on tiptoe lest we shake a screw loose, but that we shall get safely over we have no doubt.

September 25: This morning some thirty-five of us went to the Hill in the capacity of message-bearers to the United States Senators, a demonstration arranged for by Mrs. Edwards. We assembled in the Caucus Room on the third floor of the Senate Office Building and then went to the office of Vice-President Marshall. Mrs. Catt was at our head and went as far as the Vice-President's office as a message bearer on her own account.

BEING a faithful transcript of the consideration vouchsafed the Federal Suffrage Amendment by the Senate of the United States of America from the time that it was called before that body on September 26 to the hour that it was disposed of on Tuesday, October 1.

It was her assignment to present to him personally some data that had been assembled to show the great popular and political demand for the passage of the amendment. Tired as we are of having to "set forth" things to prove justice and expediency that should be self-evident to

any right-minded man, we are rather proud of this summary. In it some of the resolutions passed by political parties are given in detail, notably those calling for the passage of the Amendment by both the Democratic and Republican National Committees. The summary shows also that already the Legislatures of fourteen states have demanded the Amendment's passage; that its passage is called for by planks in the platforms of twenty-six state conventions, Republican and Democratic; in the two states having the largest and third largest electoral vote, New York and Illinois, both party conventions adopted unanimously planks urging immediate and favorable senate action. In Indiana, always a pivotal state, the planks of both Democratic and Republican conventions demand passage and promise state ratification, etc., to follow at once.

IN presenting the material to the Vice-President Mrs. Catt took occasion to remind him of mid-western winters when it was possible to roll up a mighty snowball out of a very small beginning. From a small beginning suffrage had rolled on and on until it had reached its present stupendous vantage point, as shown by the favorable action summarized in the data which she thereupon handed him. The Vice-President shook hands with everybody, said he was glad to see everybody, thanked everybody for complimenting him on his speech of the day before, which nearly everybody had heard and liked, and then we left him to the snowball. Back in the caucus room Mrs. Catt distributed the messages to the chosen message-bearers and the women broke ranks and flitted away to the respective senatorial offices, where they delivered the data either to the senators in person or their secretaries.

Mrs. Charles L. Tiffany of New York has arrived. Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw, head of the Collegiate Division of the Food Administration and Acting Chairman of the New York State Suffrage Party, is due tomorrow. Mrs. F. Louis Slade, also of New York, head of the Women's Division of the Y. M. C. A., and Vice-chairman of the New York City Woman Suffrage Party, is due.

September 26: The Northeast gallery has been assigned to the National Association and one hundred tickets have been issued for the one hundred seats in it. This arrangement does away with the need of getting up before dawn to rush to the Senate, as was literally the case when the House vote came off. We are taking our lunch with us, however, as we shall undoubtedly have to be in our places from ten o'clock or thereabouts until five P. M. Victory is still in the air.

September 26, Night

SENATORS VARDAMAN, of Mississippi, and Ransdell, of Louisiana, made speeches of great dignity and sound logic on the merits of woman suffrage *per se*. Senator McKellar, of Tennessee, not only made a good speech, calculated to dispel the web of illusion with reference to the negro vote of the South, but engaged to good purpose in a running fire of answers to questions from the floor. Senator Thompson, of Kansas, presented an effective analysis of his reasons for voting for the amendment. Senator Owen made a telling pro-amendment contribution by reading into the record what he designated as innumerable evidences of the public approval that has been given "to the proposal that the women shall be treated as human beings and given the right to participate in the election of those who write the law and execute the law."

Those evidences will be found in the forthcoming issue of the Woman Citizen with more and fuller comment on the Senate discussion.

JUDGE WILFLEY, the new Senator from Missouri, spoke briefly and ably. Senator Shafroth, of Colorado, was on his feet again and again to make some point for suffrage.

The antis were not very articulate. Evidently they are saving their ammunition for tomorrow. Senator Pomerene, of Ohio, was one who spoke against the amendment, suffragist though he is, and staunch supporter of the President that he has been heretofore. He takes the stand that as his state has voted against suffrage, he will not represent his constituency if he votes for the amendment. Then there was Senator McCumber, of North Dakota. He came urging that he must vote for the amendment because his state had given him many evidences of its will that he should. Just the same, his state's will did not keep him from making an old-fashioned grandmotherly speech against suffrage *per se*. His way of representing his state seems to be to cast his own vote for what his state wants and then nullify his vote's effect by trying to make one or more votes against what his state wants. But neither his point of view nor that of Senator Pomerene meets the case of Senator Wadsworth, of New York, whose state has voted for suffrage for itself and instructed him to vote for suffrage for the nation. Senator Wadsworth has the light ephemeral touch of the man who won't because he won't. Gracefully leaning against his desk, he made it known that he was anxious to see the question at issue promptly disposed of and wanted to learn just what the program was so that the Senators might know just when the vote was to be taken. It was Key Pittman, of Nevada, who took a hand just then.

"Mr. Pittman. Mr. President, will the Senator from New Mexico yield to me?"

Mr. Jones of New Mexico. I yield.

Mr. Pittman. Mr. President, would the Senator from New York like to fix a day certain to vote, which would allow possibly ten or twelve speeches to be made?"

Mr. Wadsworth. I am not representing the Senators who are opposed to the joint resolution.

Mr. Pittman. I thought the Senator was.

Mr. Wadsworth. I am in favor of a vote upon this matter just as soon as possible.

Mr. Pittman. I naturally assumed the Senator was representing some phase of this question; but if he is not, very well.

Mr. Wadsworth. Is there any objection to having a vote upon the joint resolution tomorrow?"

Mr. Pittman. I do not see any objection, possibly, except that there are several very able speakers whom I have heard express a desire to discuss this question, and I would suggest that we vote as soon as those speakers have an opportunity to express themselves. It might be well if we entered into a unanimous-consent agreement to vote on some day certain, and then the speakers could arrange their time to suit themselves. Would the Senator favor agreeing on some day certain to vote?"

Mr. Wadsworth. I certainly would, and at the earliest possible moment; but if, as the Senator indicates, there are ten or twelve able speeches yet to be made upon this topic, then I ask why the suggestion that we adjourn over tomorrow?"

Mr. Pittman. I have not heard that suggestion, except from the Senator from New York.

The Presiding Officer. The question is on the amendment offered by the Senator from Mississippi."

Now it is a pity that the dignity of the other *Congressional Record* should not have permitted the inclusion of the concluding remark of the senior Senator from New York. Our own *Congressional Record* will not be so squeamish. Senator Wadsworth can apparently be classy, if not classic. His final contribution to the situation was:

"There is very little green in the eye of the Senator from New York."

One is glad to be reassured.

We are going to bed tired but still confident—strangely, though,



it is now the confidence that one whips one's self into. It isn't spontaneous. What is the matter? Nobody knows. But vague rumors are afloat. Maud Wood Park's face looks a little more resolute. Always a sign that there is a little more fight ahead than we expected.

September 27, Night

Night indeed! Suddenly, from out a clear sky, came the word that the Republicans were not going to be able to poll but thirty-two votes. That, to be sure, is their full half, but we have had to depend on them to do more than their half. And they cannot persuade Senator Drew to cast his vote in favor! The Democrats had no hope of adding to their thirty votes, save as they might be able to sway some stand-patter into line by the fact that his vote alone stood between the amendment and victory. Following the Republican announcement, the

Democrats have made a violent party matter of the situation. Key Pittman has accused the Republicans of bad faith and has thundered out a denunciation of what he called "an effort to kill the Democratic Party in the suffrage states of this country. Reed Smoot has stood his ground unflinchingly on behalf of Republican good faith. To realize the full value of this crisis keep in mind that even with only thirty-two votes the Republicans can go to the country with the showing that they have done their part and that the Democrats have failed in theirs. What Senator Pittman has now accused them of amounts, therefore, to just this: bringing about a situation that was bound to result in a party advantage to them and disadvantage to the Democrats. Suffrage has somehow become subordinate while this game of political battledore and shuttlecock runs its course.

Non-partisans that we are, with friends on both sides of the floor in whom we have rested our last reliance, what are we to think, to whom turn! Seldom in the history of the Senate have cards been so frankly laid on the table in the political game. Charges of Republican deception, of using the women as cat-paws, candid revelation of the weakness under which the Democratic Party labors all came in a fiery torrent from Senator Pittman's lips. In order that *Woman Citizen* readers may get the whole story without prejudice or favor, our *Congressional Record* will now yield place to the other *Congressional Record*. But you will never get from the printed page the intensity of the moment, the insupportable suspense, and the impassioned zeal of the principal speaker, Pittman.

First setting forth that Senator Jones, Chairman of the Woman Suffrage Committee, had three times been induced to bring the suffrage resolution before the Senate under the belief, and the reasonable belief, that there would be sufficient votes to pass it, and three times had found that to press it meant to kill it.

Senator Pittman said that again and again the Democrats had been accused of obstructing a vote on the amendment. In Republican campaigns throughout the suffrage states again and again the argument had been used that not only was the committee, a majority of whom are Democrats, obstructing this vote, "but that the President of the United States himself was responsible for the obstruction of it. To a country not familiar with the circumstances that argument was exceedingly appealing. I confess now that it was having its effect as a campaign argument.

"Why did not the committee bring in this joint resolution? Because the Democratic members of the committee had only one object in view, and that was to pass the suffrage amendment; and there were some others in this body who had only a political object in view. Twice the chairman of this committee and the Democratic members of it were deceived into bringing this question before this body. The Republican caucus is in favor of a vote. They are in favor of a vote to-day when we have not enough votes to pass it, and we who are sincere in the matter are not in favor of a vote to-day when we cannot pass it, because our object is to pass it. A third time after the passage of the resolution—"

At this point Mr. Poindexter interrupted to make points for the Republicans. When Mr. Pittman got the floor again, he said:

"Now, let me proceed a little further in the matter. The President of the United States has publicly stated why he considers the passage of this amendment of so grave importance during this time of war. He has taken the same grounds that have been taken in England. In conservative old England, where they fought equal suffrage most tenaciously, it came in a flash; it came almost unanimously; and it came by reason of the abnormal conditions that demanded at the time that there be universal equality of mind and of action, that the women of England, who had taken the men's places in England while the men fought in France, should have all of the rights and privileges of the men. The President has taken the same ground. He has taken the ground that war has made it absolutely necessary to pass this amendment. But I am getting off the subject a little bit.

The Senator from Washington says a larger majority on the other side are in favor of this measure than on the Democratic side. Yes; but they have not the obstacles in their ranks that we have in our ranks. The Members on the Republican side have not the sentimental nor the social conditions meeting them in their States that are meeting some of our Members on this side. They have the power to give their full vote if they want to. There never was a time when the leaders of that party, if they had wanted to pass the joint resolution, could not have given 35 or 40 votes for it, and that without affecting them in any way whatever.

But what happened? Why is this resolution before this body at the present time in this critical condition? It is in a critical condition; there is no disguising the fact; and yet the leaders on the Republican side have this day said to those in charge of the joint resolution on this side. 'If we are going to be beaten anyway, we might as well vote today and be beaten.' When that assertion was made I happened to be present, and I said, 'It will not be beaten; we shall not vote on it today if we are going to lose it today.' No. I am not that kind of a suffragist; I have not that kind of sincerity. I shall not pledge myself to bring it to a vote knowing at the time, from the poll I have in my possession, that when it is brought to a vote it will be killed.

That was a magnificent resolution of the Republican caucus that they would do everything to bring this joint resolution to a vote immediately, knowing from the poll, as I said before, that it would be killed when they brought it up. Why did you pass the resolution? Why did you want to bring it up and defeat it? What would be the result of that defeat? The campaign that the adjunct of your party is making through the suffrage states would be confirmed. That is what would happen. You would give your 32 votes; you would give half of your two-thirds; and you would hold your hand on high and say, 'We gave you the necessary votes, but the Democrats did not do it.' We know that.

Mr. Smoot: Mr. President—

The Presiding Officer: Does the Senator from Nevada yield to the Senator from Utah?

Mr. Pittman: Yes; I yield.

Mr. Smoot: Of course, I am utterly surprised at what the Senator says.

Mr. Pittman: I thought the Senator from Utah would be.

"AS disfranchisement always has degraded men, socially, morally and industrially, so today it is disfranchisement that degrades women in the same spheres."

S. B. ANTHONY.

Mr. Smoot: But I want to make a proposition to the Senator: There are 44 Republican Senators and there are 52 Democratic Senators. If the Senator wants a vote today, tomorrow, or on any other day he may desire, the Republicans will, out of the 44 Republicans, cast 32 votes today or on any other day—

Mr. Pittman: That is just what I am getting at.

Mr. Smoot: If you will give the 32 votes out of 52 Democrats. We can then vote, and we shall then have 64 votes. I want to say to the Senator that he is doing an absolute injustice to the men who have been fighting for years and years for woman suffrage on the Republican side when he says that there is no intention whatever of forcing this joint resolution to a vote. I ask the Senator who has the joint resolution in charge—

Mr. Pittman: Mr. President, I object to being interrupted in my speech by the Senator asking questions of other Senators.

Mr. Smoot: Then I will do it in my own time.

Mr. Pittman: I shall be very glad if the Senator from Utah will take all of the time that he wants; but he will have to take a lot of it before he gets through with this. I am, however, very happy that the Senator has now definitely settled one question in our minds—that the Republican party are only going to give us 32 votes. Do Senators know why the Republicans will only give 32 votes? It is because 32 are just half of 64—just half of two-thirds—and the Republicans clear their skirts when they know that this side has but 31 votes. Let me tell you something else, for that is not all—

Mr. Poindexter: Mr. President—

The Presiding Officer: Does the Senator from Nevada yield to the Senator from Washington?

Mr. Pittman: Yes, I yield.

Mr. Poindexter: The Senator from Nevada is not bragging about the fact that his side has only 31 votes in favor of this joint resolution, is he?

Mr. Pittman: I am not bragging about anything today, not even about the Republican party; I do not think there is any ground for bragging. Between you and me, I will say to the Senator from Washington I do not think it is a matter of very much levity. It is rather a good joke to those who thoroughly enjoy it; it is a magnificent joke upon the leading suffrage women of the country who depended on you; it is a splendid joke on them. Why, you have done wonders! You have brought the joint resolution forward for defeat!

Mr. Smoot presently tried to settle the question in this wise:

Mr. Smoot. In order to settle this question, I want to say to the Senator from Nevada that the chairman of the committee has it in his power to say whether we shall adjourn to-day; whether we shall adjourn until Monday; whether the joint resolution be laid aside; or whether it shall be taken up. I tell the Sen-

ator now that, whatever motion Senator Jones makes, whatever he thinks is the best policy, whether to carry this resolution to a vote or to delay it, he shall be furnished with more votes upon this side to follow his program than he can get on his own side."

Yet just a little later, Senator Pittman was again declaring that Senator Smoot knew that if he gave us 32 votes and we voted today we would lose this amendment; and yet the Senator from Utah in conference with us this morning said it had been suggested that we vote today, and that if we were going to be beaten we might as well be beaten now.

Mr. Smoot. That suggestion came from a Democratic leader on this floor.

Mr. Pittman. But the Senator said the suggestion had been made.

Mr. Smoot. I did; and I say now that it was made, and that it came from a Democratic leader.

Mr. Pittman. I never heard that it came from anyone except the Senator from Utah. The Senator from Kansas [Mr. Curtis] was with him at the time, and I made this statement. I said: 'I will never agree to a vote on this joint resolution when we lack the requisite number unless there is every fair opportunity to get those in, favor of it here.'

Mr. Smoot. Why does not the Senator state what the Senator from Utah did say? If he is going to try to tell the conversation the Senator should tell it all. I will tell the Senate what I said, and I will ask the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. Jones] if it is not true. I said: 'I have always taken the position that I would not attempt to force a vote until I knew there were enough votes to carry the joint resolution,' and I stated that what I wanted was to secure all the time possible to see if we could secure enough votes to carry the proposed constitutional amendment through before a vote was taken.

Mr. Pittman. The Senator did say that after he had said what I did say he said, and after I said what I have stated.

Now, let me go on a little further. How does it happen that this matter is now before the Senate for consideration? I will tell you how it happened. Listen to this:

The Senator from Utah, who has told us that the Republican side has but 32 votes and that he knows what the poll on this side is, tells us that he knows the joint resolution will be defeated if brought to a vote at this time. Let me tell you what the Senator from Utah knows further than that. He knows why this matter is here to-day; he knows why the Members on the Democratic side of the Senate who are in favor of suffrage are in embarrassment to-day. Nobody understands it better. Why? Because he knew just how many votes it would be necessary to have on the Republican side to carry this joint resolution through at all times, and he told Miss Hay, a member of the National American Woman's Suffrage Association, who served on a committee to discuss suffrage with the Republican Members of this body, that they would give them 33 votes; and then that association, headed by Mrs. Catt, invited the Democratic members of the Suffrage Committee of this body, together with one or two other Senators, to confer with them. They then urged upon the chairman that he bring the suffrage amendment before the Senate. The chairman said:

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I have brought it twice before the Senate under misinformation; I have twice subjected it to defeat on account of misinformation. We have not the votes to pass the amendment, and it is a crime to bring it up to kill it. We may get the votes later, but we have no right, after the joint resolution has passed the House, to kill it in the Senate so long as there is a chance to save it. I will not bring it up until I believe I can carry it; and I do not care how many attacks the Woman's Party make on me; that does not concern me. I am for passing this amendment and not for killing it.

It was then—

Mr. Poindexter: Mr. President—

Mr. Pittman: Wait until I finish this statement. I do not want to be interrupted now.

It was then, by reason of the statement of the chairman of the committee, the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. Jones], that those ladies stated, 'If we can assure you 33 Republican votes, will you bring the joint resolution up?' We replied, 'Yes.' Why? Because, although we had not enough with the 33, we believed that we might get two more votes. They said then, 'We feel at liberty to say to you that Senator Smoot, on behalf of the Republican Senators, has come to our committee through Miss Hay and assured us that the Republicans are ready to deliver 33 votes. We then asked for the names, to give us the poll, but they said they would not give us the poll; they said, 'Leave that to us, and we will deliver the 33 votes.'

That is the way we left it; and under that assurance we brought this amendment before this body. Then, after we had been deceived

into bringing it before this body, after we had been led into the trap, the distinguished Senator from Utah goes to the same people to whom he promised 33 votes and says, 'We can get only 32.' Why did he do that? Why did he promise 33? Because the 33 votes, with the votes that the Democrats then had, would still defeat the amendment. Why did he come down to 32 votes? Because we gained enough with the 33 to pass the amendment. What other conclusion is there to be drawn?

Mr. Smoot: Mr. President—

The Presiding Officer: Does the Senator from Nevada yield to the Senator from Utah?

Mr. Pittman: Yes, I yield.

Mr. Smoot: Mr. President, the Senator is stating supposed facts that I have never heard of before. I know nothing about them; and I want to say to the Senator now that, as far as the 33 votes are concerned, there was always a question of doubt as to one vote, and it has been always so understood by me, and I have never made a statement to the contrary. If the Senator wants to know the doubtful vote, I do not think the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. Drew] will object to my stating the facts. I want to say that the Senator from New Hampshire has never promised me that he would vote for the amendment, and, as far as that is concerned, I want to say now that I do not believe he promised anyone that he would vote for or against it. I will say, however, that, as far as I am concerned, he never promised me that he would vote for it.

Mr. Reed: Mr. President—

The Presiding Officer: Does the Senator from Nevada yield to the Senator from Missouri?

Mr. Reed: I want to ask the Senator who has just taken his seat—

Mr. Pittman: If the Senator pleases, I can not yield. I will take my seat in five minutes, and then the Senator can talk all he wants to. I beg the pardon of the Senator from Missouri, but I want to get through.

The Senator from Utah may have had doubt in his mind with regard to the Senator from New Hampshire. Undoubtedly, however, the women who induced us to bring this matter to a vote did not have any doubt about the doubt of the Senator from Utah, or they would have expressed the doubt to us. As a matter of fact, one of the ladies charged the Senator from Utah in the Marble Room yesterday with having pledged 33 votes and not giving them a poll so that they could use their own judgment, and the Senator from Utah said at the time he made the promise he thought he had them.

Now, then, if the Senator had any doubt about the Senator from New Hampshire, and he was going to a great suffrage association in this country through one of their committees, he had no right to make the assurance in a positive manner, and if the Senator with regard to whom he had the doubt, who was necessary to make up the 33, was in his mind, he should have submitted that name to the ladies and said, 'This is the only doubtful one of the 33,' and let them make their own investigations concerning him. But he did not do that. He did not give them the poll. He did not tell them who they were. You, Senator Smoot, pledged them 33 votes, so that they would induce the Democratic members of the committee to get this bill on the floor and you could kill it, and

then you could make campaign material out of it in the Western States. You knew that through that action you could carry Montana and Colorado and that you could probably carry the Senate. You know that. You, from a suffrage State, know that if you kill this amendment by a Democratic vote, giving one-half of the two-thirds yourselves and one less than half of two-thirds on this side, you will sweep those states with the women's votes. Do you want to do it? What would you do to do it? How much would you give, politically, to do it? Would you rather do that, or pass this amendment?

Mr. Smoot. Mr. President, since the Senator is asking me, I will say that I would not act as has the Senator from Nevada to-day to accomplish a political advantage if I had it in my power, and the Senator has made some statements that I can truthfully say that he is mistaken.

Mr. Pittman. I do not know what the statements are in which I am mistaken. If any particular ones are pointed out, I will adduce proof in substantiation of them. All I have to say is that I was deceived with that committee. I know that those ladies did not intend to deceive us. They are too high class for that. They understood our position. They knew that we would not bring the matter here until we had a certainty of 33 votes on the Republican side, and they gave us that assurance, and stated that they got that assurance from the Senator from Utah.

Mr. Smoot. Mr. President—

The Presiding Officer. Does the Senator

from Nevada yield to the Senator from Utah?
Mr. Pittman. I do.

Mr. Smoot. If the Senator wants this resolution put back in just the same position that it was and does not want a vote upon it, all he has to do is to move to refer it back to the committee, and it will carry. It will not be considered at all or a vote taken upon it until the chairman of the committee wants it done; and it seems to me that this camouflage that the Senator is trying to put over on the Senate and the country is unwise and uncalled for.

Mr. Pittman. Yes; and then if we should move to refer it back to the committee the Senator from Utah would say again. 'The Democrats are obstructing the passage of this amendment. They will not let me consider it, but refer it back to a committee. We told you all the time they wanted to kill it. When they pretty nearly had it won they referred it back to the committee.' When we want to postpone it a day he says, 'If it is going to be beaten, why, let it be beaten today.'

Oh, the whole thing is as plain as day. It is absolutely plain. The facts are here. They dovetail into each other. The written statements demonstrate everything in this case, and I, for one, wanted it known on my behalf that I have been deceived by somebody, and I have stated the facts of the deception. Let them trace where they will. I would not have voted to bring this matter on the floor in the circumstances in which it is now here, and I do not want anyone in my state to say that I was a party to the murder of this suffrage amendment. I wanted them to know the facts, and

know them well, and I am telling them here so that the country may know. It is an effort to kill the Democratic Party in the suffrage states of this country.

Mr. Lenroot. Mr. President—

The Presiding Officer. Does the Senator from Nevada yield to the Senator from Wisconsin?

Mr. Pittman. I yield.

Mr. Lenroot. Do I understand the Senator's position to be, then, that rather than have this joint resolution referred back to the committee he would prefer a vote, either to-morrow or Monday, and its defeat, because a reference back to the committee would hurt his party?

Mr. Pittman. No; the Senator does not understand that. He did not understand it when he asked the question. The Senator knows that I am sincerely in favor of suffrage, as much as he is, and he knows that the only thing that is moving the Senator from Nevada here is the critical condition in which this joint resolution now is.

If we refer it back to the committee, then we will be charged, as we have been all the time in the suffrage states, with trying to prevent a vote on it, and still the Woman's Party campaign will go on as it is going on now; and if we vote on it they will say: 'We told you the Democrats would kill it, because the President would not make 32 on his side vote for it.'

What you have accomplished is this: You have got this joint resolution before the Senate through a deception, and you have got the Democratic Party in an embarrassing position, no matter how it goes; but I, for one, am not

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willing to give up. I am not willing to vote to-day, when I know we are beaten. I am not willing to refer the joint resolution back to the committee when there is hope of winning the fight to-morrow, and I am not willing to-morrow to refer it back to the committee or to have it killed. I believe that when the country knows and understands that this is politics—pure, cold-blooded politics—they will realize that their views on suffrage are insignificant in comparison to the importance of meeting such a subterfuge by a united Democratic Party.

Mr. Poindexter Mr. President—

The Presiding Officer. Does the Senator from Nevada yield to the Senator from Washington?

Mr. Pittman. I yield.

Mr. Poindexter. The Senator from Nevada expresses vehement indignation because he has been imposed upon and deceived. I should like the Senator, before he takes his seat, to tell the Senate when he found out that he was deceived and how he got the information which he now has as to how the vote stands. He said that the Senator from Utah misled him. I should like to know who disillusioned him and whether or not he has any information or any means of information as to the vote on this measure now that he did not have at all times heretofore.

Mr. Pittman. I thank the Senator for asking the question. None of the committee knew anything about the change until yesterday. Not one of them, until after this matter had been debated here on the floor, knew a word about it. The same ladies who were used to deceive

us felt it their duty to come and undecieve us; that is all.

Mr. Poindexter. The Senator, then, as I understand, charges that some of the women leaders of the suffrage movement were used as tools and go-betweens to misrepresent the situation to the Senator from Nevada and deceive him.

Mr. Pittman. Well, that would be the appearance of things. I cannot see any other light it is in, but that is the way it looks.

Mr. Poindexter. I just asked the question in order that there might not be any doubt or mistake as to the attitude of the Senator from Nevada. I think the country ought to know just what position he takes in regard to it.

Another thing that I should like the Senator to answer, if he will allow me to ask him one more question, is whether or not he thinks that the injection of this political issue here is going to help the adoption of this amendment?

The Senator claims to be a sincere friend of the amendment. He knows that there are a number of votes in doubt on both sides of the Chamber. He now has aligned this matter upon a partisan basis. Does he think that that will tend to bring these doubtful Republican votes or doubtful Democratic votes to a support of this measure? Does he think that he is aiding the cause of suffrage by the speech he is making?

Mr. Pittman. The Senator from Nevada thinks he is aiding this movement. Although I would have a right, on the ground of personal privilege, to explain my connection with bringing this matter before the Senate, that would

not have induced me to do so. I believe that there are Democrats on this side of the Chamber, who are opposed to the whole theory involved in this joint resolution, who will not stand idly by and see a political trick perpetrated on their party, especially to such an extent that it may turn over the control of this body to another party. They know how important it is for the President of the United States to be in perfect harmony with both bodies of Congress. I know that you gentlemen are loyal. Nobody is charging disloyalty on your part. You are just as loyal as we are; but there is not a man here who does not know that a divided Government is not as strong as a united Government. There is none of you but that knows that you cannot have the same independent leadership unless every branch of the Government is in absolute accord, both mentally and politically, with the chief. You have got to have united command in government during war, just the same as in your Army. We have it in the army on the west front. We have it to-day in the United States. In fact, we have it to-day in the world, because the President of the United States is the united commander of the Governments of the world that are fighting this war. That is the reason of it. We are going to keep this Government united behind the President until this war is over, at least; and when we see a trick—a trick that may defeat that end—it is our duty as Senators on this floor to expose that trick, and I have done it."

Then up rose the senior Senator from Missouri, Mr. Reed, his fastidious soul stirred all

around the periphery by the thought that women, with the vital stake of political liberty at issue, should dare come to the United States Senators to voice demand or protest. Mr. Reed is that one of the Senators who loves to put woman on a pedestal and then amuse himself with slinging mud at the woman while carefully saving the pedestal.

Some of what he said will be reprinted later for the information of women in general, and Missouri women in particular, and we shall print as well Senator Lewis' remarkable reply to him.

Senator Thomas, of Colorado, closed the day's record of speech-making at the very end. Senator Shafroth, in a little political by-play, scored roundly against Senator Martin, of Virginia, Democratic floor leader and rabid anti. For some minutes Senator Martin had been trying to secure adjournment over Saturday. Read it in the *Record*:

"Mr. Martin, of Virginia. I make the motion that the Senate now adjourn until 12 o'clock meridian on Monday.

Mr. Pittman. On that I ask for the yeas and nays.

Mr. Shafroth. Mr. President—

Mr. Martin. Mr. President—

Mr. Martin, of Virginia. I cannot yield any further.

Mr. Shafroth. On Monday more Senators may be away—

Mr. Martin, of Virginia. There is no use, Mr. President—

The Presiding Officer. The motion is not debatable.

Mr. Pittman. I ask for the yeas and nays.

Mr. Shafroth. I move that the Senate adjourn."

Now, my children, do you know your parliamentary rules? Of course you do. And knowing them you are not surprised to hear the voice of the Presiding Officer boom out: The Senator from Virginia has moved that the Senate adjourn until Monday. The Senator from Colorado moves that the Senate do now adjourn, which motion takes precedence over the motion of the Senator from Virginia. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Virginia. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Colorado.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 5 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Saturday, September 28, 1918, at 12 o'clock meridian.

What will to-morrow bring forth?

SEPTEMBER 28, MORNING

Curious how it has brought the women together! You cannot separate women on the old party lines. You cannot submerge their ideals in party politics. It was as if for just one moment we stood looking across at one another as Democrats and Republicans, wondering, questioning. Then one and all seemed to be informed with a new consciousness of how little we care about being Democrats and Republicans, how much we care about the Federal Suffrage Amendment. Quite noiselessly the thing happened—we merged and stood in the old line-up as one woman, for the amendment, against all partisan politics.

SEPTEMBER 28, EVENING

Another day signalized by another war of words between Smoot and Pittman.

Senator Benet, of South Carolina, heretofore counted as favorable, reopened the consideration of our question by taking his stand with the opposition. Like Baird, of New Jersey, and Shields, of Tennessee, he would vote for it if he considered it essential as a war measure—and, like them, he goes to great pains not so to consider it.

He was hardly in his seat before Senator Smoot, of Utah, was on his feet on the Republican side. Here let the other *Record* speak for itself again:

"Mr. Smoot. Mr. President, after listening to the remarks just made by the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. Benet] I feel it my duty to correct a statement I made of the *Record* yesterday when the Senator from Nevada [Mr. Pittman] was trying to play politics with the question before the Senate.

Yesterday the Senator from Nevada asked me this question:

Did not the Senator from Utah know the number of votes the Democrats on this side had polled for the suffrage amendment?

Mr. Smoot. Of course the Senator from Utah knew that.

Mr. Pittman. Of course the Senator from Utah knew; and the Senator from Utah knows to-day how the poll stands on the Democratic side.

Mr. Smoot. I do.

Mr. President, I want to say that I was in error in the statement that I made yesterday. I wonder where the Senator from Nevada is now. I wonder if he now will undertake to say that the members—

Mr. Henderson. Mr. President, I have just sent for the Senator from Nevada.

Mr. Jones of New Mexico. Mr. President, in view of the inquiry of the Senator from Utah, I suggest that he withhold his remarks until the Senator from Nevada can reach the Chamber. I have no doubt that he is accessible and will be here in just a moment.

Mr. Smoot. I will say to the Senator that my remarks will be very brief.

Yesterday the Senator tried to make it appear that I in particular, and other Republicans who favored woman suffrage, had deceived him; that they had played a trick for political purposes. Who is responsible for this change in the poll of the Democrats, made necessary by the remarks of Senator Benet? I want to say that the statement I made yesterday was based upon the word of not one Democratic Member, but a number of Democratic Members; that there were 31 votes upon that side of the Chamber for the amendment. I wish to say that I have the Democratic poll in my pocket, and as I have, I now make the statements that I do.

Mr. Smith of South Carolina. Mr. President, will the Senator allow me to interrupt him?

Mr. Smoot. Certainly.

Mr. Smith of South Carolina. My colleague [Mr. Benet] has just made a speech. I wish to suggest that while he may have been included in that poll, I was ignorant of his view from the beginning, and in justice to him I want to state that he had never said to any man until this morning where he stood on this matter, and no one had a right to count him in for it or against it.

Mr. Smoot. I thank the Senator for the statement that he has made, and I believe it with all my heart. In fact, I have heard it

stated a number of times that the Senator has never stated to a soul that he was for or against the amendment; and I want to say to the Senator from South Carolina that there is no feeling on my part against the position which his colleague has taken to-day. I simply wanted, first, to correct the statement that I made yesterday, and state that it was based directly upon the statement of the Senator from Nevada.

I did intend yesterday to answer the Senator from Nevada, but I think it is useless to do so. I think that the debate that was indulged in yesterday was unfortunate, it was unwise, it was uncalled for, and it was unjust; but I was sorry yesterday that the Senator from Nevada had undertaken to drag into this question the question of politics when he knew that there was not a man on that side of the Chamber or this side of the Chamber who was in favor of the woman suffrage amendment who had any thought of politics in his mind. I say now that if the amendment is ever carried in the Senate of the United States it will be carried upon the merits of the question and not upon the question as how politics may be affected by it.

I simply wanted to say that much, Mr. President, at this time. It is unfortunate, of course, that we have not the votes to carry this amendment. I am disappointed; yet I am quite sure that Senators are going to vote their sentiments upon this question, whether they be for it or whether they be against it, and will vote what they think to be just and right."

Sectional feeling and race prejudice were played upon in sinister fashion by Hardwick of Georgia and met fearlessly by Vardaman, of Mississippi. There were interruptions on account of agricultural appropriations and on account of the Spanish influenza, and by and by. Key Pittman was back in his seat again challenging Republican good faith. First he quoted Senator Smoot's remarks of an earlier hour and let fly another defy on the strength of it. Senator Smoot had said, it will be recalled:

"Yesterday the Senator tried to make it appear that I in particular and the other Republicans who favor woman suffrage had deceived him; that they had played a trick for political purposes. I want to say that the statement I made yesterday was based upon the word of not one Democratic member, but a number of Democratic members that there were 31 votes upon that side of the Chamber for the amendment."

"Where are we now?" cried Mr. Pittman. "Senator Smoot believed, as he said in that statement, that there were 31 votes on this side of the Chamber for the amendment. Then he knew it would take 33 votes to pass it. When he knew it would take 33 votes to pass it, he said they only had 32. I am happy to know that Senator Smoot believed that."

There is another thing that Senator Smoot believes and will admit, that Mr. Benet, whom we believed we had with us, was an addition to the number we could possibly count at the time the Republicans passed the resolution in caucus. In other words, when Senator Smoot in the caucus of the Republican party on August 24 voted to bring the joint resolution to a vote at once he knew that the Democrats did not have to exceed 30 votes, and he now says he was not certain of more than 32 Republican votes and hoped to get 33. In other words, Senator Smoot voted on August 24 in caucus to bring a

measure to a vote that he knew did not have the votes to pass."

But it wasn't all party politics. An outstanding and redeeming feature was John F. Shafroth. Much of the beauty and the majesty of the ideal might have been consumed in the fire of politics save for him. With sterling honesty, with rugged insistence, he matched red flame with white. Get into fundamentals, he kept insisting, it's a great question of justice and right that is before you—"principles," "rights," "fairness," "the truth"—those were the words that rang through his speech, that was the plane on which he besought favorable action on woman suffrage.

And there was a fine display of idealism when Senator Lenroot of Wisconsin got the floor and read into the *Record* without bias the resolutions of both the Republican and Democratic state conventions of Wisconsin.

MIDNIGHT

Hope seems lost. There are 62 votes for us. Two men stand between America and her full democratization. Our friends on both sides of the Chamber seem to despair. We ourselves are very low in our minds. There is only one man in America who may be able to help now. He has helped many times before. We are about resolved to take our case to him in one last appeal tomorrow.

SEPTEMBER 29

The appeal is on its way from Mrs. Catt to President Wilson. Among other things she said:

"The country and especially the women recognize the need of constant direction of thought and feeling upward and onward. Our country is asking its women to give their all, and upon their voluntary and free offering may depend the outcome of the war. If the Amendment fails, it will take the heart out of thousands of women, and it will be no solace to tell them that 'it is coming.' It will arouse in them a just suspicion that men and women are not co-workers for world freedom, but that women are regarded as mere servitors with no interest or rightful voice in the outcome. The leaders in women's work in the Red Cross, Y. M. C. A., Liberty Loan, Food, are almost without exception women who have been trained to their work in our Association, so that my statement is no idle claim—these women by the thousands feel as we here in Washington feel. If the Amendment wins, it will revitalize women, put new fire and fervor in all they do, enable them to do more.

We hope that you who have proved yourself a miracle worker on many occasions may be able to produce another wonder on Monday—the wonder of putting vision where there was none before."

SEPTEMBER 30

Months ago some of us began insisting that if the President were to address the Senate directly it would have vital effect on those Senators who refused to see in suffrage a war measure. In August, Mrs. Helen H. Gardener, who has long acted as the White House representative of the National Association, sent a letter to President Wilson in which she said:

"If you could feel that the time has come for you to say to Senate and country some of the splendid things you have said to individuals—with the clarity of diction that is yours—it seems to me that even if we fall one or two

votes short, the reaction will surely put those voting against it in an indefensible position 'back home,' and place you and the whole question before the world in the clear light where none can misunderstand."

She was encouraged to do this because she knew exactly what the President had done in a personal and private way in behalf of the amendment. She had been privileged to see the correspondence he had carried on with various Senators, and she knew directly from him that if the personal and private efforts failed he was prepared to use other measures.

To Mrs. Gardener's August letter he replied:

"You may be sure that the suggestions contained in your letter of August 16th will sink in my mind, and that I will keep my eye open for suitable occasions when I may either in the way you suggest or in some other way be influential in bringing about the result we both desire."

IN THE SENATE

It must have been about 12:15 when the Democratic floor leader, Mr. Martin of Virginia, announced that the President desired to address the Senate at 1 o'clock. Then came the secretary's voice announcing that a committee was to escort the President of the United States to the Senate Chamber at 1 o'clock.

Two fine suffrage speeches were made in the interim, one by Senator Jones of Washington (Rep.), the other by Senator Walsh of Montana (Dem.). Both will be quoted extensively in forthcoming issues of the *Woman Citizen*.

It being nearly the hour of 1 o'clock members of the President's Cabinet came in and were escorted to seats assigned to them. Among them were two of the best friends suffrage ever had, Secretary McAdoo and Secretary Daniels.

As the clock hands pointed to 1, the audience rose en masse, save for one man—Reed of Missouri—and the President of the United States entered. It is not often that a President has addressed the legislative bodies of the United States. Washington is reputed to have done it. Wilson has done it before. As Senator Phelan of California later pointed out, any President of the United States is well within his prerogative in doing it. In coming before the Senate in behalf of the Federal Suffrage Amendment President Wilson ran, and knew that he ran, grave risk of being repudiated by the minority of his own party and by the minority of the Republicans, both of whom love to give him lip service as the commander-in-chief of America's war forces and war resources. But Wilson is the sort of man who will take a risk to make a right. Simply, directly, with no flowers of rhetoric and no fire of oratory, as man to man, and speaking more solemnly than even he is wont to speak, he put before them the matchless case and the deathless appeal that are to be found verbatim on another page.

He spoke in spiritual terms to materialists of the densest type. He spoke of "thinking," of "morale," of the "magic of the spirit," of "vision." And he spoke to opponents who know buying and selling, who know "politics," who know sectionalism and prejudice. He spoke as a democrat, and to the Bourbons and Tories below him he might as well have talked in Greek. They faced him in a stolid apathy, on whose sluggish current they will pass into history as the Bonehead Brigade.

(Continued on page 377)



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"H'E'S been sick, he's been sick, that's why he hasn't written!" cried Adela to Mamie, and spent most of that day writing to Mr. Crawley. She had an answer from him within forty-eight hours—"Ev' bit as fat as hers to him," announced Mr. Bowler. After the reconciliation Adela did not go back to Dr. Clafin. She did not seem to need a doctor any more. The town's re-established interest, her own re-established identity were tonic to her.

But Adela had had a lesson. Some unsuspected quality had been developed in her by the town's stand-offishness during the slow weeks when Mr. Crawley had been off the horizon. Now that she had the advantage again she did not again put herself in the town's hands with her old unreserve. Instead, she developed little reticences and a disposition to defend by teasing silences such privacy as was still left her with regard to Mr. Crawley; and she showed quick-flaring and quick-tongued resentments if, led on by her earlier frankness, anyone pressed too far into her confidence.

But there was one man in Wearing whose hunger for facts on which to base opinions had to be satisfied. In his position as postmaster, he was better able to satisfy it than were people less favored by circumstances. "Wish you'd just look up that there Edgar Crawley in the directory," he suggested in late summer, to the Chicago drummer who came to Wearing in February and Augusts. "And you drop me a line." The drummer, his eyes twinkling, promised. He had heard Adela's story in February and as a city man he had his own suspicions as to Mr. Crawley's probable overstatement of his case.

The information that the Chicago drummer reported, hot from the city directory, scorched Wearing. All sorts of hypotheses followed in its wake. It was generally agreed that it was time to do something. Things couldn't go on so haphazardly. Mr. Stringer or Jim Parks would have to go up to Chicago and look into matters, of that Wearing assured itself.

THIS was what the drummer reported: "There are three E. Crawleys. Edwin C. is in secondhand clothes business. Edgar S. is a piano-tuner. The only lawyer is down as E. S. Has office in Monadnock Building. Lives at Oak Park with wife and child. Has reputation of being gay boy."

"You fond of music, ain't you, Miss Adela?" adventured Mr. Bowler, when Adela came in for her mail that day.

"Adore it," said Adela, with the abandon that distinguished most of her utterances when she anticipated that a fellow townsman was about to put her on her mettle with some question that involved Mr. Crawley.

"You and Mr. Crawley got similar tastes, I take it? He musical, too?"

"It's life to him," responded Adela.

In retailing the conversation afterward, Mr. Bowler said it was his candid opinion that Adela should have said a living where she said life. His judgment had fastened, with its customary frank infallibility, upon the piano-tuner.

But there were others who were worrying about the "gay boy" and they went more or less diplomatically to Jim Parks.

The Small Town and Adela

Not a Usual Romance

Part II.

ADELA did not seem to need a doctor any more. The town's re-established interest, her own re-established identity were tonic to her.

"Adela," said Jim Parks, the night of the day that the news from the Chicago city directory broke in Wearing, "I'm thinking about going up to Chicago pretty soon. Wish you'd give me the address of your Mr. Crawley."

"All right," responded Adela promptly. "I'd be glad for you to meet him. He lives at the Chicago Beach mostly. You let me know exactly when you are going so I can get him to arrange to be in town."

But before Jim could get far with his project of going to Chicago there came a smashing blow to Adela's romance. Mr. Crawley had had a relapse and had been taken to the hospital. There was a short letter and following that a telegram which said, "double pneumonia, love; come if you can." It was signed Edgar.

Like many apparently soft women, Adela, backed into a corner by a pursuing fate, developed a certain stiffness of the spinal column with which she had never been credited. The Stringer household fell back before her complete ability to manage her own affairs. "No, I don't need any help with my packing, Mamie—I'd rather look after the ticket myself, Jim—Yes, I'll have plenty of time to get the money from the bank, papa—I want to look after everything myself, thank you." There was no hitch in her arrangements, either. The family came to the station with her and each one separately marveled at her alert capability. "I wouldn't have you go with me for anything, Jim," she said with utter finality to Jim's last lame effort to act as escort. She was visible, sitting erect as a ramrod as the train pulled out of the Wearing station.

It must have been just as she was arriving in Chicago that the next telegram came for her.

It was telephoned to the house and Mamie took the message: "Edgar Crawley near death; your name constantly on his lips." It was signed S. P. Morton. The next telegram was from Adela herself. "Married Edgar; starting home with body; meet four o'clock tomorrow."

Brought into Wearing in his coffin though he was, Edgar Crawley took a live place in the town's regard. It was his happy fate to pass into local history as the most loved and lamented bridegroom ever known in Wearing. Mr. Bowler's insistence on the piano-tuner was withdrawn. The "gay boy" hypothesis was forsaken shame-facedly. Few men, even after long and upright lives devoted to communal affairs, leave behind them so stimulating a train of memories as did Mr. Crawley. Men envied

him for the amount of attention bestowed upon him. The few who had not had the privilege of viewing "the remains" in the Stringer parlor on that momentous night when Adela arrived from Chicago, found it necessary to pretend that they had. Not to have seen them put one virtually beyond the pale of Wearing. Nearly everybody in Wearing could recall, too, having seen Adela at Mr. Crawley's coffin. "Never was a man so taken on over as he was. Not that Miss Adela, Mrs. Crawley as is, was noisy 'tall. But she felt it. You could see that."

As a matter of fact, nobody had seen Adela at Mr. Crawley's coffin. She had insisted upon going in unattended except by Dr. Clafin and Dr. Clafin had looked away. It was true that Adela was not noisy in her grief. That grief had been admirably contained. Her restraint, her dignity had been impressive. More impressively still, she had, seemingly, stood before the coffin with a sense of the large impersonal significance of death. Raising her dream-burdened eyes from the coffin, she had stared out through the window upon the twilight spaces of Wearing with a new consciousness on her face. "I hope, oh I hope, that it is all right with you, if you know, wherever you are!" she had murmured, her eyes again seeking Mr. Crawley's face. Then she had turned to Dr. Clafin. "It takes death to make life real," she had said, with the utmost quiet.

After the funeral Wearing became convinced that the girl was "going to decline." Certainly she did fall into a peculiarly lax condition. "I am tired. It was a strain," was all she would say.

"YOU are going to be all right as soon as you find yourself, Adela," Dr. Clafin told her one day.

"Find myself," murmured Adela. "Where am I to look? I am buried under unreal things."

"It was an unreal experience, Adela. But keep trying to get hold of the real. There is a real world, you know, beyond your thought world, beyond your thought of Mr. Crawley." From the beginning Dr. Clafin had been careful to cast no wanton reflections on Mr. Crawley as a person, but she sometimes seemed rather offhandedly to stand him up as an idea and look right through him. "You yourself said, Adela, that it takes death to make life real."

And another time Dr. Clafin said, "Your capacity for bravery, your sense of adventure, that's part of the real. We must get something still more substantial out of it, Adela."

"How very funny," said Adela, "that you should say such things. Me brave?"

"You are a brave, a daring creature, Adela."

"I'd like to know what you really think," said Adela after a long and thoughtful pause.

"I think that on the whole you did the best thing."

"You mean in marrying as I did?"

"I mean in carrying the thing through as you did."

The girl slipped down on her pillow. She looked both scared and relieved. "Dr. Kate," she began at last, "did you ever have cases like mine before?"

"Yes, Adela, something like it."

A GIRL nearly dies in a little town like this, Dr. Kate. It's her bringing up. It gets her mind full of just one thing, marrying. And when there isn't anybody to marry—it's really terrible, Dr. Kate. A girl who isn't pretty suffers like anything. Her mind gets as full of things as a pretty girl's and life won't keep up. It got to where I just had to have a beau, Dr. Kate."

"I understand, Adela. And you were so brave about it! And what imagination! It conquered your timidity, it conquered all your old foolish inhibitions. You grew capable. You developed self-confidence. You learned to meet abstract situations and practical details. You must not lose what you have gained from this, Adela. It must go into your making—"

Now that she had begun Adela had to go far. "I wrote myself the letters, Dr. Kate, disguised my hand. It was a maid, Sallie Ross, at the boarding-house who mailed them. I'd send them to her and she'd mail them back. I paid her to do it. Once she went on a visit to Kansas City and I had to move Mr. Crawley out there. And then she got sick. That was when Mr. Crawley and I were supposed to be quarreling. I was going to let go of him then, but Mamie and the town together—I just couldn't keep from beginning again when Sallie wrote me she was up again and had gotten back to Chicago and could attend to my letters. And then the town began to get suspicious and Jim was going to Chicago and I had to close things up some way. I found that body in a Chicago morgue. He was a tramp killed by a train. It was hard to go through that part of it. But I was desperate and I did somehow."

"Adela, what has been bothering me ever since the funeral is this: suppose some wife or some mother is waiting for him somewhere? The people he belonged to might have come along and claimed the body if you hadn't taken him away."

"No, Dr. Kate, no. I asked all about that. He was to be buried, nameless, in a potter's

AND there I stood with life wide open all around me, able to go anywhere and reach out all sorts of ways, and yet I was keeping myself in a coffin, too. It's been getting clearer and clearer to me. I am going back tomorrow and get ready to work.

field right away. He couldn't have been more lost than that to the people he might have belonged to, could he? They would never have found him. Oh, I suppose there was some risk. But I took it. I dared something. It was a part of what I started out to do. I—I can't be sorry that I did it, Dr. Kate, so far as I am concerned, and I don't think I did any harm to him. But there is one thing that is worrying me—ought I to tell the town? I got something out of the town, you know, under false pretenses. I got it to be interested in me and to talk to me and know that I was living."

LOOKING at her and past her, Dr. Claflin wondered if the town had not perhaps gotten as much out of Adela as Adela had gotten out of it. It had had a nice romance and had enjoyed it. She saw the gasp of incomprehension with which Wearing would take Adela's revelation. She saw the ethereal structure of Adela's dream buffeted by the strong winds of ridicule. She saw on beyond the town to the incomprehension with which the country at large would take it. It was the sort of story that would flash the land over. And hardly anybody would understand. To the laity Adela would be merely a fool. To the doctors she would be merely pathological. Here and there some wise person might get the exigent normality of life and womanhood that was responsible for Adela's rickety pretense. But that would be all. She answered slowly. "Adela, I don't know what the moral of all this is, but I do know this:

You are a strong woman. You don't have to make me settle your problem for you."

Adela was up and dressed when Dr. Claflin called next day. "I've settled my problem," was the girl's greeting. She was on the floor beside her trunk and she stayed there a moment to lift some neat piles of underclothing into the lower tray while she answered Dr. Claflin's questions about her strength, her headache, her facial muscles.

"No, I don't feel nervous. No, not much weak. Plenty strong enough to do what I am going to do."

"And what's that, Adela?"

ADELA got up from the floor then and came over to the window where Dr. Kate had seated herself. "It's true what you said, Dr. Kate. I can't go on inside of myself just reading and mooning and dreaming and pretending. You said it and the man in the coffin made me feel it. Dead like that, he made me feel what it means or could mean to be alive. I suddenly got it. There he was, all that was left of him in that small space, not touching things outside of his coffin at all. And there I stood with life wide open all around me, able to go anywhere and reach out all sorts of ways, and yet I was keeping myself in a coffin, too. It's been getting clearer and clearer to me. I am going back to Chicago tomorrow and get ready to work. And about telling the town—I have thought a good deal about that—about picking him up in the morgue and all. Well, it was no discredit to him to bring him here the way I did, I guess. He had honor in death, whatever he had in life. Maybe he never had so much attention before. And to turn about now and make a laughing-stock of him? No, I can't do it. A little something more is due him since I got him into it. I am not going to tell the town."

Dr. Claflin sighed contentedly. "I think myself you have told the town enough," she said.

THE END.

Our Own Congressional Record

(Continued from page 375)

That was not all that he did. At the last hour of all while Cummins of Iowa giped and jeered at the "wilful 33," mostly Democrats, who were blocking this feature of the President's war program, Mr. Wilson sent a personal appeal to three or four men of his party to urge them to come to the aid of the measure. These appeals were received on the floor of the Senate.

And the Bonthead Brigade sat on immovable. Immovable, they voted this measure to defeat. Immovable, they repudiated the President.

Woodrow Wilson stands today before America and the world for a flawless democracy. The voters of the country, men and women, can be relied on to take care of the Bonthead Brigade in due season.

Before the roll call a brilliant pro-suffrage speech was made by Senator Phelan of California, which will be submitted to our readers in another issue. So, too, will be submitted many sidelights on the situation.

Long before the final roll call we knew that we had not won. But we knew, too, that we stood in winning company and that victory would yet be ours.

R. Y.

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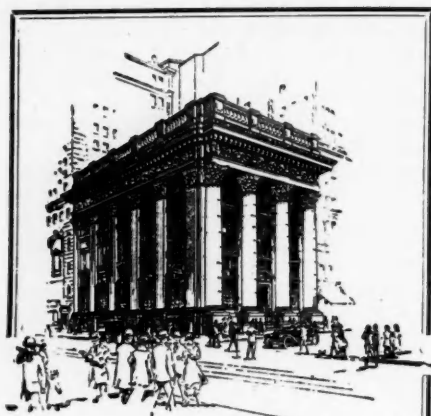
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First Aid to Booth Captains

By Clara F. Porter

Of The Guaranty Trust Company, New York

SELLING bonds is much like selling shoes or candy or any other commodity. Selling Liberty bonds is easier than selling anything else in the world from one point of view and perhaps more difficult than anything else from another. It is easy to sell Liberty bonds in that, unlike most articles sold, it is not necessary for the volunteer bond seller to create desire on the part of the purchaser. Everybody wants to own a Liberty bond and nearly everybody, as the volunteer discovers sooner or later, has bought one by this time. It is for the reason that there are innumerable people who will smilingly assert that they have already bought more than they can afford that Liberty bond selling is difficult.

The real job put up to us by the United States Government, especially in the Fourth Liberty Loan, is to create INTENSE DESIRE to buy more bonds. The volunteer must make her goods so attractive that the buying public will want to practice thrift and will want to make sacrifices in order to buy more bonds. And the Committee in this campaign, no less than in the previous campaigns, will be confronted with the problem of how to make super-saleswomen out of the great army of volunteers who drift in and out of Liberty Loan headquarters. Such must be the purpose of any instruction classes to teach volunteers how to sell bonds, and such, in a small measure, must be the purpose of an article such as this.

SALESMANSHIP is not an exact profession like engineering or accounting. It is impossible to lay down hard and fast rules for selling anything. Probably there are as many methods employed in selling as there are different personalities among salesmen. The technique of salesmanship, after all, is largely psychological and highly intricate. Nevertheless, certain fundamentals, however obvious they may be to most persons, may well be emphasized. Very briefly these fundamentals are two: namely, Facts and Tact. The superwoman must know her goods thoroughly. For practical purposes this means being able to perform the clerical duties in connection with a sale, as well as knowing all there is to be known about Liberty bonds. This information should be the bond seller's mental background. She should not, of course, tell all she knows. In fact, in ninety-nine cases out of one hundred it is neither necessary nor advisable to talk about the technical features of the bonds. In every case, however, it is necessary to know exactly how applications and receipts should be made out. It should be remembered, however, that the hundredth man or woman will be sure to stop at the booth at some time and ask some such question as any of the following:

Why have the bonds of the First Liberty Loan sold so much higher than the subsequent issues? Are the Fourth Liberty Loan bonds convertible? Are they tax exempt? What is a Sinking Fund? Should I have my bonds registered? Why is it unpatriotic to sell your Liberty bonds?

The volunteer bond seller who knows her goods can answer offhand these and many other questions. In every case, however, she will

supply only the information which her tact or intuition tells her the individual purchaser desires to have given.

Information and tact all volunteer bond sellers should possess. Booth captains should have, in addition, one other qualification. They should be promoters. Given an enthusiastic captain with a large circle of friends and the success of the booth is a foregone conclusion.

DURING the Second Liberty Loan nearly half a million dollars of bonds were sold at one of the smaller hotels. At this booth the captain appointed six of her friends sub-captains, each one in charge for one day a week. The sub-captain in charge on Mondays in turn appointed several helpers, as did all the others for their respective days. The captain was always at the booth early in the morning and late at night and at many intervals throughout the day. She encouraged her friends to meet her at the hotel. She arranged to have tea there. She and her sub-captains were informally "at home" at the booth to all their friends. At any hour of the day a gay little group of people was centered around the booth and there was usually one person occupying a very comfortable chair in the act of signing an application. In fact, there often appeared to be a line waiting to occupy that comfortable chair. This captain made a special effort to gain the co-operation of the manager of the hotel, who in turn showed her many courteous attentions. Of course, it is obvious that she had a rare genius for organization. However, her plans were so simple and so effective that they might easily be adopted in practically all booths.

All different kinds and descriptions of women have asked me during the previous loans, "Do you think I could sell Liberty bonds?" My answer has always been the same. "Yes, emphatically yes, if you have enthusiasm. If you can forget yourself entirely, lose all self-consciousness and think only of the bonds and the person to whom you expect to sell them."

It is not a difficult thing to do in these days. A greater part of our leisure time we are all thinking of the things that Liberty bonds may be said to symbolize. And as we become accustomed to think and act in terms of winning the war we unconsciously have a greater interest in the different people with whom we daily come in contact. Of all the patriotic service work that women are undertaking so gladly I can think of none which will reward the worker more richly than selling Liberty bonds. Thousands of women in our different cities during the Liberty Loan campaign are gaining quite as much in experience as they give. For the first time in their lives many are learning accurate business methods. They are having a wonderful opportunity to study human nature at first hand and are making unexpected friendships. Moreover, great numbers are beginning to practice what they preach, and thrift and economy, which in past years have been looked upon as unattractive virtues, are becoming popular as a vital means of winning the war.

Your War Account

BY JOHN PRICE JONES

A GREAT many people spend more money than they need to spend simply because they do not know from day to day how much money they actually are spending. The experience of a great many successful business men has proved that a simple system of setting aside the surplus in your check book will solve your problem in a very satisfactory manner. This system for our present purposes should be described as the war account. If you are earning enough to permit a surplus in the bank above immediate needs, open a war account in your check book. When you receive your salary, or your income, meet your current debts, allow for a necessary working balance at the bank, then deduct immediately from your regular account as large an amount as you possibly can and place this to the credit of your war account, kept in a parallel column in your check book.

Keeping your regular balance down in this manner to current needs prevents wasteful spending. It may seem in a way superficial, and yet in thousands of cases it has proved itself in practice that if a man looks at his regular account and finds that it is low he will refrain from some expenditure which he would make if there were in his regular bank account a substantial balance over immediate needs. Your war account should be regarded as an account of honor held in trust for the war uses of the Government and drawn upon only to meet taxes, payments on Liberty bonds, or War Savings Stamps, or Y. M. C. A. or Red Cross, or some definite Government purpose. Whether you have a bank account or not, your surplus over immediate needs belongs to your Government.

The time for arguing with American people about the advisability and necessity of lending money to the Government has very properly passed. It may be safely assumed that the great majority of the American people realize that the real truth of the matter is that in war time income does not really belong absolutely to the individual. The individual receives it in trust, every dollar of it, subject to the superior war needs of the Government. What is necessary for health and efficiency must be spent, the balance belongs, until victory is won, to the men at the front.

OF course, every one realizes the personal advantage of thrift as a basis for the building of success. There are some people to whom this argument appeals very substantially even in these critical times. While the needs of the Government and of our men in France and on the high seas settle the question with most of us as to whether or not we should lend our money and as to how much we should lend, there is still a very natural realization at the back of our minds that all this money put into Liberty bonds is the accumulation of a reserve which is the first essential step to personal success in a business way. Many men are buying Liberty bonds and War Savings Stamps for their children to give them that little start in life which sometimes makes all the difference between success or failure, or at least between small success and success in a bigger way. The public will probably never have again such an opportunity as is offered today through the medium of Government securities, paying a

Women, who will take such an important part in the Reconstruction following the war, will find in the third issue of

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good interest and available in small denominations within the reach of every purse. While the patriotic impulse is the predominating and all-sufficient one at this time, it is perfectly proper to have in mind that the men who will be successful in the future are those who are intelligent enough to take advantage of this opportunity to place their savings in Liberty bonds and War Savings Stamps.

WHATEVER the immediate motive, however, the greater spirit behind it is going to be more and more the determining factor in the success of this great branch of war endeavor. In order to give to the Government the money it needs, we must not save spasmodically; we must actually consecrate ourselves to the saving of dollars and labor and materials. Only in this way can we hasten the day of victory and thus avoid the needless expenditure of the lives of our fighting men. We must save persistently and greatly in order that our sacrifice may even remotely approach the sacrifice they are making. It means constant watchfulness; constant self-restraint. It is not going to be entirely easy at all times, but, after all, our part is so much easier than their part that there can be no question of our ultimate success in this great undertaking; and when saving begins to seem hard let us smile over it, as perhaps those fighting men would smile if they thought for a moment we could not do it.

The Liberty Loans, as many of them as may be necessary until victory is won, will undoubtedly be as successful in the future as they have been in the past. The one great essential step which must be taken, however, to insure the overwhelming success which the American public demands of itself, is that the nation should go on a budget basis, that every family, every man and woman should go on a budget basis, that the great spirit of democracy, which has found its spokesman in our President, and which has awakened the people of all the great nations of the Allies to a higher realization of

the objects for which they and we are fighting, should be applied to our personal lives, day after day, and translated into effective action for winning the war. We must bring our spirit of victory home to our own lives through personal sacrifice, through the avoidance of unnecessary expenditure, the elimination of extravagance, and through the intelligent saving which will insure a healthy business and financial nation and at the same time produce the necessary money—the necessary labor and materials—speedily enough to prevent the waste of human life and guarantee an early victory.

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JOHN P. TOLSON.

A SIDE from the obvious fact that to be patriotic we should invest in Liberty Loan bonds, because this helps our country and the Government asks us to do so, there are many peculiarly excellent reasons why women should invest in this security.

Indeed, that word "security" is itself one of the chief reasons. Never before in the history of the world has so secure an investment been offered freely and widely to the public.

Of the leading nations of the world, the United States has the smallest proportionate debt with the largest resources. It occupies, also, the fortunate position of being a country which, while it has developed many large, basic and profitable industries, is, nevertheless, an agricultural one and one which has within its borders practically all the raw materials necessary to maintain and increase both its population and its industries.

The national wealth of the United States is estimated to be \$250,000,000,000; the annual income of its people about \$40,000,000,000, while the public debt at the beginning of this fiscal year was \$12,500,000,000. What these figures mean is that, considered as the security of a corporation, they show that the United States could pay its debt twenty times over out of its assets; that the nation's income is eighty times the interest on the bonds; and that in any one year the people of the country could cancel the entire debt by devoting to it less than one-third of their incomes. The Issuer has had a prosperous and steadily increasing business for over 130 years and has always met all obligations promptly and in full.

O NLY a little over one-half of our national debt, moreover, represents any burden upon this country, since about \$5,000,000,000 of it has been loaned in turn by the Government to our Allies, who will eventually repay it.

To women, the question of the security of both the principal and interest of an investment is of utmost importance, since, in the majority of cases they, and often their family, are dependent on the moneys so invested. To them, the Liberty Loan offers a complete assurance of income with safety of principal.

The amount of income is also an important consideration. The rate of interest on the Fourth Liberty Loan is 4¼%, which is a comparatively large return for so safe an investment. Only a great war could have brought about such a chance. Usually the bonds of the United States Government sell upon a basis

An Investment for Women

By Eleanor Kerr

Statistician of Imbrie & Co., Bankers

which gives only two to three per cent. on the investment, and the bonds of well-known and prosperous corporations seldom sell in normal times upon a larger income yield than 4 per cent.

A NOTHER side to investments is the choosing of them in such a way that there will be an increase of principal due to appreciation of them on the market. All financial authorities are agreed that the United States Liberty Loan bonds will increase in value when normal conditions are re-established. History—both former and recent—shows us this. After the Civil War the price of war bonds issued by the Government steadily increased until the 4% bonds finally were selling around 130; that is, they were worth a third more in the market than their face value. The bonds of the first Liberty Loan have been selling above par for some time. It is true that the rise is slight and due to their being tax free, but it indicates the same tendency.

In recent years this country has come to feel that its greatest future lies in the establishment of industries on a scale which shall make the country more prosperous, through the development and utilization of our enormous supplies of raw material and water power, both for home and foreign trade.

To develop any industry on a large scale, huge sums of money are required and in only a limited number of cases were these sums provided prior to June, 1917.

The Liberty Loans raised, whether used by our Government or loaned to our Allies, have been almost entirely spent in this country and have been directly applied to the financing of great industrial enterprises. These enterprises at first glance would seem to be entirely for war purposes, but modern methods of warfare require so many diversified articles that a very large proportion of "War" material is material which, when the war ceases, is used by, or is applicable to, the normal life of the country. The end of the war should find us and our Allies as a whole the possessors of great industrial plants whose output is either in itself a most desirable addition to our lives in times of peace, or factories which can be converted readily to the production of articles of peace consumption.

The great machine shops created for the manufacture of munitions; the great advance

made in the production of textiles; of tanks and motor trucks; of aircraft and the many other developments of the last three years, will remain after the attainment of peace.

Such great investments and work on such a large scale would not have taken place except for the stimulus of war, nor can they take place without the money to invest in their creation and the purchase of their output.

The Liberty Loans are one of the chief means through which the United States is financing the greatest industrial development the world has ever seen, but to the investor instead of a risk always attendant on financing of industries, the Government offers its own bond, the safest investment in the world.

Stage Women's War Relief

O NE of the most result-productive features of the Fourth Liberty Loan drive in New York City will be the miniature theatre to be erected on the terrace of the Public Library facing Fifth Avenue, by the Stage Women's War Relief, of which Miss Ray Cox is chairman and Miss Wheeler vice-chairman.

Here, on behalf of the new loan, will take place a continuous program of speeches, vaudeville and entertainment of varied nature to attract the attention of the public to the loan and to arouse and maintain enthusiasm for the drive. This site has always been a strategic position for anything of the sort, and here, during the last drive, one woman alone sold \$2,000,000 worth of Liberty bonds. For this campaign a schedule of acts with so much "push" in it is promised that the drive will have little trouble in going victoriously over the top. On the stage of the little theatre the best-known stars of the stage will appear, much foreign talent, as well as a number of other entertainers such as cartoonists and musicians of note.

In addition to the stationary theatre at the Library plaza, there will also be a traveling theatre which will be driven around the city, covering an enormous territory, and stopping at various points to allow the speakers and entertainers to do their duty.



Correspondence



Alien Wives and Loyal Women

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

YOUR interest in the condition of the denaturalized, disfranchised women who have become such automatically through marriage to alien husbands assures me of your assistance in obtaining the names of those women who wish to regain their American citizenship.

Our British sisters have recently secured a unanimous vote in the House of Commons for a bill removing the disability of British women who have married unnaturalized aliens, and prescribing the form of procedure by which a British woman might, after due application, regain her own nationality.

Congressman Jeanette Rankin introduced early in the present Congress a bill drawn by me to do the same thing for American women that the House of Commons has done for British women. In December last we had hearings before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization of the House of Representatives in favor of this bill. National organizations representing 7,000,000 women stand for this measure, and no woman spoke against it. Nevertheless, the bill was tabled and still sleeps in Committee.

Meanwhile, women who are spies are gaining American nationality by marriage to American citizens, while our own loyal American women are powerless to achieve that privilege.

Will the women who wish to regain their American nationality please write to me forcibly as to why they wish the bill passed, and will every woman voter write to her Congressman and Senator in favor of the bill—thus bringing to bear a pressure that will resurrect this measure and give hope of favorable action?

Hoping for an early response,

(MRS.) ELLEN SPENCER MUSSEY,
Chairman Committee Legal Status of Women,
National Council of Women.
1317 New York Avenue, Washington, D. C.

OUR attention has been called to the reported case of Margaret Voorhees, a German spy, who confessed to having married Voorhees, an American chauffeur, to obtain American citizenship.

An article in the *Survey* speaks of "ludicrous scenes in the police departments on several occasions recently when American women who had never been abroad, who were fervent patriots and leaders in all sorts of war enterprises, had to write themselves down alien enemies because years ago they committed the indiscretion of getting married to unnaturalized Germans."—Editors.

Who Represents Alabama?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

I enclose a copy of a letter to Hon. Oscar W. Underwood, Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.:

DEAR SIR: In view of the fact that Alabama in the late primary, decided adversely to the views you expressed in your addresses throughout the state, may it not be in-

ferred that in your opposition in the Senate to the submission to the states for their approval or rejection of the Susan B. Anthony amendment to the Federal Constitution, you no longer represent the wishes of the majority of the voters of this state?

In the late primary—thanks to the tactics of the liquor and allied interests, who hoped that linking the suffrage question with that of prohibition, would aid them in defeating the adoption of the latter—both these questions were up for consideration and though the suffrage question was not formally presented to the voters to be acted upon, it was just as truly passed upon by them, and this fact should have its weight with you, if you wish to fully represent the expressed will of the voters of Alabama.

The great majority of the leaders and representatives of the political parties as now represented in the Senate and House, favor the passage through the Senate of the proposed suffrage amendment; how then can you consistently continue to oppose the passage of this measure in view of the address you made a short time since in the Senate, favoring the rule of the majority?

Permit me to commend that address for your perusal and then join those who see ahead, a world made safe for democracy by the nations which put their trust in the full application of democratic principles.

E. Q. NORTON.

Mobile, Ala.

New Presbyterian Methods

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

"I WAS much interested in the article, 'The Women Preacher' (issue of August 24, page 257), emanating from Miss Minnie Ellet. I happened to be at the time in the 'hay fever refuge' of northern Michigan, and read the article referred to a Presbyterian friend (I always have my CITIZEN follow me), and together we discussed it. She gave me the information that proved to me that Presbyterians, conservative as they have ever been, are 'putting off the old and putting on the new' methods—getting a vision, as it were, as well as a new version of predestination regarding the status of Presbyterian women.

"Verily, 'the world do move' even in the Presbyterian pulpit, for our informant says that Mrs. Henry Shire, who formerly lived at Clarksville, Tenn., has been regularly installed as 'Stated Supply,' with consent of the Presbytery, in the flourishing Presbyterian church of Concord, Michigan, to serve in the absence of her husband, who was pastor of the church, but who is now serving 'Uncle Sam' as a Y. M. C. A. secretary in France. It is said that Mrs. Shire is rendering efficient service as minister, and her congregations are delighted. She is an ideal pastor.

"Why is it, then, that women who are specially trained and equipped for just such work are not placed in charge of the hundreds of vacant pulpits, made so by the war?"

CARRIE D. HAGEMAN.

Muncie, Indiana.

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Books and Reading

PRESIDENT WILSON's Liberty Loan speech in New York City on September 27 gives point and emphasis to the foresight of the editors of *Books and Reading* (New Church Press, 3 West 29th street, New York City) in devoting one of the magazine's "occasional issues" to the question of "the rational road to peace." It is in the light of the terms laid down in the President's program and in the spirit of the review's caption that peace can be discussed at present. At the top of the title page is the confession of faith of the editors: "Win the war conclusively. Beware the cry 'Peace!' 'Peace!' when there is no peace."

An opening poem by Eden Phillpotts "to the pacifists" reminds them that it will not be a desire for vengeance by the nations of the earth that shall punish Germany, but the invincible law of cause and effect. No matter how earnestly the Allies desire to be generous, Germany will suffer the poison of the "inexorable cancer" of remorse:

"For destiny hath willed that none may meet
The spiritual reckoning of his neighbor's soul.
And paths Germania planned for other feet
Her own shall tread unto the fatal goal.
The lustral wave shall flow; the fire must burn
Ere living, procreating peace return."

Rose L. Fritz SCHOOL

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Yet, some time, argue these editors, the nations are going to sit down and consider peace terms, and it behooves thoughtful people to know what are the historical examples and what the possible philosophical ideals of peace. It is to a full table that these generous writers have invited their guests. Fundamental to the discussion is Professor Walter Alison Phillips' "Historical Survey of Projects of Universal Peace."

This presents a cinema of peace ideals and their progenitors. It shows the reader the "Grand Design" which Sully ascribes to Henry IV. of France—a design, by the way, instigated to do away with the House of Hapsburg. It recalls the forgotten dreams of Napoleon, the Abbé de St. Pierre, of Alexander I. of Russia, of Immanuel Kant.

One cannot say that the survey is not somewhat disheartening, as it somehow suggests that the dreams for the League of Nations, which seem so rosy now, are but repetitions of what brilliant souls have for generations hoped.

Professor Thorstein Veblen, of the University of Missouri, and a member of the Food Administration, follows with a discussion of the "Conditions of a Lasting Peace."

But it is in the article of John Spargo, in G. Lowes Dickinson's "Democratic Control of Foreign Policy," in James John Garth Wilkinson's "Patriotism as the Love of National Good," and in George D. Herron's "Woodrow Wilson and the World Peace," that America's possible contribution to a stable peace when the war shall have been fought to its end, becomes articulated.

Concerning Mr. Wilson's war utterances in the Senate, this last writer has the profoundest admiration. His article is interpretive rather than polemical, and he has this to say in appreciation of the President's policies: "I believe that the future—perhaps ransomed from our terrible present by his initiative—will hold Woodrow Wilson to have been the world's first international statesman. There is already forming, as a result of his insistence, and for the first time in history, a body of international public opinion."

It is this concluding essay which so closely binds this entire review of the "rational road to peace" into one bundle with the President's speech of September 27.

A Primer for Voters

MRS. JEAN H. NORRIS, attorney at law, has written a real first aid to voters—any voters, new or old, male or female. It is a voters' primer and wastes no time on discursive platitudes; it tells just what every New York elector needs to know, where and when he or she is to register and vote and what procedure to follow.

Its title, *Do you Know How to Vote?* is fully justified. After studying this little pamphlet, published for the Law Committee of the Democratic County Committee of New York County, 145 East 14th street, no one can have the slightest excuse for not knowing exactly what to do. It is not only that he who runs may read, but he who mends may read, so clear and direct are Mrs. Norris's directions.

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For the Woman of Leisure

A BOOK for first voters which underestimates Women's political acumen is *The New Voter* (G. P. Putnam's Sons), by Charles Willis Thompson. The chapters first appeared serially in the *New York Times* and were written on the supposition that all serious information whatsoever must be served up to women in spoonfuls and diluted with personalities. This means, of course, a considerable waste of time and the modern woman infinitely prefers tabloids to froth.

There is a great deal of somewhat interesting political gossip in Mr. Thompson's book, some real information and much reading matter—pleasant reading, at that. The leisure woman, if there is such a woman in this second year of America's part in the war, will doubtless gain from its pages a fund of particularized information concerning the intricacies of politics as practiced by highly specialized male politicians. In the 340 pages of the book she will not find many concrete facts of immediate usefulness.

Standing with the President

(Continued from page 367)

"The great Democratic organization of Cook County has been the pioneer in granting them to her. On the central managing committee of that organization women now sit as committee members, with the same authority and voting power as men.

"The Democratic party of Illinois expresses its pride and satisfaction that a portion of its organization has been the first to confer real political rights upon woman. It demands that legislation shall immediately be enacted which shall enable women to vote for and hold the same offices as man. It asks for the immediate enactment of the constitutional amendment now before the United States Senate and it pledges itself to throw its organized strength behind the adoption of that amendment, when it is submitted for ratification to the various states.

"It endorses the stand that its United States Senator, James Hamilton Lewis, has taken on the question of equal suffrage for women, and urges him to further efforts in the same cause."

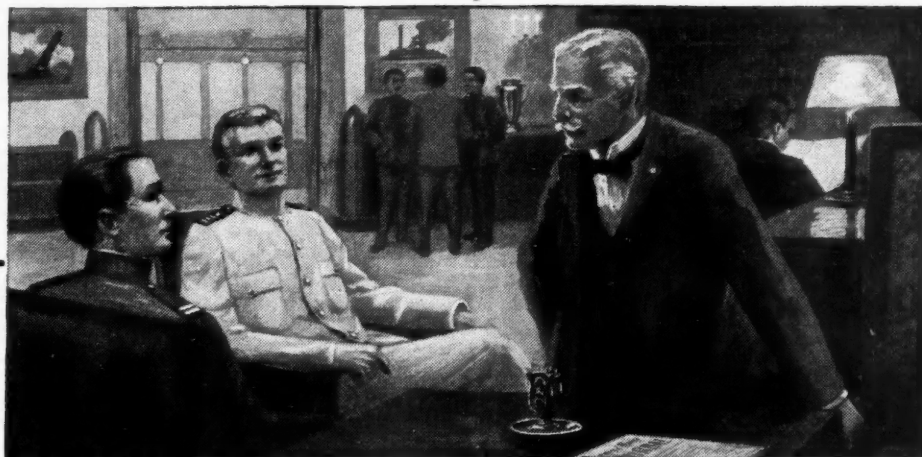
The Republican federal amendment plank reads:

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Suffrage War Messages—No. 5

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The Last Word About the War

And How Colonel Sibley Was Helped to Write It

SCENE: (Army and Navy Club, New York, where Commander Ellsworth, U. S. N., and Captain Trowbridge, U. S. A., are having a conference and an after-dinner cigar in the Club Library and are joined by Colonel Sibley, U. S. A., retired)

The Colonel: Well, comrades, I win!

The Commander: Been fighting again, Colonel? Who says you're retired?

Colonel: I was retired, but now I'm in action again or soon will be, and this time with the pen instead of the sword.

Captain: How's that?

Colonel: (Drawing closer to the table and glancing around): Well, comrades, I don't mind telling you in confidence that I just signed up with the Editor-in-Chief of a big magazine (name censored for the present) to write a series of articles on the Great War.

Commander: Tell us about it.

Colonel: Well, it's going to be a long campaign. The Editor, whom I have just left, wants an extended series of articles, to begin with an exhaustive survey of the causes which led up to the War.

Captain: The causes? All of them? Well, you've sure got your work laid out for you.

Commander: I should say you had.

Colonel: The Editor feels that way

himself. He's now concerned chiefly about what has happened up-to-date and the authority upon which my statements will be based. The Editor's a big gun in the business, you know, and his rivals will be getting his range if he exposes himself. He wants to secure a strategic position so that he can't be successfully attacked on anything he prints.

Captain: Well, what did you suggest?

Colonel: I'll tell you. While he was talking I was thinking and I finally told him that what he wanted as a reserve-force was some late general reference work of recognized reliability that he could fall back on. "That's it," he said, and then asked: "Which one?"

Commander: (Turning his head and glancing at a set of *The New International Encyclopaedia* in its special case): I'll bet I can tell which one you named.

Captain: (Glancing at the set): Ours, of course.

Colonel: You're both good guessers. Of course I named *The New*

International and the Editor nodded his head and said: "That's the very work I had in mind, not only as an authority on the causes of the War and what has already happened, but when peace comes I hear the publishers are to bring the war-volume down to date at once and are to send it to all subscribers in exchange for the war-volume now in their possession so they'll know the last word about the conflict."

Commander: Well, that settled it, I suppose.

Colonel: Yes, I told the Editor that the selection of *The New International* as our authority simplified the problem and he added that it not only simplified the articles, but solidified them and made them so authoritative that he would be able to follow out with safety his plan to publish the series of articles in book form.

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The chosen, frozen man:
The pilot, the man-at-the-wheel,
Whose limit is all that he can,
And beyond, if the need is real!
Hey ho! For the man!

(3)
This is the song of the gun—
The muttering, stuttering gun,
The maddening, gladdening gun:
That chuckles with evil glee
At the last long dive of the Hun,
With its end in eternity!
Hey ho! For the gun!

(4)
This is the song of the air—
The lifting, drifting air,
The eddying, steadying air,
The wine of its limitless space:
May it nerve us at last to dare
Even death with undaunted face!
Hey ho! For the air!

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THE Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S NATIONAL POLITICAL WEEKLY

10 Cents a Copy

October 12, 1918



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THE WOMAN CITIZEN

Founded June 2, 1917

Published every Saturday by

The WOMAN CITIZEN CORPORATION
at 171 Madison Avenue, New York

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VOL. III OCTOBER 12, 1918 No. 20

PUBLISHED by the Woman Citizen Corporation, in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

The directors of the Corporation are Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, and Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore.

Alice Stone Blackwell is a special contributing editor.

Rose Young is the editor-in-chief.

Mary Ogden White, Mary Sumner Boyd, and Rose Lawless Geyer are associate editors.

Our Circulation Story

IF anything has been needed to stir up the fighting blood of the suffrage hosts, the Senate supplied it on October 1, when it refused to stand by the President in his fight for democracy. Instead of being discouraged by the temporary setback, suffragists are more determined than ever to keep up the fight for the attainment of the ideals for which America is fighting in France and for which President Wilson fights so valiantly at home. The coming months will see a greater concentration of suffrage energy than ever before.

This spirit is reflected in the letters that have poured into suffrage headquarters since the action of the Senate. "On with the fight," writes Mrs. H. W. Maier, of New Britain, Connecticut.

The campaign which the *Woman Citizen* has conducted on behalf of the Amendment will be carried on with even greater intensity during the coming weeks. For this reason the *Woman's National Political Weekly* will be an even greater necessity to the large army of women who are carrying on for democracy.

"There is a strong demand for the *Woman Citizen* and its influence is ever on the increase," writes Lenora C. Scott from Kittery Point, Maine.

From Mrs. Roselle C. Cooley, of Jacksonville, Florida, we receive similar praise. She tells us the pages of the *Citizen* are informing to women and anticipates that soon we will all be voters. And we will, if every suffragist in the country sees to it that her Senators know how universal is this demand for equal suffrage.

"Every one likes the *Woman Citizen* that has an opportunity to get acquainted with it," is the way Mrs. Henry C. Glasner of Nashville, Tennessee, sums up our good points. Let us all conspire to see that scores and hundreds have an opportunity to get acquainted with our own official organ. Every reader is an active suffrage worker. So on with a widespread campaign of publicity for the political weekly which is fighting a valiant fight on the side of true democracy.

"I shall never desert the *Woman Citizen*. Congratulations on its value," is the message we receive from Anna B. Stirling, Philadelphia, Pa.

Iowa is elated over attaining first place in the circulation contest, and intends to keep it. "I watch the contest each week and rejoice to see Iowa in the lead," writes Mrs. Fred A. Patterson,

of Sioux City, as she encloses a half dozen new subscriptions.

We tell no secrets, but we do not hesitate to say that developments of surprising interest are brewing.

ROSE LAWLESS GEYER,
National Circulation Chairman.

STATE CIRCULATION CHAIRMEN

Alabama: Miss Minnie Woodall, Pinson
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Circulation Contest

1. A pledge will constitute an entry.
2. No entries will be accepted after December 1, 1918.
3. Contest closes January 1, 1919.
4. In case of a tie for any one premium, the prize will be awarded to each qualifying contestant.
5. Only actual paid subscriptions will be counted in the awarding of premiums.

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To the County Association that sends in the highest numbers over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the State Association, and would help to swell the state's total.

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To the Local Club that sends in the highest number over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the County Association into the State Association, and thence to the *Woman Citizen*.

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To the co-operating Subscriber who sends in the highest number over 50. This would be independent of state, county and club circulation activities, would apply to states that do not take up the circulation work in an official way, and would come directly to the *Woman Citizen*. The net price per subscription is \$1.00. No discount.

Relative Position of State Leagues in the *Woman Citizen's* Circulation Contest:

September 28th

October 5th

1. Iowa	1 Iowa
2. South Dakota	2 South Dakota
3. Georgia	3 Georgia
4. Indiana	4 Indiana
5. Michigan	5 Michigan
6. Minnesota	6 Minnesota
7. New Jersey	7 New Jersey
8. Wisconsin	8 Wisconsin
9. Massachusetts	9 Massachusetts
10. New York	10 New York
11. Ohio	11 Ohio
12. Virginia	12 Virginia
13. New Hampshire	13 New Hampshire
14. Missouri	14 Missouri
15. Alabama	15 Alabama
16. Texas	16 Texas
17. Maryland	17 Maryland
18. Pennsylvania	18 Pennsylvania
19. Maine	19 Maine
20. Louisiana	20 Louisiana
21. West Virginia	21 West Virginia
22. Connecticut	22 Connecticut
23. South Carolina	23 Tennessee
24. Tennessee, Kentucky	24 Kentucky
25. Arkansas	25 Arkansas
26. North Dakota, Washington D. C.	26 North Dakota
27. Rhode Island	27 Washington, D. C.
28. Illinois	28 Rhode Island
29. Nebraska, Oklahoma	29 Nebraska-Oklahoma
30. Washington, Mississippi	30 Washington-Mississippi
31. Kansas, North Carolina	31 Illinois-Kansas
32. Vermont	32 North Carolina
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The Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

A Journal of Democracy

October 12, 1918

"We shall fight for things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

The Connection

AMERICA, as may have been noticed, is at war.

President Wilson, as is very generally conceded, is the head of the American fighting forces.

When the American people elected him President, they did so with the full realization that in the emergency of war his was to be the guiding hand, his the determining voice. Their reliance was on him, their confidence was in him. The feeling out over the country, out over the world, seems to be general that he has sustained that reliance and justified that confidence.

All the more then is the country amazed and aghast that 34 men in the Senate of the United States should have set their judgment against his on that historic October first which fell on Tuesday of last week. All the more is the country justified in feeling that he stands betrayed, and it with him, when these men, against an almost two-to-one majority of their own colleagues, refuse to support him in a measure which he tells them plainly "is vital to the winning of the war and to the energies alike of preparation and of battle."

The only explanation that is offered in their behalf is that they disagree with him, they don't see the connection between the granting of woman suffrage and the winning of war. "It has nothing to do with winning the war," say they. "How can he ever come to Congress again with a plea for a war measure, not knowing a war measure when he sees it?"

One or two editors, friendly though they are to suffrage, have voiced the same pained expostulation. Woman suffrage is right, of course, say they, and it is coming, but it can hardly be said to touch the fortunes of the war.

ONE of the points where it touches the fortunes of war has been hammered on repeatedly by President Wilson. It is the point of morale, of building up spiritual resource, of setting the Nation wholly right internationally, as a leader of the new democratic thought of the world, a leader invulnerable to the reproach of inconsistency between her attitude at home and abroad.

It may sometimes seem to be to President Wilson's disadvantage that he believes in keeping the ideal in its place—at work. There are so many people who believe in keeping the ideal in its place—and that place a shelf. But over and over it has been demonstrated that the President's disadvantage is only appa-

rent, not real. Over and over it has been demonstrated that President Wilson is talking the soundest sort of horse sense when he talks the ideal.

In the case of his advocacy of woman suffrage as a war measure, for instance, thinking always broadly and universally, he yet gets a connection that is missed by the mind that must have the specific instance in order to make the direct connection.

To that sort of mind woman suffrage is not a war measure because it is not troops; it is not ammunition; it is not food for the soldiers nor clothes for them; nor ships in which to carry them to France; nor yet is it money with which to buy food and clothes and ships and ammunition. But, said the President, it has its bearing on the spirit animating and the energy propelling these matters which lie at the very heart of the war.

You will pardon us, said the anti-Senators, but really we can't see it.

MEANTIME, the Fourth Liberty Loan campaign was about to open. All over the country women were at attention, ready to get out on the firing line in the bond-selling drive. Theirs to address mass meetings, theirs to man booths, theirs to work up and work out telling devices of publicity whereby the conscience of every man, woman and child in America might be roused in behalf of the Liberty Loan. The immense majority of these women are women who see the fight for suffrage as an integral part of the world fight for democracy, women to whom the defeat of one means the betrayal of the other. To these women, waiting taut and eager and aspirant, flashed the word that a reactionary minority in the United States Senate was standing out against suffrage, against the right of self-government, against the thing we are fighting for in Europe to-day.

Take the case of one woman as typical of all. She is a mainstay of the Women's Liberty Loan Committee. Her zeal, her fire, her conviction can be thrown out over a mass meeting so compellingly that few there be who hear her and leave without being pledged to at least one Liberty Bond. But zeal and fire and conviction were smitten dead by the attitude of the Senate obstructionists.

"Do you know what it takes," she demanded, desperately, "to raise the vast sums I have to raise at mass meetings? Do you know that you have to hurl yourself out at the people below

you with super vitality? Do you know that you have to read your own fervor into them? It takes the very heart and soul of you. And my heart and soul are crushed. My spirit is dead. My voice will be lifeless. I shall try my hardest, but my quota will be short."

Not so remote a connection now, take notice, between that magic of the spirit which the President recognizes and those tasks that lie at the very heart of the war! Even a reactionary Senator can get the connection between the war and the money with which to run it and step by step the connection runs from the money to the public, in whose pockets the money is, to the impassioned woman whose task it is to get that public to turn its pockets wrong side out into the Government's lap.

True, impassioned men, too, are arousing that public to its duty as bond-buyers, but that women are an equal reliance in this work no one denies. Ten-fold shame, therefore, upon the Senator, Republican or Democrat, who cuts down the country's response to the Liberty Loan by crushing the spirit of the women who must help underwrite that loan!

Ten-fold shame that President Wilson is not only refused their support, but must be obliged to make good their egregious blunders. Fortunately for the world, his message of last Tuesday was not alone to them, it was to the women of the country—and with them at least it served its purpose. It put heart back where heart had failed. It re-established women in the hope of a real democracy. It made the connection.

At a time when militarism is achieving its *tour de force*, it is of inestimable world value to have the farthest-reaching voice in the world raised in behalf of the spiritual forces of the world. Not less significant than his stand for a non-imperialistic peace, a peace fair to our foes as to our friends, indeed a part of it, is President Wilson's insistence that success, even the success of arms, is a matter of the soul.

AND now suppose President Wilson asked the women suffragists of the country to do a certain thing; suppose he named the doing of it as "clearly necessary to the successful prosecution of the war;" suppose he said that if they didn't do it America would "not only be distrusted but deserve to be distrusted;" suppose he repeated with great earnestness and great solemnity that this thing which he asked them to do was "vital to the winning of the war and to the energies alike of preparation and of battle;" and not only vital to the winning of the war, mind you, but "vital to the right solution of the great problems which we must settle and settle immediately after the war is over;" suppose that he reminded them that the executive tasks of this war rested with him and that he found those tasks very heavy, and that the doing of this thing that he asked would lighten the tasks "and place in my hands instruments, spiritual instruments which I do not now possess, which I sorely need, and which I have daily to apologize for not being able to employ;" suppose he asked this thing as the Commander-in-Chief of the army.

And suppose the suffragists refused to meet his request!

Can you think of an epithet little enough and mean enough and vehement enough by which to designate them?

Because if you can, we want you to send it to this office. We have set and pied a lot of type in an effort to find adequate language with which to meet the case of the 34 willful Senators who refused President Wilson in an identical case.

How the country would ring, and how justly ring, with denunciation of suffragists who made such a refusal.

And how the country rings with denunciation of the willful 34! And how justly it rings!

In Appreciation

NOW that the barrage of prejudice and sectional feeling and state rights and moth-eaten tradition thrown down by the anti-suffrage speeches has lifted, one can see exactly where the anti-suffrage got by the debate in the Senate Chamber October first. It was exactly nowhere. Thirty-four votes they had early last spring, thirty-four votes they had on the roll call, and thirty-four votes they would have forever were the Senate's personnel to continue with the dead weight of reactionaryism under which it now sags. But it won't.

Meantime the sagacity of the leaders of the National's Congressional Committee is demonstrated anew. It took courage and vision to brave the defeat that menaced the bringing of the resolution to vote, but the record of the vote was the one thing on which suffragists could begin to build anew for the later fortunes of the amendment with the 65th Congress. The committee saw its chance and took it. Because of that the federal suffrage amendment stands immeasurably advanced today over its position of a month ago. By the motion for reconsideration, Senator Jones, of New Mexico, brought the amendment back to position on the Senate calendar, and there it will be maintained in place until it can go to vote again under more favorable circumstances, circumstances that may not mature until after the November elections, and may develop any time between the elections and the end of the short session in March, 1919. In the interim the full pressure of the country is bearing upon the willful thirty-four, the pressure of a country aroused by its own humiliation.

It is hardly necessary to reassure the average suffragist, who is usually a rather more than average parliamentarian, of the significance of Senator Jones's nay vote. First voting aye, he changed his vote to no after the roll call, and then moved for reconsideration, as one who casts his vote in the negative is privileged to do. On the day following the Senate vote there was an hour's spirited debate by the same body as to whether the motion for reconsideration must carry by a mere majority—or by a two-thirds majority. Vice-President Marshall, presiding officer of the Senate, finally ruled for a majority and the suffrage resolution is again before the Senate with all its old fateful and relentless insistence.

This means that the women who have been waging the Congressional fight must go on waging. They are tired, but even when tired they can wage on.

Maud Wood Park, chairman of the committee, who has earned the deathless gratitude of suffragists the world over because of her infinite capacity for taking pains, will undoubtedly continue to head the lobby which she captains so well.

Helen H. Gardener is another leader whose service to the amendment cannot be covered by language. She it is who has acted as the National Association's White House representative for the last year and a half and to her superior diplomatic skill is due much of the confidence and privileged recognition which the National Suffrage Association enjoys in high places. At great cost to herself, and through personal trials and tribulations that would have overwhelmed all save the dauntless, she has served the cause with a spirit and verve hard to duplicate.

Certain of the Republican women will likewise live in suffrage annals for the part they have just played in the suffrage crisis at Washington. Outstanding among them are Mary Garrett Hay, Rosalie Loew Whitney, of New York, and Mrs. R. E. Edwards, of Peru, Indiana. Republicans, but suffragists a long time before Republicans, they head a long list of women, similarly Republicans, and similarly suffragists, whose work, taken in conjunction with that of Republican Senators, was of prime significance in advancing the suffrage cause.

On the Democratic side stood Mrs. Guilford Dudley, of Tennessee; Mrs. Minnie Fisher Cunningham, who got primary suffrage for Texas women, and numerous others, all doing yeomen service for suffrage through Democratic agencies.

Oh, yes, and there was Mrs. Catt, on both sides, without fear or favor!

The press, always helpful, signally distinguished itself as the date for the vote drew near. In New York virtually every paper "pushed for Pershing" and *bona fide*, down-to-the-ground democracy through the suffrage amendment. The *Sun*, the *Globe*, the *Mail*, the *Post*, the *Telegraph*, the *Tribune*, the *Call*, the *American*, the *Journal* saw their duty and made it their pleasure to respond with rousing editorials. The *World*, opposed as it is to federal intervention in state legislation, yet preached consistency to men who had abrogated state rights to vote for national prohibition. Editorial writers like Lawrence and Lyons of the *Washington Star*, and Bennett of the *Washington Post*, made telling contributions to the suffrage literature of the hour. Likewise did the *Washington Herald* and the *Washington Times* come to the fore with stirring suffrage appeals.

All over the country the same thing was happening in newspaper office after office, men and women of the press being lined up almost solidly back of the amendment.

TO certain other men, notably Joseph P. Tumulty, Secretary to the President, and Chairman Will H. Hays, of the Republican National Committee, thanks of so special a value are due that we shall commandeer space in another issue to make fitting acknowledgment.

IN view of the action of Senator Baird in voting against the Federal Amendment in Washington on October 1, the New Jersey Woman Suffrage Association will give its unqualified support to Senator Hennessy in his campaign for the short term, December 1918 to March 1919. "The Federal Amendment will come up again in Congress in December," says Mrs. F. E. Feickert, state president of the Association, "and we will do our best to send a man to Washington who will stand by the slogan which Senator Baird proclaims, but does not live up to: 'Support the President; Win the War.'"

The Republicans of New Jersey unanimously adopted a plank at their convention on October 1, recommending that the Republicans should vote to ratify the Federal Suffrage Amendment when this is presented to the New Jersey Legislature for adoption. The vote on the suffrage plank in the Democratic convention, which was held the same day, was a tie, 27 to 27, so that the plank was omitted from the platform. Expressing delight that the New Jersey Republicans stood unanimously for woman suffrage, their action following immediately after the President's plea for the enfranchisement of the women of the country, the New Jersey president says: "Their action shows that the New Jersey Republicans mean what they say when their spokesman, Governor Edge, declares that 'politics is adjourned.'"

"In the Democratic convention we could have had no finer champion than Charles O'Connor Hennessy, of Bergen County, candidate for the short term in the Senate, against David Baird, of Camden. Mr. Hennessy, in defiance of Mr. Nugent, pleaded with the convention to give the President the support of his own party in his own state.

"Every Democratic State Representative at the convention voted against the suffrage plank and it was defeated through the personal efforts of James R. Nugent. We have, therefore, de-

cided to actively support the twelve Republican Legislative candidates in Essex County and will work for them.

"In counties where all candidates have pledged their support to the Federal Amendment we will take no active part in the fall campaign."

That women do remember will be demonstrated by New York women in telling manner when Senator James Wadsworth comes up for re-election in 1920. Thoroughly indignant at the adverse vote of Senator Wadsworth after his state, by popular vote, had spoken for suffrage, and the Legislature and state and county political units had requested him to vote in the affirmative, the women will leave no stone unturned to bring about his defeat should he have political aspirations in 1920, when his present term of office ends.

"More than any single individual in the Senate, Senator Wadsworth must bear the blame for our defeat," said Miss Mary Garrett Hay, chairman of the Woman Suffrage Party of New York City and member of the executive committee of the New York State Republican Committee. "Of course, the Southern Democrats as a party group were responsible, but, after all, they were bearing out the traditions of their party and the wishes of a more or less large percentage of the voters of their states. Senator Wadsworth, however, was the one man in the Senate who disobeyed the definite instructions of his state legislature and the platform of his party. Had the Republicans been able to count Senator Wadsworth's vote, the Democrats would undoubtedly have found the other one vote necessary to pass the amendment. So Senator Wadsworth is responsible, and we New York suffragists will remember that in 1920, when he comes up for re-election."

Massachusetts suffragists report that they are lining up their forces for an offensive against Senator Weeks, who failed to support the Federal Amendment, and who comes up for re-election in November. Senator Lodge, minority leader and most aggressive of anti-suffragists, will not be up for reelection, so the suffrage forces will train their batteries on Senator Weeks only at this time.

OVER a half million fliers were distributed in New York City to urge the women to get out and register for the November elections, October 7 being registration week. Every effort and every medium possible was used to roll up a record registration of women. Public meetings were held in assembly districts, short talks were given, and much personal work done.

"We must make women feel that registration is a patriotic duty," said Miss Mary Garrett Hay, chairman of the Woman Suffrage Party of New York City. "Women must take the place of the men who are at the front, not only in the ranks of industry, but in politics also. Let women know that to put candidates into office who will support the policies of the government and to keep out of positions of responsibility the indifferent and the disloyal will help win the war."

One effective means employed by the women was the moving picture houses. In 1600 of these houses of amusement over the state slides were thrown on the screens, giving all necessary data in regard to registration of women.

CELEBRATE COLUMBUS DAY

Help on a new and better world by buying

LIBERTY BONDS

Where State Campaigns Wax Warm

GOVERNOR SLEEPER, in an address at the Michigan Republican Convention paid a fine tribute to Michigan women:

"If anything were lacking to convince any of us that the women of this state have a right to the ballot, surely the magnificent war work that they have done in the past 18 months, and their willing sacrifices in the cause of freedom, have supplied the lack.

"The splendid, self-sacrificing labors of all our women, the devotion of mothers who have given up their sons, of young wives who have given up their husbands, are beyond praise. Can we now do less than confer upon them the privileges and responsibilities of full citizenship?"

THE Michigan Republican State Convention, September 26th, 1918, embodied in its platform the following resolution:

"We believe the time has come when Michigan should extend the right of suffrage to women on equal terms with men, and we endorse the Constitutional Amendment looking toward that end, to be voted upon at the November election, and call upon the voters of the state to adopt it by emphatic majority."

"We further favor the immediate submission to the several states of the proposed amendment to the Federal Constitution granting suffrage to women, and we call upon the Legislature of Michigan to ratify such amendment when so submitted.

AMID cheers and applause the following resolution was adopted at the Democratic Convention in Detroit, Michigan, Wednesday, September 25th:

"In accordance with the pledge of the National Democratic platform adopted at St. Louis in June, 1916, we commend to the voters of Michigan the granting of suffrage to women on the same terms as men by this state at the approaching November election. Confident of the rectitude of our purposes and the patriotism of our program of political action, we call upon all right-thinking men of Michigan to rally to the support of the Democratic ticket at this election."

A CAMPAIGN song, written by Lew Fullerton, of the Jessie Bonstelle Company, was sung by him at the suffrage rally in Wayne County, Michigan:

"A soldier wrote his mother, 'I'm glad I'm over here,

We're getting the Hun now one by one,

The end will soon be near.

The only thing we think of which really gets our goat,

At home the Hun, the Son-of-a-gun, Still has the right to vote.

Chorus—

"Keep your heads up, Yankee Boys,
Keep your heads up, Yankee Boys,
Your dear ones at home will look out for you,

They're watching, they're watching,
For the sisters and the mothers
Will be voting for sons and brothers.
We'll make the kaiser understand
That he can't fool with Yankee land,
So, keep your heads up, Yankee Boys

"ALL the men who voted in 1895 on their first papers are still voting and have not thought enough of their democracy to get their second papers and they are the men who are going to say whether you and I, American women, are going to vote," said Mrs. Albert E. Peppers, who presided at the luncheon in Detroit, Michigan, of the Wayne County Equal Suffrage League. The League at this time formally launched an aggressive campaign for the full enfranchisement of Michigan women, and congressional chairmen, ward chairmen and leaders in the election districts gathered for an organization luncheon at the Hotel Statler, in September. The enthusiasm and vim with which the women took hold of plans for the intensive drive which is to continue until November 5, and the reports of the amount of preliminary work accomplished point to a successful campaign in Wayne County.

"Equal Suffrage Is a War Measure," was the keynote of the addresses which featured the cabaret luncheon, and the granting of the franchise to women will offset the votes of foreigners who are voting on their first papers, and whose votes in the absence of thousands of Michigan men overseas would dictate the government of state and city.

ORGANIZATION as the keynote of a successful campaign was emphasized in the address by Mrs. Frank J. Shuler, Corresponding Secretary of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and Chairman of Campaigns and Surveys for the national body, who was honor guest on this occasion. Definite campaign plans, acting in unison and obeying orders implicitly are three cardinal points in waging a campaign, according to Mrs. Shuler. Touching upon the old time objections to giving women the vote, Mrs. Shuler said: "Objections to giving women the vote come in waves. We used to hear that woman's place was the home. The enormous headlines, 'Women Your Country Needs You,' have, however, sent this to the dust heap."

Among the speakers were Mrs. Percy J. Farrell, president of the Michigan Woman Suffrage Association, Mrs. Augusta C. Hughston, Detroit campaign manager; Mrs. Marie E. Craigie of Buffalo, who is taking charge of the campaign work which is to be carried on through the churches of the state; Mrs. Ida Porter-Boyer, state press chairman, who reported the favorable attitude of the press toward suffrage; Mrs. Myron B. Vorce of Detroit, political chairman; Mrs. Stevens Mason, chairman of the industrial committee; Mrs. A. H. Finn, chairman of the church committee; Miss Hopkins, chairman of the teachers' committee; Mrs. Clara Hickey, parliamentary resolutions; Mrs. Harvey R. Stewart, chairman of the press committee.

THE Michigan Court has pronounced the proposed beer and wine amendment as unconstitutional. By this decision the woman suffrage amendment is the only one to come before the voters of that state on November 5.



ANOTHER HALLOWE'EN BUGABOO SHOT TO
PIECES BY SUFFRAGE FACTS

Oklahoma Men Are for Women

DEMOCRATS of Oklahoma, in annual convention at Oklahoma City, on September 23, took a strong stand for woman suffrage. The Democratic Central Committee of Oklahoma took similar action on September 6. Some time previous the State Republican Party endorsed suffrage for women. Oklahoma is one of the suffrage campaign states which vote on the question November 5, which fact gives added significance to the support of the two major political parties of the state.

VOTES for women were very much in evidence at the Democratic convention. Some seventeen hundred votes-for-women buttons were worn by visitors and delegates, there were women delegates at the convention and the platform contained a woman suffrage plank. Mrs. Clarence L. Henley, Chairman of the State Suffrage Campaign Committee, and a committee of women pinned on the suffrage buttons and at the same time reminded the men that their votes were wanted for woman suffrage.

Previous to the state convention of Democrats, practically every county unit of the party had passed a suffrage resolution. In many instances women had been invited to address the county gatherings. Carter County invited women to participate in the election of convention delegates and Pottawatomie, Mayes and McIntosh Counties went a step further by sending women as delegates to the state convention. Pottawatomie led the list with three women delegates, all members of the County Suffrage Committee, Mrs. W. B. Slagle, suffrage county chairman, being one. The preceding week Mrs. Slagle carried off seventeen blue ribbon prizes at the county fair for excellence in needlework and cookery. Miss Aloysius Larch-Miller, county Liberty Loan chairman, and Mrs. Deason, also delegates to the convention, were awarded blue ribbons in cookery for their exhibits at the fair. Mrs. Melton of McIntosh County was named on the first committee appointed after the convention was called to order. Mrs. Jed Uriethe, the Mayes County delegate, is also an ardent suffragist and active through the newspaper which she edits.

Mrs. Frank J. Shuler, Corresponding Secretary of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, who is spending some time in Oklahoma in the interest of the suffrage campaign in progress in that state, was invited to sit on the platform during convention proceedings.

Applause interrupted the reading of the platform when the suffrage clause was reached. It read:

"We favor the adoption of the pending amendment to our state constitution giving women the right of suffrage on equal terms with men. We heartily endorse the action of the sixth Legislature in submitting to a vote of the people of this state the amendment granting suffrage to women."

The convention burst into applause when a telegram was read from Senator Owen stating that he would be unable to be present because of pressing matters at Washington, one of the most urgent being the approaching vote on the Federal Suffrage Amendment. Senator Gore, who was in the convention body, was being urged on all sides to hasten to Washington and vote for the Amendment.

To celebrate the victory for suffrage in the democratic convention the suffragists treated Oklahoma City to its first suffrage street meeting. The speakers were Mrs. Shuler, Miss Alma Sasse, Miss Larch-Miller and Miss Marjorie Shuler, Executive-secretary of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. During the course of the meeting, which aroused much enthusiasm, J. J. Cohen of California, who was one of the large crowd

that had gathered, volunteered to tell of suffrage in California, claiming it was the best thing that had ever happened to that state. Promises of another street meeting to follow on the next evening were given before the crowd would disperse.

Singing Them In

OKLAHOMA men are finding it difficult to resist the logic and appeal of the suffrage argument that is being presented to them in rhythmic form by the suffrage workers in that State. On one side of a small white card which has been widely distributed at fairs and gatherings the voter reads that "It Can Be Done," then follows a list of the suffrage victories; on the reverse side he finds the following:

"A REAL TOAST"

"Here's to the woman with many a care,
Who sits all day in an office chair,
And at night, when her day's work is through,
Goes home and finds more work to do;
Gets up in the morning and cooks and scrubs,
And wrestles around with laundry tubs;
Yet the usual hour finds her smiling there,
Beside her desk in the office chair.
If she's strong enough these burdens to tote,
Here's to the state where they let her vote!"

The clever little card was the inspiration of Mrs. M. A. Morrison, of Tulsa, who has made it her personal contribution to the suffrage campaign. She was one of the heroic band of women who were responsible for the first presentation of the suffrage question before the territorial Legislature. Through rain and shine, storm and dust and torrid heat, wading through veritable seas of mud and climbing over and under barbed-wire fences, Mrs. Morrison traveled with untiring zeal to get signers for that initial petition. She is still working ardently for the cause. To her country's service she has given her only son, her chief mainstay, and, despite her many suffrage activities, she finds time to do war service work. During the present suffrage campaign she has been active in many ways, speaking at fairs and street meetings, and in getting signers to the suffrage petition.

A LITTLE story which has its pathetic side, one to touch all men, anti-suffragists or other, who see in motherhood the great justification for women's existence, comes from the Oklahoma field.

While Mary Park London was enrolling Oklahoma women who want the vote, she came upon a rude little hut on poles in which a new mother lay all alone except for her brand new baby a few hours old. Out of the depths of the deepest of human experiences, the woman raised herself on her elbow and signed the paper, asking for her rights as a woman, her right to be something more than the suffering physical producer of men; the right to have a guiding voice in the state where men must live. The act of the lonely woman in the sordid little hut ought to ring round the world, and make a part of the plea for democracy going up from the oppressed of the earth, clamoring from the cannon's mouth and shouted from the trenches.

Those men, who lie dying in hospitals, having given their bodies that men and women may live in safety, those men will understand the mother in the Oklahoma cabin.

Winning of the War an Essential Investment

In the Third Liberty Loan Campaign one-half the buyers were women, and 700,000 women were bond sellers.

One million women sellers are hoped for in the Fourth Loan drive.

"The women of America are doing their share in the winning of the war, both by actual hard work and by the tremendous force of their moral influence. It is fitting that their service should be memorialized."

Wm. G. McAdoo,

Secretary of U. S. Treasury.

This is Columbus Day.

President Wilson asks you to celebrate it.

Be a Columbus and make the discovery that women who bear the burdens of the state need the privileges of the state.

THE war is up to the women of Wyoming in peculiar ways—ways unknown to women in Eastern cities. In the first place, women are scarce and valuable out there. They have always been few and far between, when one considers the terrifying bigness of things in that country set bias against the Rocky Mountains.

There is, so to speak, only about three-fifths of a woman to meet the same demands in Wyoming that there is a whole woman to meet in the East. Wyoming has the second greatest sex inequality in the United States. To every woman in Wyoming normally there is 1.68 man. So when she takes his place she has to do his job and two-thirds of another man's job besides.

"In county after county," said Dr. Grace Raymond Heberd, of Laramie, recently in an interview at the National American Woman Suffrage Association headquarters, "all the men of the first draft went to camp months ago. One-fifth of all the men of draft age in Wyoming—in the first draft, that is—volunteered for the war. They did not wait to be called."

Dr. Heberd, who is professor of sociology and economics in the University of Wyoming, had come all the way from Laramie to New York to say farewell to Dr. Irene Morse, a former Wyoming University colleague and a present member of the Gas Unit of the Women's Overseas Hospital, U. S. A., and she explained some of the ways in which women of the oldest voting state are meeting their war demands.

"New oil fields recently discovered in Wyoming have had to be worked and women have been in great demand to work them. The industrial market has offered such big wages that

and into the railroad shops as a patriotic service. An incident of the industrial overturn is the presence of colored women in railroad shops."

The teacher situation is one which affects Dr. Heberd both as educator and sociologist. She

the teacher shortage has become acute. Teachers have even gone into the oil fields, where women are getting \$80 a month just for wiping machinery—a price which betters the ordinary teacher's salary.

"Domestic servants are, of course, a pre-war memory only. Wealthy mistresses are even sending their maids out to the oil fields

nowhere to be sought and everywhere." And it certainly is no monopoly of the unfettered women.

A newspaper of the Rocky Mountain regions finds it in overalls, when these are worn by two Wyoming girl railroad track workers, by Miss Pearl Moore and Miss Sylvia Porter, both of whom are "sweet and twenty," and would doubtless have looked well in sackcloth and ashes.

Wyoming women have been demonstrating how to be lovely though voters for the past half century, but it remained for two Cheyenne girls to win the description of presenting "a very pretty appearance in overalls," with the gentle tatting needle exchanged for a pick and shovel.

These are among the girls who have joined the Union Pacific's women railroad force, and they like it. Also, their friends like it. And the newspaper reporter evidently found railroad labor a gentle feminine occupation.

When Miss Moore was interviewed by the press she was deftly throwing a shovelful of dirt off the track with all the grace of a Vere



WOMEN WORKING IN UNION PACIFIC SHOPS AT CHEYENNE, WYO.

has gone to the president of the University, as a representative suffragist, to urge the necessity of equal pay for women professors. By Christmas of this year Dr. Heberd believes that every superintendent of schools in Wyoming will be a woman. Already one effect of the war situation has been to raise the rural teacher's salary.

THAT little affair of "charm," par example, which those who are opposed to women's votes live in deadly terror of losing, seems to be a permanent asset, when all's said.

It is like "happiness, sincere, fixed to no spot,

de Vere. She looked like anything but a clinging vine, and she felt decidedly up to her job. "No hot, stuffy factory work for me," she told the reporter. "I prefer this outdoor work in the fresh air."

Both said they could make more money and make it easier than in any other thing they had tried. Miss Moore had previously driven a delivery wagon and done field work. Many of the Cheyenne girls and women have gone into railroad shops and other occupations usually given men, but Miss Moore and Miss Porter were the pioneers in that city as section hands.

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Puiling For Pershing

IN the State of Kansas, where women are politically free, and in the State of Georgia, where they are politically bound, women helped harvest bumper crops. In Kansas it was wheat crops; in Georgia cotton.

In both states the women volunteered. There was an element of humor in this story of how the women came to the rescue of Kansas, as the press explained:

"When the matrons and the ladies and the 'flappers' and the little boys and girls offered last January to aid in the harvesting this summer, the Kansas war council declined their proffered help. The thing seemed impossible. The offer had a far different aspect a few weeks ago when the war council faced the situation of a bumper wheat crop and man power entirely inadequate to handle it.

**BUT IT'S
"THANK YOU,
NOBLE LADIES,"
WHEN THE
WHEAT IS IN
THE EAR.**

"The fate of the crop hung in the balance.

"Then thousands of women—the same women whose January offer of aid had been scorned—with their army of children and girls, sprang up from all over the state and the wheat crop was saved. If this vounteer army had not, unbidden, come to the rescue a great part of this tremendous crop would have been lost."

"WIN the war by picking cotton" is a new cry in Georgia, and of course the women are doing it. The world has never needed cotton more than now, and so it is again an unenfranchised class that is saving it for the sake of humanity, and it is the leaders of women's struggle for enfranchisement who are the leaders of the Woman's Land Army Corps to come to the rescue of the cotton.

NEVER have the cotton pickers of Georgia attracted quite so much attention as the squads of pickers who went out from Augusta, or Richmond County, recently. It was the advance guard

of the Woman's Land Army of Georgia. It was in response to the call of Mrs. L. S. Arrington, chairman of the Woman's Committee Council of National Defense, and a former president of the Equal Suffrage Party of Georgia, that the Land Army was organized. The army has grown, both in numbers and enthusiasm, according to

**TO WIN THE
WAR, PICK A
BAG OF COTTON.**

reports, and their record for work is such that after reading the results of one day's work, as published in the paper, three farmers immediately asked for twenty pickers, offering to furnish transportation for them.

The Richmond County land agent, Mr. Gus York, was glad to avail himself of an offer of women's labor, as nearly all the cotton would probably mature at the same time, he thought, and if delayed would be of inferior grade.

There was some cotton unharvested last year. The labor shortage is now much more acute, and unless a force was promptly put behind this year's crop a great part of it would go to waste. As to the compensation, Mr. York believed a squad of ten girls working six hours a day ought to pick about a bale every day.

The average cotton picker's wage is 75 cents a hundred; therefore, each girl ought to earn

a wage of from 75 cents to \$1 per day.

One squad of pickers, which included six cars loaded with young women and girls, made a record of 300 pounds of cotton picked in one hour and a half. Twenty-eight pounds was the highest individual record. Another squad of pickers made a record of 120 pounds picked in one hour; the highest single score being twenty pounds.

Mrs. Clara Mathewson is captain of the Woman's Land Army, which has come to stay, according to reports. Prominent farmers in Richmond County have enthusiastically endorsed the movement.

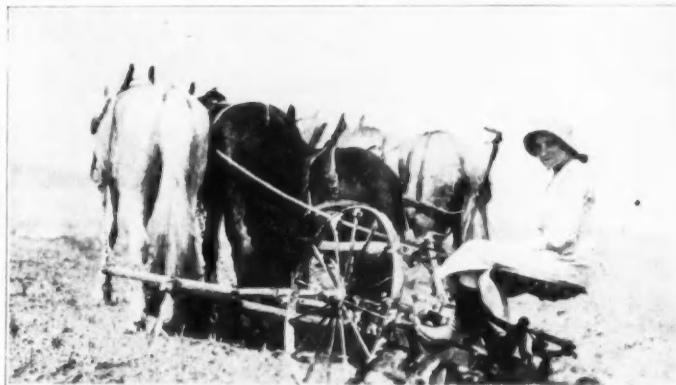
Judge Henry Hammond is one of the enthusiastic endorsers of the Woman's Land Army, urging the women to put themselves in close touch with the big labor movement of the world right in the cotton fields.

"What's the great big thing that's got to be done right now?" asked Judge Hammond. "Pick Cotton! Pick Cotton! Pick Cotton!"

The call comes from thousands of fields and millions of acres, and the call is this: "Save me for the rich, and the poor, the hungry, the cold and the naked; save me for decency and humanity's sake; save me in Freedom's

and Liberty's name."

"Do you know that cotton is one of the great food crops of the world—food for man and beast, hulls and meal, lard and oils—the richest and best fat and nitrogen—the staple that meets a thousand needs of man?"



WYOMING GIRL DRIVING FOUR HORSES



COTTON FIELD NEAR AUGUSTA, GA. WOMAN'S LAND ARMY

The Federal Route

By Alice Stone Blackwell

THE argument for woman suffrage is the same as the argument for having a republic rather than a monarchy. Except when some good reason can be shown to the contrary, everybody is entitled to be consulted about his own concerns. The laws he must obey and the taxes he must pay (both direct taxes and indirect) are matters which closely concern him; and the only legal way of being consulted in regard to them is through the ballot.

We take a vote in order to find out the wish of the majority. In doing so, certain persons are passed over, whose opinions, for one reason or another, are thought not to be worth counting. In most States these persons are children, aliens, idiots, lunatics, criminals and women. There are good and plain reasons for making all these exceptions but the last.

The civilized world is fast coming around to the belief that there is no good reason in the case of women.

NINETY years ago women could not vote anywhere, except to a very limited extent at municipal elections in a few places in Europe.

In the forty years, from 1830 to 1870, women were given full suffrage in Wyoming; municipal suffrage in England, Finland, Victoria and New South Wales, and school suffrage in Kentucky, Kansas and Ontario.

In the twenty years, from 1870 to 1890, women were given municipal suffrage in Kansas, Scotland, New Zealand, South and West Australia, Tasmania, Iceland, Ontario, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec, British Columbia and the Northwest Territory; school suffrage in Michigan, Minnesota, Colorado, New Hampshire, Oregon, Massachusetts, New York, Vermont, Nebraska, North and South Dakota, Montana, Arizona, Oklahoma and New Jersey, and full suffrage in the Isle of Man.

In the twenty years, from 1890 to 1910, women were given full suffrage in Colorado, Idaho, Utah, Norway, Finland, New Zealand, South and West Australia, Tasmania, Queensland, Victoria and New South Wales; municipal suffrage in Ireland, Denmark and the province of Vorarlberg (Austrian Tyrol), and school suffrage in Illinois, Connecticut, Ohio, Delaware and Wisconsin. In Louisiana, Michigan, and all the towns and villages of New York State tax-paying women were given a vote on questions of local taxation. In Iowa and Kansas women were given a vote on bonding propositions; in Minnesota a vote for library trustees, and in Belgium a vote for the *Conseils des Prudhommes*. In France women engaged in trade were given a vote for judges of the tribunals of commerce.

"PEACE and arbitration are the outgrowth of justice, and while one-half of the people of the United States are robbed of their inherent right of personal representation—it is idle for us to expect that the men who thus rob women will not rob each other as individuals, corporations and government."

—S. B. Anthony.

In the nine years, from 1910 to 1918, women have been given the school vote in New Mexico; municipal suffrage in Vermont, South Africa, Laibach (Austria), Barada (India) and Belize (Honduras); municipal and presidential suffrage in Illinois, North Dakota and Nebraska, presidential suffrage in Rhode Island and Michigan; practically full suffrage in Texas and Arkansas, and full suffrage in New York, California, Washington, Kansas, Oregon, Arizona, Montana, Nevada, England, Canada, Russia, Alaska, Iceland and Denmark. The kingdom of Würtemberg has given women engaged in agriculture a vote for members of the Chamber of Agriculture; and a number of cities in Florida, Tennessee and elsewhere have given them local rights of franchise.

The movement towards woman suffrage is world-wide, and the trend is all one way. Even opponents admit that it is coming.

THE great majority of the people who have practical experience of woman suffrage are agreed that it is a good thing. The *Literary Digest* took a census of editors in the suffrage states, and found a sweeping majority favorable. Julia Ward Howe, in 1910, sent a letter of inquiry to all the editors in the oldest four suffrage states, and to all the ministers of five leading denominations, and published the outcome in the *Woman's Journal*. She got 624 answers, of which only sixty-two were unfavorable. The *New York Survey*, one of the country's leading philanthropic journals, sent a circular letter of inquiry to all its subscribers in the suffrage states, and published the results in its issue of October 23, 1915. It received 634 replies, of which only fifteen were unfavorable. Many persons answered that they had been opposed until they saw the practical results.

Among those who assure us that woman suffrage has proved satisfactory are almost all the men and women distinguished for their intelligence and high standing in the suffrage states, from the college presidents down—persons whose word on any other question of fact relating to their own states would be taken without hesitation.

Still more conclusive is the broad fact that equal suffrage has spread steadily from one adjoining state to another till it covers the whole western half of our country; and that there is nowhere any serious attempt to repeal it. If the majority of the people anywhere disliked it, they could and would revoke it. If it had worked out disastrously in any state, the people just across the border would have known better than to adopt it.

IF equal suffrage ought to come, and is bound to come, it ought to be conferred in the shortest and easiest way that is legal. No man of sense goes a mile around when he can get to his object by walking a yard. No patriot should go a mile around to get a good thing for his country when he can get it by a shorter route.

It Is Objected

1. *That to amend the constitution in this way would show disrespect to the fathers.*

But the fathers provided precisely this way for amending it.

2. *That it would be a violation of states' rights.*

The national constitution specifically gives the Legislatures of three-fourths of the states the right to determine questions for the whole country. It is no more unethical for three-fourths of the states to carry a measure without the approval of one-fourth than for three-fourths of the counties in a state to carry an amendment to the state constitution without the approval of one-fourth.

3. *That it would increase the difficulties of the Southern states with their illiterate vote.*

When the amendment for nation-wide woman suffrage goes into effect, the women in each Southern state will obtain it subject to exactly the same restrictions that now apply to men in that state. Every state will also retain exactly the same power that it now has to impose additional qualifications of education, property, character, etc., provided that these are required of men and women alike.

4. *That the question ought to be decided not by Congress and the state Legislatures, but by popular vote.*

For the last fifty years, in every state where the suffragists have asked the Legislature to submit an amendment for woman suffrage to the voters, the anti-suffragists have strenuously opposed its submission, and have urged the Legislature to decide the question adversely on its own responsibility. They never took the ground that the Legislature had no moral right to decide it until Legislatures began to decide it favorably.

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regularly 7.00 **5.75**

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regularly 4.75 and 6.00

NATIONAL action is sought by the suffragists for the same reason that it is sought by the prohibitionists, the opponents of child labor, and the advocates of other reforms—because it is the shortest and easiest way. It is in the interests of conservation. To carry equal suffrage at the polls, as for instance in New York state, costs thousands of women a vast expenditure of time, labor and energy, which can be applied with advantage to other purposes.

Reformers of every stripe are learning how wasteful and slow is the old piecemeal method of attacking nation-wide evils and injustices by state action only, and are nationalizing their campaigns. The war is accentuating this tendency. It has already taught us that many things which used to be looked upon as matters wholly of state concern can be accomplished more economically and efficiently by national action.

Some state constitutions, like that of Indiana, are impossible of amendment, and never have been amended, on any subject. Many are unduly difficult of amendment as in Minnesota, where over and over again constitutional amendments have received an overwhelming majority of the popular vote cast upon the question, yet have been lost because every voter who neglects to mark his ballot either way is counted as voting no. In New Mexico, a constitutional

amendment must receive a large majority vote not only in the whole state but in every separate county. Other state constitutions contain other barriers that enable a minority of opponents to hold up a desirable reform for many years. In addition, many states lack adequate laws to prevent fraud in counting the vote on constitutional amendments; and the suffragists have reason to believe that in several states where they had a majority they were counted out.

IN England and every foreign country, each successive extension of the suffrage, whether for men or for women, has been by a single act of Parliament. If it was not unethical there, why should it be unethical here? Or why should American women be condemned to 48 separate state campaigns, a method so much more burdensome than has been imposed upon the women of any other land?

5. *That the question ought to be decided by a vote of women.*

There is no state where it can be so decided constitutionally. That is why the opponents urge this proposal.

Over and over again the suffragists have asked that women should be enabled to vote with authority upon the question of their own enfranchisement (as at the recent hearing be-

fore the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention). The antis invariably object.

6. *That in the ratification of the Federal Amendment, Pennsylvania with its big population would count for no more than Nevada.*

It is equally true that the suffrage state of New York with its big population would count for no more than New Mexico. This objection would apply equally to any and every amendment to the Federal constitution.

7. *That this change should not be made in war time.*

More women have been enfranchised since the war began than for 50 years before. England and Canada have granted women the ballot in war time, and feel themselves the stronger for this act of justice.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN said he believed in woman suffrage because he was for all sharing the privileges of the government who assist in bearing its burdens. In every warring country, women by millions are bearing increased burdens, both at home and in industry, and bearing them patriotically and bravely.

In war time, all a country's domestic enemies become doubly active—vice and crime, infant mortality, poverty, corrupt politics and profiteering. To cope with them, women, more

(Continued on page 398)

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A clever woman, Miss Elizabeth Rachel Wylie, foresaw many months ago, that there would be a clamorous demand for the financial instruction of women on a large scale. She instituted a clearing house for all these new needs.

Among the things Miss Wylie's Financial Center aspires to do is to meet every business need of the woman in war time. It aims to teach women how to manage their own affairs. It also aims to make every woman, whether employed or otherwise, more intelligent about the principles and methods of business.

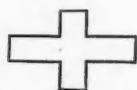
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How Every Woman May Help in the Liberty Loan

(Written exclusively for The Woman Citizen.)

By John Price Jones,
Assistant Director of Publicity

IN responding to the plea that everybody take a hand in making the Fourth Liberty Loan a great success, the most frequent excuses are given by women. This does not mean that women do not do their share to put the loan across, but it does mean that most women, and men for that matter, do not realize just how small a modicum of service is required to bring results in this, the biggest voluntary effort that the nation has been asked to make to win the war.

The ways in which women can help are many, and small, yet also very productive of real results for the smallest expenditure of effort. Here are some of them:

If you deal regularly with any butcher, baker or grocer, notice whether or not, when the loan begins, he shows posters of the loan. If he does, compliment him on it and ask him how many bonds he expects to buy. If he shows nothing in the way of announcements of the loan, ask him the reason, and tell him that it is a sign of patriotism to use his show window to advertise the loan, then tell him that he may procure posters from the Liberty Loan Committee. You probably do not know the great good that could be accomplished if every window of every store in the city told of the loan. Often a suggestion to your tradesman will bring him into line.

Have you an automobile? Then make sure that it carries any Fourth Liberty Loan literature that is designated for automobiles. Imagine the great wave of announcements of the loan that would go out if every car in your city or neighborhood bore the placard telling of it.

In your apartment house, if you live in one, and, anyway, in your neighborhood, you know of some woman who is not doing what she should to win the war. You have seen her overflowing garbage can, perhaps, or heard indignant comment about her from your neighbors, or, perhaps, in grocery store gossip. Has it occurred to you that her sin may be due to ignorance? There are many women who are not doing their share in the war because they do not know what their share is. A great many do not read the newspapers, and their husbands

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JOHN P. TOLSON.

are too tired to talk war news over with them in the evening when they return home.

Why not do some missionary work? Drop in some day and bring up the subject of Liberty Loans, and show how a little economy at home puts the bonds within reach of every family, no matter how small the income. Your little investment of time and trouble may bring real results.

The same sort of missionary work among your friends and relatives may bring good returns, and, at any rate, it is worth trying. The Fourth Liberty Loan is the biggest that any government ever tried to float, and it will not be a success unless everyone gets behind it. Buy a bond or more yourself, and then try your best to get as many other people to buy as many as possible. Use every method to keep your conscience clear of the recurring charge when the loan is over that you might have done more to help the Government win the war.

We all have a part to play, and the one who falls down on the job and leaves undone the things he ought to have done in the Fourth Liberty Loan stands convicted of only partial loyalty to the United States in the present crisis.

The Federal Route

(Continued from page 397)

than ever need to be equipped with the best modern weapon, the ballot.

After the war, we shall face the task of rebuilding a shattered world. The sex that from time immemorial has done the bulk of the mothering and nursing should be freed of restrictions to enable it to give its best service.

Last but not least, our country by this action will add to its prestige as a champion of democracy. When England granted woman suffrage, the Kaiser would not let the fact be mentioned in the German press.

8. That most women are for "peace at any price."

This is a libel on American womanhood. If anyone doubts it, let him ask the first twenty women he meets whether they favor peace on Germany's terms, and see what they say.



Correspondence



TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

THE enclosed is a copy of my letter to Senator David Baird who is filling out Hughes's unexpired term in the U. S. Senate. He was born in 1839, and that may explain some of my allusions to age.

Dear Sir:

AT the risk of a serious tax upon your courtesy and patience, I am writing you because I believe that there is one side of the Woman Suffrage question which, perhaps unconsciously you have not faced fairly, even to yourself. I speak of the origin and status of your point of view.

As a man of mature years, you have seen men and manners change and one who would keep alive the spirit of youth must change with them. During your long life there has been an absolute revolution in our knowledge of forces, business, economical and social relations. The present condition of world affairs would have dazed the most strenuous liberal of your youth.

The reason that I question your point of view on this matter of suffrage is that while the whole world has shifted its relation to it, you have retained the old-fashioned, worn-out attitude held by the general public of fifty years ago when the subject seemed scandalous to the mass of both sexes. Now the force behind it has grown to such proportions that millions of men and women of all ranks in the civilized world have asserted their belief in its honorable justice. While millions have been converted to suffrage one can count on one's fingers and toes those who have turned from suffrage to anti-suffrage.

The foremost opponents, Mr. Asquith and Lloyd George, are now enthusiastic supporters. Its greatest enemy is the autocratic foe of de-

mocracy for both sexes, the German War lord, who claims to rule by divine right without the consent of the governed.

As you know, we are fighting to-day for a repudiation of the politics of compulsion, and binding ourselves in honor as a nation, before the tribunal of the whole world, to cultivate the policy of consent. The power and influence of woman depend upon persuasion and consent, rather than compulsion, and in order that American diplomacy may be sharply distinguished from Prussianism, woman must be included in the body politic. To quote from the *New Republic*. "The kind of moral unity which contributes to military victory during war is gravely injured by postponing until the end of hostilities the satisfaction of grievances whose existence has impaired national unity during peace. The government which connives at evasion suffers a loss in national moral vitality. The refusal to grant political equality to women would justify English, French, Russian and German radicals in doubting the sincerity of a nation which raised such a hullabaloo about its democracy, but which persisted in condemning half of its population as political inferiors and outcasts."

Therefore the President did not exaggerate the importance of the matter to you. He has said, "much of the morale of this country and of the world will repose in our strict adherence to democratic principles, and woman suffrage is at this time an essential psychological element in the war for democracy."

Life is a constant adjustment. The keynote of the new philosophy is elasticity. There is no growth unless one allows the current of the world forces to flow freely through one's body, mind and soul. Stoppage spells stagnation.

If you know anything of world movements you will recognize the woman question as no local, provincial matter, confined to a body of undeveloped humans, but an uprising of the beings whom men have cherished, loved and extolled beyond compare. That some of these have no vision of the eternal justice of the cause does not validate against it. We are enjoying to-day the benefits once fought for by small groups who stood on the mountain tops. When millions of women in New York, the great Western states, Great Britain and her colonies have attained the franchise it is puerile to quote New Jersey's referendum against it.

I ask from you an honest scrutiny of your opinion on this most serious question.

I am yours respectfully,

KATE LOUISE ROBERTS.

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Jeannette Rankin

has been nominated for U. S. Senator from Montana by the National Party, after failing of the Republican primaries by a close margin of 1791 votes. Her candidacy has been endorsed by the farmers' organization of Montana, 40,000 strong, and has also strong support from the labor men. It is a three-cornered fight, hence fewer votes are needed to win. The first plank of the platform upon which she is running calls for the winning of the war. There are other planks that should commend themselves strongly to women.

Much money will be spent to defeat her. Contributions for her campaign may be sent to the treasurer of the National Party,

WILLIAM F. COCHRAN

National Party Headquarters
138 No. La Salle Street Chicago, Illinois

Senator Phelan's Philippic

NOW and then during the long-drawn Senate discussion of suffrage, some man got to his feet, and gathering up the anti-suffrage arguments, the anti-suffrage psychology, the anti-suffrage prejudices and traditions, made shreds and tatters of them with the keen cutting blade of his logic and his wit. One such man was Senator Phelan, of California.

He it was who applied the felicitous phrase "unholy alliance" to the combination between Republican Senators from New England and Democratic Senators from the solid South. And only those who watched Senator Lodge, of Massachusetts, fraternizing with Senators Martin, of Virginia, and Smith, of South Carolina, know how well that phrase fitted!

"I have in my hand, sir," said the gentleman from California, "the resolutions adopted at a meeting in Worcester, Mass., on the 15th day of October, 1851, 67 years ago. In reading the speeches of Wendell Phillips I came across his address on that occasion, and I think that everything which can be said in favor of granting suffrage to women is embraced within the pages of this volume as expressed in his speech. It is so absolutely logical that no one can avoid it. It is quite immaterial, as the President said to-day, what may be 'the predilections of the drawing-room.' The women of the drawing-room have bread-winners to provide for them. We are talking of the women who for one reason or another do not acknowledge dependency upon man in intellectual, educational, and spiritual matters, but assert an individuality of their own. But the women of the drawing-room, after years of long subjection,

come to regard themselves as more or less dependent because the necessity of their condition does not require of them either the acquisition of knowledge upon public questions or the exercise of public duties. Their male representative does that for them and they doubtless are quite content. But we are engaged in the business of emancipating women, even those who are so complacent.

"I am going to read those resolutions into my address for the purpose of reaching the ears of the New England Senators particularly, because the opposition to this amendment comes from the New England Senators and from the Southern Senators, certainly an unholy alliance. The very name of Wendell Phillips ought to arouse the New England conscience to believe that there is something in this contest higher than mere material gain, that there is something, as the President describes, of a spiritual nature, something involving the impalpable rights of persons. For those rights the men of New England gave Wendell Phillips as a missionary to the country and as a result of the gospel which he preached, the black race was freed. The black race is the greatest obstacle to-day in this body to woman suffrage, but standing alone the opposition that arises from that source would not be sufficient unless it was reinforced from New England."

IT was Senator Phelan, too, who made clear the fact that the President was well within his prerogatives when he came to the Senate on his mission for the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

"When the President of the United States sees fit to come to the Senate of the United States during the course of the debate and answer a question which was propounded by one of our colleagues, I should think his course would meet with an eager response.

"The Constitution, Article II, Section 3, says of the President:

"He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper."

"So the President is well within his prerogatives when he comes here in person—a compliment which, indeed, we should appreciate—and answers a question thus propounded.

"What was that question? The Senator from South Carolina [Mr. Benet], who was for some time regarded to be in doubt as to what position he should take upon this subject, said in his address that in case he was convinced that the proposed constitutional amendment was a war measure, notwithstanding the objections which he otherwise had, he would vote for it. Now the President has come before us and stated that it is a war measure."

Perhaps nowhere in his speech was Senator Phelan more illuminating than in his exposition of the President's underlying ethics in urging woman suffrage as a war measure. He said in part:

"To-day the President came here to tell us that this is a war measure. We are engaged in this war, in the business of proving that might is no longer right; that the biological theory of the German philosophers subordinating the weak to the strong and knowing no other right or power than brute strength is the very proposition which we are contesting on the battle fields of Europe. . . .

"Certainly, Mr. President, this is a war measure, because when you ask why we are in this war we are told that it is not a contest between nations, but it is a contest for the supremacy of the right; it is a contest against the claims made by an autocracy that force is the only arbiter between men and between nations. If we deny suffrage to women it is because we are superior in strength to women and deny their intellectual and moral fitness and right to that copartnership which should obtain between men and women in the conduct of the country's affairs.

"So the very issue involved in this war is involved in the conflict between the forces opposed to suffrage and in favor of suffrage. We are asserting that men have a superior right because they have greater strength than woman, a condition that prevails in primitive society. That is all there is to it. We are denying civilization. We are denying to women an equality just as the Hun denies to the Belgians and the Serbs the right to independent existence. So we deny the women the right of an independent existence with respect to their political rights. In the language of autocracy we are saying, 'We can do better for you, so remain comfortably subservient.'

(Continued on page 402)

Women Are Called

to assume bigger responsibilities in every branch of business. Altho otherwise prepared with a sound training, a woman without legal knowledge is unable to respond and make good when opportunity presents itself.

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As Senator Reed Sees Women

ONE of the interesting spectacles on the floor of the Senate on Monday, September 30, the day the President addressed the Senate, was the attachment of Senators Reed and Hardwick to their chairs while every one else in the chamber rose out of respect to the President. Senator Reed's attitude, in particular, attracted the attention of a number of the suffragists in the Northeast Gallery, and newspaper correspondents testify that when the President left the chamber "everybody rose but Reed and Hardwick." According to the correspondent of the *St. Louis Republic*, "It is hardly possible that Senator Reed was so engrossed that he did not notice the President's departure. He had been listening intently to the speech." Newspaper correspondents sit in the Press Gallery directly facing Senator Reed's seat on the Senate floor. The *Republic* has published the following statement from Senator Reed in lieu of a denial:

"I am not disposed to get into a controversy of that kind with such people. I have never treated the President with disrespect in my life, and everybody knows that. That is all I have got to say."

In view of its careful evasion of a categorical answer to the charge, it is more than enough.

And if you want evidence of Senator Reed's valuation of women who dare go to the Capitol to urge consideration of their claims to political liberty, read these paragraphs from his speech of September 27:

"IS it not a strange charge to hear upon the floor of the United States Senate that faith has been broken because a pledge of a certain number of votes, made to a female lobbyist, was not carried out? What right has anybody to make pledges to female lobbyists or male lobbyists or any lobbyist, whether in petticoats or pantaloons? All are alike obnoxious. Is it not a fine state of affairs that the generalissimo of a lobby can from her headquarters summon Republican suffrage Senators as a military chief might summon so many orderly sergeants to demand reports?"

"And if one of these poor sergeants, or, peradventure, lieutenants, shall make a miscount of a single vote shall he be charged with base perfidy? Shall he be held to have betrayed the State because he did not state the exact facts to the female general? At the same time, are Democratic suffrage leaders to be likewise summoned forth and asked for their reports? And after the lobby chief has taken an account from all parts of the field, has surveyed the scene of action, has examined the war map, inspected the gallery to discover whether her heavy artillery is planted in the north gallery, her seventy-sevens stationed in the south gallery, her machine guns located in the east gallery, and the lady patriot who burns up presidential speeches is properly ensconced in the diplomatic gallery, is the lobby chief to give the orders to the Senate of the United States, 'You may now proceed to the consideration of the bill; I command it'? Is it not a contemptible position in which we find ourselves?"

"... But now we find a petticoat brigade awaits outside, and Senate leaders, like little boys, like pages, trek back and forth for orders. If you accept that office, Senators, then put on cap and bells and paint your cheeks like clowns,

as did the court fools of the middle centuries, and do your truckling in a proper garb."

Well, it was certainly a contemptible position in which Senator Reed found himself by the time Senator Lewis, of Illinois, finished with him.

Mr. Lewis. "I desire to give a moment's consideration to the impeachment by the distinguished Senator from Missouri which has come flashing from his genius in his usual characteristic way, inflamed with accusation, accompanied with denunciations, enshrouded in all those things which slay and destroy the dragon that I fear his imagination created to terrorize the thing that he fancied was around him."

"My eminent friend from Missouri, I fear, exaggerates the thing he calls lobby and finds it agreeable to pass a condemnation without qualification, stricture without mercy, upon a situation that has no existence but which must go down as long as anyone remembers these little ephemeral events as a condemnation from a Senator of this body upon a class of people whose only offence confessedly is an endeavor to protect themselves."

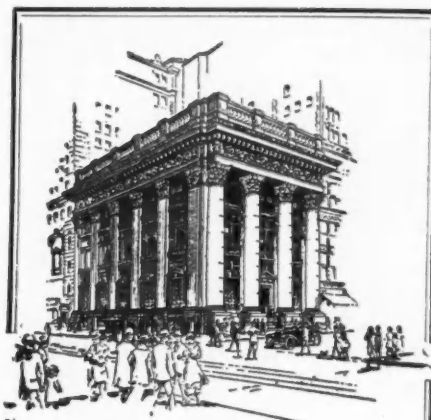
"I have heard my distinguished friend, for whom I have an entertaining affection, sir, characterize these women managers as though they were enemies of the Government which had filled the lobbies of the Senate, as though these leaders were criminals of the country hiding in the purlieus of the Capitol; indeed, as though they were vicious agents seeking to poison the avenues of legislation. I fear the Senator has conceived them in the image of some inhuman monster that was seeking to disgrace the Republic."

"What is this particular thing to which the eminent Senator from Missouri has addressed his anathemas? It appears from a statement as I heard it—I have no knowledge of the facts—that a Senator from Utah, representing one state of thought upon this amendment, and a Senator from Nevada, representing another, seem to have been approached by representatives of women respecting the number of voters in the Senate which could be depended upon in the support of a measure or those which opposed it."

"I am not able to see the offence which my eminent friend from Missouri conjures up in the mere fact that these women, whether they are for this amendment or against the amendment, have taken the precaution to ascertain the status of the thing in which each of them feels their liberties or rights depend."

"Will it be urged by my eminent friend that there is an offence on the part of women who call out their public representatives, their public servants, their constitutional aids of Government to ascertain from them where they stand in respect to their personal rights? Shall it be said they become criminals because they have assumed to say to their public servants the thing which they feel is their right and solicit of them the support of the thing which they feel is their justice?"

"Has it come that a distinguished Senator can on the floor indict these women for coming about and seeking to protect their rights, when every railroad lobbyist in America in the past could with freedom haunt this Capitol when a bill is before the body looking to the guardianship of the Republic, who would intercept the



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course of government for the uses of their private fortunes, when there was not a word to condemn them or their emissaries, however guilty has been their object and criminal has been their design through the long years of senatorial legislation?

"Can it be possible, Mr. President, that certain heads of the great telegraph companies and the telephone companies can be found in every corner of the Capitol at a time when we seek to convert these agencies to the welfare of the Republic, assuming to obstruct it by every mode they could command, and to this there could come no voice that condemns? Can it be said if these are honestly protecting their rights that they are all of a virtue and the women who merely seek to obtain a thing they feel is their liberty are all of a vice? I cannot behold it so."

"Mr. President, the word 'lobby' became a reprehensible term. Rightfully applied it remains so when we have seen a class of men come about this Capitol for years and hold Senators to account and threaten them with dire results at home, or take other measures that might induce the weak, and dare assume those agencies which seduce the corrupt—under such circumstances the word 'lobby' has a place, a meaning, and an application, fitting and reprehensible."

"But can it be said earnestly by a Senator when there is a measure here that relates to a class of people such as these women, when they are the direct objects of the proposed law, when they are to be the direct victims of the defeat of the measure, when, from their viewpoint, their fate and fortune swing in the balance, that they are not to be heard; and if they dare ex-

(Continued on page 402)

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As Senator Reed Sees Women

(Continued from page 401)

press their views here to Senators in the shadow of the Capitol, they are to be branded within that range of criminals of Government whom heretofore we have known as corrupt and guilty lobbyists? I protest against such and call the able Senator to reflection that he may do justice later to whom he has done injustice in the haste of speech."

Senator Reed, who had shown marked restlessness at Senator Lewis's reference to the railroad lobbyist, managed to get the floor at this juncture and, under the caustic goad of Lewis's tongue, presented the interesting spectacle of a United States Senator trying to wipe away the stain of the mud he had been overquick to throw.

Mr. Reed. "The Senator has said that I have made charges against these ladies; that I reflected upon these ladies. The charge that I made was that the Senate, by submitting to their dictation, had reflected upon itself. I cast no reflection whatsoever upon the ladies, and the record of what I have said will clearly demonstrate that."

And then Mr. Lewis in this wise:

"If the observations of the Senator from Missouri had not the purpose of making accusation against the women as lobbyists, then I misunderstood his purpose; and, of course, my criticism in that respect could not apply to a thing which he says he did not intend to say. If said as I understood it—whether through lack of intention or deliberation—I had understood the Senator, and I fancy those all around me must have understood, that his object was a malediction against women for their participation as lobbyists. I gathered that all the more from my eminent friend as he allowed himself in an unreflecting moment to characterize them as 'a petticoat brigade,' and to draw the figure of military and martial movement by referring to a feminine general, who gave her orders to her colonel or her captain, who then brought them in as a messenger to the Senator, and he besought the Senators hereafter that if they should repeat this disgusting performance they should wear the cap and bells of the clown, or like a painted harlequin tremblingly crouch at the feet of their master."

In order that Mr. Reed may stand before our readers in his full self defence, it is only fair to insert here the fact that he made occasion to say a little later that, "when the Senator from Illinois undertook to say that there had been a corrupt lobby of the railroads in this Capitol, and that I had uttered no protest against it, he came very near charging me with being a servant of that lobby."

Phelan's Philippic

(Continued from page 400)

"How can we justify ourselves? As the President says, he wants to be put in a position where he need not be ashamed when he goes before the nations of the world speaking for this democracy. It is clearly our duty to perfect our democracy at home before we preach democracy abroad. Therein also is it a war measure. The hour has arrived when this can be accomplished in this body by the change of a few votes. Why should not those votes be given? Have Senators a pride of opinion which would put them in opposition to the

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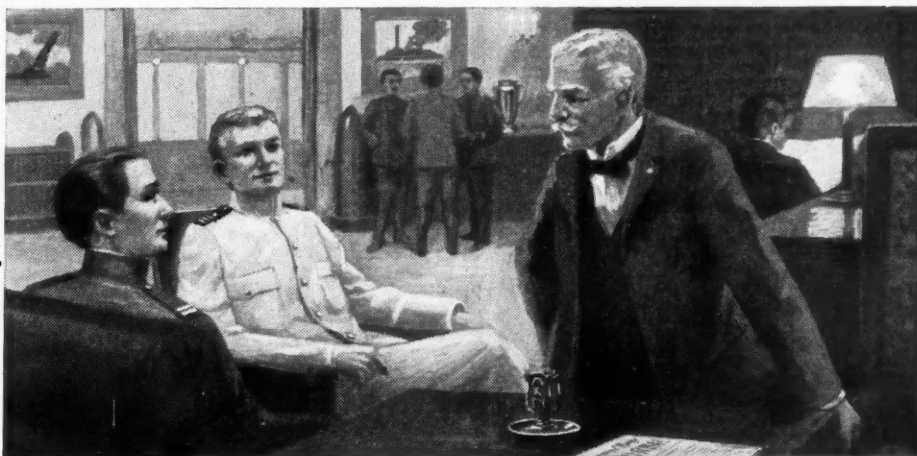
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spirit of the age? Do Senators who inquire whether it is a war measure or not deny the authority of the man who came here to-day to speak, the first authority in the world on that subject, the leader of the American people, the Commander-in-Chief of the boys in the field and the sailors on the sea? After due deliberation, meeting that inquiry, he has said it is a war measure. He wants that weapon with which to win the war. What weapon? Not a new voting constituency in the United States to-day or tomorrow, because if we submit the amendment to-day it will take several years in order to get the ratification of the States, but he wants a clear conscience; he wants to set the country right, if possible, by persuasion of the minds of men; for unless we accept this policy of giving the women the vote, of democratizing the country in a true and real sense, he will just to that extent be weak in presenting the cause of justice and equality, of independence, and of right to the nations of the world.

"He wants the weapon of equal rights to smite the fiends of kingcraft.

"He wants, he says, 'a spiritual weapon.' What is a spiritual weapon? It is built of the thoughts and ideals of a nation. It is built of the hopes and aspirations of one-half of our population. It is built of democracy unalloyed and undefiled and a democracy which embraces not some of the people but all of the people. He asks that the spiritual weapon by the vote of this body be put into his hands. When we go back to our constituencies, with that speech of the President ringing in their ears, because he is their leader, coming to Congress and asking for a weapon, will we say that we denied it? We have given him shot and shells and cannon and we have given the material things with which to fight, but the battle of our inspired leader is to be fought by weapons other than these—by the great idea of liberty and justice for the world. That is the idea which wins the battles, which gave us our own independence—the idea of man being free. I say to-day the idea of men and women being free is something that carries with it an impelling force to those who believe in a full and absolute acceptance of democracy."

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The Last Word About the War

And How Colonel Sibley Was Helped to Write It

SCENE: (Army and Navy Club, New York, where Commander Ellsworth, U. S. N., and Captain Trowbridge, U. S. A., are having a conference and an after-dinner cigar in the Club Library and are joined by Colonel Sibley, U. S. A., retired)

The Colonel: Well, comrades, I win!

The Commander: Been fighting again, Colonel? Who says you're retired?

Colonel: I was retired, but now I'm in action again or soon will be, and this time with the pen instead of the sword.

Captain: How's that?

Colonel (Drawing closer to the table and glancing around): Well, comrades, I don't mind telling you in confidence that I just signed up with the Editor-in-Chief of a big magazine (name censored for the present) to write a series of articles on the Great War.

Commander: Tell us about it.

Colonel: Well, it's going to be a long campaign. The Editor, whom I have just left, wants an extended series of articles, to begin with an exhaustive survey of the causes which led up to the War.

Captain: The causes? All of them? Well, you've sure got your work laid out for you.

Commander: I should say you had.

Colonel: The Editor feels that way

himself. He's now concerned chiefly about what has happened up-to-date and the authority upon which my statements will be based. The Editor's a big gun in the business, you know, and his rivals will be getting his range if he exposes himself. He wants to secure a strategic position so that he can't be successfully attacked on anything he prints.

Captain: Well, what did you suggest?

Colonel: I'll tell you. While he was talking I was thinking and I finally told him that what he wanted as a reserve-force was some late general reference work of recognized reliability that he could fall back on. "That's it," he said, and then asked: "Which one?"

Commander (Turning his head and glancing at a set of The New International Encyclopaedia in its special case): I'll bet I can tell which one you named.

Captain (Glancing at the set): Ours, of course.

Colonel: You're both good guessers. Of course I named The New

International and the Editor nodded his head and said: "That's the very work I had in mind, not only as an authority on the causes of the War and what has already happened, but when peace comes I hear the publishers are to bring the war-volume down to date at once and are to send it to all subscribers in exchange for the war-volume now in their possession so they'll know the last word about the conflict."

Commander: Well, that settled it, I suppose.

Colonel: Yes, I told the Editor that the selection of The New International as our authority simplified the problem and he added that it not only simplified the articles, but solidified them and made them so authoritative that he would be able to follow out with safety his plan to publish the series of articles in book form.

W.C.
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The chosen, frozen man:
The pilot, the man-at-the-wheel,
Whose limit is all that he can,
And beyond, if the need is real!
Hey ho! For the man!

(3)
This is the song of the gun—
The muttering, stuttering gun,
The maddening, gladdening gun:
That chuckles with evil glee
At the last long dive of the Hun,
With its end in eternity!
Hey ho! For the gun!

(4)
This is the song of the air—
The lifting, drifting air,
The eddying, steadying air,
The wine of its limitless space:
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Even death with undaunted face!
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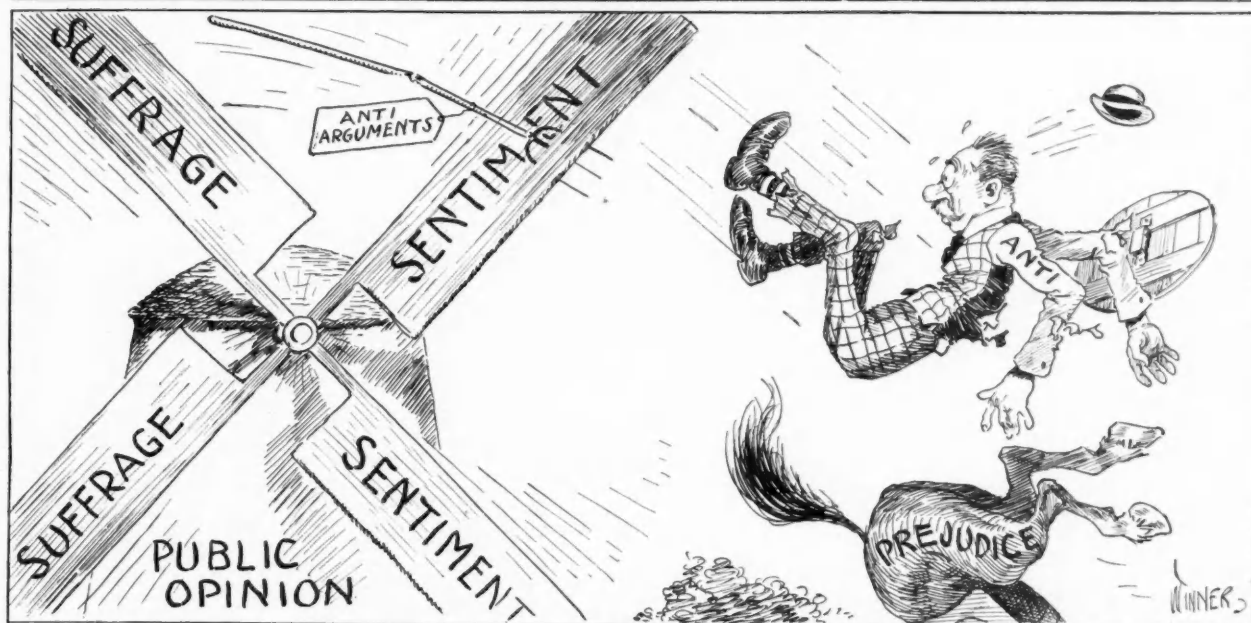
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THE WOMAN CITIZEN

Founded June 2, 1917

Published every Saturday by

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at 171 Madison Avenue, New York

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VOL. III OCTOBER 19, 1918 No. 21

PUBLISHED by the Woman Citizen Corporation, in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

The directors of the Corporation are Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, and Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore.

Alice Stone Blackwell is a special contributing editor.

Rose Young is the editor-in-chief.

Mary Ogden White, Mary Sumner Boyd, and Rose Lawless Geyer are associate editors.

Our Circulation Story

By nature we are modest, and inordinately shy about telling our good points, so it is especially fortunate that our good friends are willing to come to the front and tell them for us.

We are delighted to have our correspondents constantly emphasizing the fact that the *Woman Citizen* is a storehouse of information, particularly on the liveliest political topic of the day.

"There is news in that paper we do not get anywhere else," is the way William Bass of Alden, New York, expresses his opinion of the *Woman Citizen* as a political weekly.

"The *Woman Citizen* is the one medium in all the United States that I rely upon to give me accurate information about woman's affairs and suffrage," is the word from Mrs. Henry W. Hardon, of Wilton, Conn., who is one of the very active members of the Liberty Loan Committee in her district.

"The *Woman Citizen* is invaluable, especially just at this time. Under no consideration could we think of letting our subscription lag," is the way Miss Margaret Robinson, of Clarksburg, W. Va., feels about it.

It is fine to know all these things and also to know that our leaders and active workers in the cause feel the need of just such help as one can find in the *Citizen*.

Mrs. John S. Cunningham, who finds time for active service in Liberty Loan drives and war service, as well as leading the suffragists of North Carolina, sends us the following message:

"It is the very best weekly I know, and I should be a good judge. I lived twenty years on a big Southern plantation and read widely all those years. I think all the leading magazines came to my desk, and by now I should know a good one by sight. I could not be President of the North Carolina Suffrage Association without the *Woman Citizen*."

To those who think suffrage a new idea for the South, we commend the following from Ophelia L. Amigh, of Mt. Pinson, Ala.: "I learned my suffrage lesson personally from Susan B. Anthony and would give up several other publications rather than the *Woman Citizen*."

The South is very much alive to suffrage, and one of the interesting aftermaths of the vote in the Senate is the storm of protest that has arisen among the women in those states whose senators failed to stand four square for democracy.

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October 5th

October 12th

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- 3 Georgia
- 4 Indiana
- 5 Michigan
- 6 Minnesota
- 7 New Jersey
- 8 Wisconsin
- 9 Massachusetts
- 10 New York
- 11 Ohio
- 12 Virginia
- 13 New Hampshire
- 14 Missouri
- 15 Alabama
- 16 Texas
- 17 Maryland
- 18 Pennsylvania
- 19 Maine
- 20 Louisiana
- 21 West Virginia
- 22 Connecticut
- 23 South Carolina
- 24 Tennessee
- 24 Kentucky
- 26 Arkansas
- 27 North Dakota
- 28 Washington, D. C.
- 29 Rhode Island
- 30 Nebraska—Oklahoma
- 31 Washington—Mississippi
- 32 Illinois—Kansas
- 33 North Carolina
- 34 Vermont

- 1 Iowa
- 2 South Dakota
- 3 Georgia
- 4 Indiana
- 5 Michigan
- 6 Minnesota
- 7 New Jersey
- 8 Wisconsin
- 9 Massachusetts
- 10 New York
- 11 Ohio
- 12 Virginia
- 13 New Hampshire
- 14 Missouri
- 15 Alabama
- 16 Texas
- 17 Maryland
- 18 Pennsylvania
- 19 Maine
- 20 Louisiana
- 21 West Virginia
- 22 Connecticut
- 23 South Carolina—Tennessee
- 24 Kentucky
- 25 Arkansas
- 26 Washington, D. C.
- 27 North Dakota
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The Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

A Journal of Democracy

October 19, 1918

"We shall fight for things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

An Appeal to All Suffragists

VICTORY follows victory in such rapid succession on the Western front that we can scarcely keep pace in thought with the swift advance of our conquering armies.

And when we ask the reason for this series of constant successes, we find it in the fact that the direction of all the allied armies is centered in the leadership of one great general.

Today, when the hearts of millions of women in the United States and in our allied countries are filled with the disappointment of the failure to win at this time our objective in the battle for democracy in the Senate of the United States, which would enable the nation to keep pace with our countrymen fighting for the same ideal of democracy in France and other parts of the world, we must not forget for a single moment that we, too, are fighting under the leadership of the great Commander-in-Chief of American forces.

The failure to win our battle must not dishearten us or lead us to forget that the war is one, here and over there. As the Commander-in-Chief has not failed us in a single battle in our struggle since he promised in 1916 to fight with us, so must we be equally faithful in our duty to our country, and as our next task we must consecrate ourselves with renewed fervor to the obligation of raising the \$6,000,000,000 for the prosecution of the war.

It is an essential service to the ultimate triumph both in this country and overseas of the great struggle "for the reign of law based upon the consent of the governed."

Let our share in rolling up this gigantic loan to the

Government be our testimonial of gratitude to the President of the United States for his continual support, to the sixty-two Senators, the 274 members of the House of Representatives and to the men of every state, many of them now fighting in foreign lands, who have so generously given us their aid.

This is the greatest present service which we can render our cause and our country.

When this drive is over, let us again enter the trenches and take up our battle cry for justice.

The Hindenburg Line is crumbling before our men in the old world.

So will the wall of conservatism, of ancient traditions, of the rule of might, yield to the spirit of right and justice and of democratic progress in the new.

Suffragists of America, your country looks to you in this hour of need.

The President asks for your sustaining support and service; let that service prove equal to his generous loyalty to your cause.

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSN.,

Carrie Chapman Catt, President.

Anna Howard Shaw, Honorary President.

* * * * *

THE above appeal was sent out over the country from Suffrage House, 1626 Rhode Island Avenue, Washington, headquarters of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, on October 3, two days after the United States Senate failed to pass the Federal Suffrage Amendment because of the stubborn stand of thirty-four willful Senators, who refused the President's plea for the passage of the amendment as a measure vital to the winning of the war.

The President and the Senate

Looking Backward

THE Senate voted on woman suffrage with its face to the past and its back to the present and the future.

In an hour when woman is proving her mettle as never before in history, when she is showing that her blood runs as red as any man's, when by the million she has laid aside her dainty frocks for greasy jumpers and overalls in order to *fight*, the Senate fears to trust her with the ballot. Standing shoulder to shoulder with man in the multitudinous activities of the war, with the single exception of carrying a gun, her claim to equality is spurned.

We have already apportioned to Republican "antis" their share of the responsibility. We have said that Mr. Wilson's efforts may save his own party from its just share of criticism. But how about the actual facts of the vote? Twenty of the thirty negative votes were Democratic; a majority of these twenty came from south of Mason and Dixon's line, and they include most of the leaders of the party. This cannot be neglected by any fair-minded man seeking which of the great parties still offers the best hopes of liberalism.

"States' rights" was the ball and chain which hobbled these Bourbons in the march of progress—that and the bogy of the black man. And it is a permanent hobble. Senator Williams of Mississippi showed at one and the same time both his chivalry and his vaunted "love" of the President by declaring: "When the President says we can't lick Ludendorff, scare Bulgaria and reconquer Palestine because 'nigger' women can't vote in Mississippi, I decline to agree with him."

What about the white women of Mississippi?

Certain self-appointed high priests of American patriotism wearing a Democratic button in their lapels have been warning us, in voices husky from emotion, that the only way to win the war is to stand back of the President. They have intimated, by way of interpretation, that the election of so much as a Republican weed commissioner might be construed abroad as a weakening of the country's allegiance to its chief magistrate.

Where do the votes of thirty anti-suffrage Democratic senators fit into this picture?

Last Monday the President personally addressed the Senate, and earnestly and eloquently urged that body to vote for woman suffrage as a war measure. He pointed out England's promise of equal suffrage and the explicit pledges of both our great national parties to the same effect. He besought the body that they prove the sincerity of America's watchword of equality in order that the listening peoples of the old world might hear and be glad.

The result was an almost fifty-to-fifty split among the members of his own political faith, while the Republicans voted for the measure in the ratio of almost three to one.

"Stand by the President" and "Politics are adjourned" are good texts just now. But a discriminating electorate must note which party practices them. It must not let a Republican minority of reaction falsely brand the G. O. P., nor must it permit a war President to gloss over the ineradicable Bourbonism of the southern Democracy.—Chicago Post.

Florida's Reaction

THE contention of Senators Duncan U. Fletcher and Park Trammell that they represented their state when they voted against the Federal Amendment is a disputable point, according to the reports from Florida. At a recent session of the Miami Equal Suffrage League Herman B. Walker, a leading business

man of the state, told the members of that organization that it was up to the suffragists of Florida to show the Senators whether or not they had correctly interpreted the wishes of Florida people.

"In public statements," said Mr. Walker, "the two United States Senators from Florida have said that they are more afraid of the results of enfranchising negro women than of continuing to disfranchise white women. If a majority of the voters of Florida hold this same view, these Senators have made a proper decision. If a majority of the people of Florida, on the other hand, are more alive to the injustice of denying women a vote than they are afraid of the negro question, these Senators will probably learn the fact when they come up for re-election."

Mr. Walker touched on one of the sorest points in the whole suffrage situation when he took exception to the statement of Senator Fletcher that there is a way for women to get the vote through the states. He cited the fact that the unprogressive section of Florida, which controls the Legislature, refused last year to allow an amendment to the state constitution to be submitted. "The Legislature has refused to allow the people of Florida to vote on the adoption of an amendment to the state constitution," said the speaker. "Now the two Senators from Florida are voting against the submission of a federal amendment. These are the only two methods through which Florida women may obtain the vote, and men assuming to represent Florida voters in this matter have in both instances taken a position opposed to giving the people of the state a chance to vote on the question."

What Editors Say

THE action of the Senate is slightly discouraging, but that is all. The measure will come up in November, and another fight will be made for passage. Women, and men who have broadmindedly recognized their rights in the matter of suffrage and other duties of unrestricted citizenship, have grown firm in their conviction and the struggle that has been going on for years to secure that which has been withheld is sure to be victorious eventually. Each defeat brings the champions of equal rights nearer to a realization of their hopes.—Sun, Pittsburg, Pa.

THERE is no question that he [the President] did all in his power to obtain the passage of the measure. If more members of his party voted against it than did the Republicans, as many voted for it as did the Republicans. For home discussion it is to be noted that both our Massachusetts Senators voted against it.

It may be that this will stop the national suffragist campaign for a time; but it will be sure to be renewed, and by reason of the votes of women in so many states, now including New York, the chances are that it will not long be delayed.—Post, Boston, Mass.

AS a measure of gratitude for the work of women in the war, as a pure matter of human political rights, and in the exercise of good faith toward the past professions of both of the great parties in favor of the enlargement of the franchise, the constitutional amendment should be made effective as soon as the processes of law permit.

The plea is a strong one and may have a determinative influence at the Capitol. The President on this issue is forceful—and right.—Bulletin, Providence, R. I.

PRESIDENT WILSON appears in the Senate to urge the constitutional amendment for extending woman suffrage throughout the nation.

His action was unexpected and forceful. Senators opposed to woman suffrage are said to be vexed. Some think it affronted their senatorial dignity. If true, this is unimportant. It isn't worth a thought. Too many important things are at issue in this year of war. One of these important things is the extension of suffrage to women of the United States.—*Press*, Cleveland, Ohio.

IN Mr. Wilson's program of world justice, which embraces the case of suffering people the world over, it is important that there be no flagrant cases of injustice in the land at the head of the government of which he stands and for which he is spokesman.

Mr. Wilson is the author of many declarations, received in all parts of the world as declarations of extraordinary value to humanity. It was unescapable, in his mind, that a nation fighting for the freedom of the world should so have its own house in order that the pressure it put upon backward nations should have no embarrassments at home.—*Tribune*, Chicago, Ill.

SENATOR UNDERWOOD may be proud of his leadership of the reactionary forces in the United States Senate, anti-prohibition, anti-suffrage, and anti almost everything which is in the line of progress, but we predict that he has passed the zenith of his popularity in Alabama and will have to give way soon to some man more in sympathy with the progressive forces of the day. Alabama is reactionary enough, but fortunately, she is ahead of her Senator.—*Courier*, Fairhope, Alabama.

PRESIDENT WILSON is never happier and he never makes a more compelling demand on our interest and admiration than when he grasps some perplexing problem that has become soiled and misshapen in the arena of public affairs and lifts it, cleansed and purified, to the higher plane of his practical idealism.

In what he has done to some of the world enigmas that selfishness had distorted and war had atrophied he has earned the deepest gratitude of the Allies, while his clear vision and sound judgment have been an inspiration to his own countrymen.

Today he appears as the champion of the suffrage cause and the magnetic power of his advocacy lies in the fact that he looks at the question from a new and more worthy viewpoint. Others before him have urged the granting of their "rights" to women on the plea of justice and many have favored the passage of such a measure on the grounds of expediency as a war measure. President Wilson sifts the pure metal of both arguments and welds the particles into a composite whole that is purged of its dross and holds the basic truths of both components. "The tasks of women lie at the very heart of the war and I propose to admit them to suffrage as I would propose to admit soldiers."

Thus at one stroke Mr. Wilson brushes aside the barrier of sex and views suffrage as the honorable badge of citizenship. It is not for the rights of women he pleads but for the rights of cosmic humanity, the democracy of his ideal, and he shows how important a part woman plays in this world, driving home the truth that to deprive woman of an opportunity of undertaking the part assigned to her is a negation of democracy itself.

Not to grant the suffrage, he argues, is to deprive, not women, but humanity of the most powerful weapon in its armory. To refuse the counsellings of women, he suggests, is to paralyze the sword arm of justice. To spurn their wisdom, which passes man's knowledge, is to risk the full achievement of the purification of the world. "Without their counsellings we shall be only half wise," sagely declares the President.

Finally he clinches his plea with the irrefutable argument that many of the problems of after-the-war reconstruction will be eminently women's problems. Towards a solution of many of them professors and learned scientists will grope in the dark,

while the intuition of women, in fields which they have trodden, guided only by their instinct and natural promptings, will lead into the open spaces of betterment and world progress.—*Montreal Daily Star*.

New York Women Register

MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT and Miss Mary Garrett Hay were among the first women in New York city to register for the elections on November 5. They went together to the election booth at 507 Columbus Ave., on October 7, the first of the six registration days.

Mrs. Catt's registration was by way of being a celebration, as it took place 28 years to a day after her first speech for the cause of woman suffrage.

During the six registration days in New York city, October 7 to 12, the registration of men and women passed the 1,000,000 mark, the total number for both sexes being 1,014,789, or 318,740 more than last year. This is the first time in the City's history, that the voters' list has gone beyond a million. In the presidential elections of 1916 it was 739,250.

The male registration this year ran behind that of last by at least 96,000 votes—a perfectly natural falling off in view of the fact that about 200,000 men are in war service.

The grand total of registered women in the five boroughs is 414,760 as against 600,029 men. That is, the women made up about 41% of the total registration. The best comparative record for the women was in Bronx Borough, where they were 47% of the registration. The five counties ran fairly even, enough so to make one think there is some natural proportion of three to two in the voting strength of New York men and women. Both men and women speeded up the registration on the last day when the highest single day total the City has ever seen was reached. This amounted to 366,941, of which women were 44%.

In addition to the women's lack of habitude in voting and their timidity, ravaging illness and preoccupation with the Fourth Loan, were deterrents to a larger registration. Even as it stands, however, the women's general average of 41% runs about true to type for first elections.

In the Chicago Spring elections of 1914—the first at which women voted—out of the total registration of 672,897, about one-third, or 217,614, were women. When the vote was taken 73 per cent of the registered women, 156,686, came up to the polls to vote as against 328,987, or 72 per cent of the registered men.

Yet no one has had any cause to complain of the quantity or quality of the woman's vote in Chicago. According to the *New York Times*—no friend to woman suffrage—the figures for the 1916 Illinois elections showed a woman vote of 1,269,331 as compared with a male vote of 1,343,381.

Suffragists therefore are assured that the reason why New York's first woman registration beats that of Chicago is due to the increasing interest of women in public questions. Women are more and more anxious to have a voice in choosing their representatives in government.

If the proportion of men to women in New York city is maintained throughout the state the vote on November 5 will be increased 624,028 over the state vote in the presidential elections of 1916—and will run well over 2,300,000.

Miss Hay expresses the opinion that the large showing of women is due to their desire to "support those candidates who will stand by the government and help to win the war. Because of this, and because of the numbers they have mustered, they will be a big factor in the coming election."

Registration figures for the state will not be complete until next week.

How the Antis Work

I. They say one thing here and another there

WHAT kind of propaganda against suffrage is being sent into your section of the country?

By the type you receive, you will know just what the antis think you are.

They have brands of opposition matter which they send out according to a sliding scale.

They tell communities which they consider "backwoods," "mossbacks," that suffragists believe and practice "free love," thus libelling the staunchest, bravest, most high-minded group of women of any country and any age—women like Julia Ward Howe, Florence Nightingale, Frances Willard, Clara Barton.

If the antis send the story of "free love" into your community it is because they think your community is behind the times and can be fooled. They do not blunder thus in New York city, Washington, D. C., Philadelphia, or Boston. They know they would be laughed to scorn if they did.

In the 1915 campaign in New Jersey, the antis tried it. They sent out secretly an "open letter to clergymen," in which they made such offensive remarks about women that they shocked many clergymen into a repudiation of the whole anti attack, with the result that several denominational bodies endorsed the suffrage movement. Since then others have followed suit. For, said these clergymen, every woman is some man's wife or mother or sister or daughter and the women we know are not like that.

In 1915 the anti-suffragists warned men against feminism and gave this as their definition of it: "Feminism means competition of women with men in all fields of labor—in every trade and occupation. . . ." And they called this a reason for denying women the vote! That was before the war. Now it has become a mark of women's loyal spirit in all Allied countries to volunteer for "every trade and occupation." Even before the war the suffragists believed that women should serve wherever duty called them. It is a kind of feminism they are proud to own. Are you afraid of such feminism?

II. They say one thing today and another tomorrow

Three years ago, since the world war began, in fact, the anti-suffragists warned men to vote against woman suffrage because the "granting of the vote to women would not bring with it the end of wars." They asked: "Would it be right for women to vote that men should fight for their country when they themselves cannot fight, send their men to their death?"

These are the *very same men* who say in 1918 that they will not vote for woman suffrage because some women somewhere were opposed to the United States going into war.

In 1915 they decried "the Amazons, Joan of Arc, Boadicea, Semiramis, the women crusaders, the women of the French revolution," because they were warlike. In 1918 they shout themselves hoarse because some women are peaceful.

The anti-suffragists are all things to you to catch your ear. If they think you are a pacifist they will decry militancy. If they think you are a capitalist, they will shout "down with Socialism." If they think you a trade unionist, they will tell you woman suffrage never helps labor.



WELL PROTECTED

In the 1915 campaign of the four eastern states, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York and Pennsylvania, they told the prohibition sections that woman suffrage had never prohibited the liquor traffic, while they were telling the liquor interests to defeat woman suffrage because it would bring prohibition.

III. They attack like cowards

The real opposition to women is based upon the desire to keep women a subjugated sex, docile to the will of men. Anti-suffragists are the only American men who really despise women and believe them inferior to the men of the race. They do not dare say this, for the men of the United States would hate them if they did. So they flatter

women in public and deride them when they dare. Witness Senator Reed's speech on August 8, 1918, when he amused the Senate through four pages of the Congressional Record by saying over and over again that women do not obey laws or understand the meaning of statutes. *And some Senators found it funny.*

While women are giving their sons and husbands, their time and strength to help win the war, these men thought it suitable to find women's interest in democracy an affair for laughter.

Are these men real Americans?

IV. They are poor patriots

Among the anti-suffragists who have done the most to keep political freedom away from women, are:

James W. Wadsworth of New York, who was a member of the New York State militia before America went into the war, and resigned just as the possibility of active service began to take form. Senator Wadsworth has never explained to the American public why he is a parlor patriot;

Congressman Jeff McLemore, who voted against woman suffrage and offered the famous McLemore resolution to keep Americans off ships like the Lusitania instead of making Germany responsible for the lives of non-combatants.

Senator James Reed of Missouri, who opposed the draft bill, who opposed the appointment of Mr. Hoover, who opposed food control in the United States and one of the two men in the Senate on September 30, who showed the President of the United States the disrespect of not rising to his feet when Mr. Wilson was in the Senate Chamber;

And his companion, who also sat before the President, Senator Thos. W. Hardwick, of Georgia, too disloyal to support the Administration's war measures, and defeated by his own State for not supporting the President;

Also Senator Frank B. Brandagee of Connecticut, who characterized American Women working to win the war, as "pink tea-parties, talking about putting pink chemises on men." The uniforms of war working women he designated as "Plymouth Rock pants on women." "Women," he said, "do not propose to go over in the trenches abroad and do the fighting. It is the men who have got to do that." The women are only "bleating around here about saving democracy."

In such contempt as this do the anti-suffrage Senators in Washington really hold women. Is it any wonder that to them human freedom should be a thing for sneers?

Success

I HEARD a new anti-suffrage argument the other day, and as they are not any too plentiful at any time I felt it my duty to write it down.

The gentleman began innocently by declaring that this was an age of specialists, when each wise person studied to do one thing well, and let all other things go; that each person had a certain predilection which it was wise to follow and a certain capacity beyond which it was impossible to go. He said that many a good farmer had been lost in a poor lawyer, and a happy sailor had developed into a grouchy farmer, grouchy because he did not know what he wanted. The world was suffering from misfits. To all of which we gave cheerful assent. But all at once the scene was changed. He said the reason we had so many unhappy homes and discontented women was because women were forgetting or mistaking their place in life, and in doing many things foreign to their capacity, they were losing the art of being real women. Just here we wanted to ask what was meant by the art of being a real woman, but we reserved this question.

Then came the story.

Once a man bought a fine watch dog, guaranteed to be a genuine burglar alarm; whose presence would insure the safety of silverware and diamonds, even though doors were left unlocked. The dog lived right up to specifications and all went well. But the man was not content to have his dog merely a watch dog; he thought he would like to teach him some tricks. So he taught him to carry parcels, and soon the dog brought the meat home from the butcher's, and the bread from the baker's.

One night the man was awakened by a curious sound in the house—it seemed as if some one were walking in a room down stairs. Of course, he knew it could not be burglars or his dog would have given the alarm. Then he thought of the awful possibility of the burglars having killed the dog—that did happen sometimes; and he went cautiously down the stairs. Sure enough, a burglar masked and armed was filling his bag with the silver; and the dog! his trusted watch dog was carrying the lantern for the burglar!

You see, the dog got his tricks mixed, that was all that had happened.

"Now," he went on, "that is what is happening to our women. They are forgetting that their place in life is just to make a home for some man, and raise children, and everything they do should be to this end."

STRANGE, isn't it, how these middle ages ideas will re-occur when you are not looking for them either. It is rather a barbaric belief that one-half the human race have no other function than to perpetuate the race, and were destined to have no life of their own. Certain plants, and animals have no plan for survival except numbers; and it always seems a pitiful waste that so many must die that one may live. Yet these are insensate things; but what a tragic and appalling belief it is that human beings are born into the world destined to utter failure, for according to this theory of life, the woman who does not marry, or have children, is a failure, a blot, like a stunted tree which throws no shade, bears no fruit, nor even gives shelter in its branches to the nesting bird.

I rejoice in a brighter belief than this. I believe that there is neither male nor female in God's sight, bond or free, for all are human beings with hearts to feel, hands to work, and lives to live. I believe that for every human soul there is a plan and the plan

By Nellie L. McClung, Author of "Next of Kin" includes health and happiness and achievement. That success does

not depend upon any physical condition or accident of circumstances, but is measured only by the development of character. The man who sweeps the street, if he does it well, honestly earning his money, and thinking kindly of his friends and neighbors, is a successful man, while the man who rolls by in his limousine, who thinks meanly and bitterly of all men, because his own heart is hard and his eyes darkened, is a failure, no matter how he is rated at the bank.

Similarly, I believe that the woman who stands behind the counter, or over the wash-tub, or sits on the throne, who lives up to the light that she has and does the best she can, thinking kindly of every human being, recognizing her duty to others, and ready to help along, even at the expense of her own comfort, is a successful woman, whether she is the mother of ten children or none at all.

A Belated Objector

ENGLAND is now wrestling with the question whether women may sit in Parliament. Some Americans, apparently, are also bothered with difficulties on that subject. A letter just received from a good suffragist says that she lately asked a man why he was so opposed to having a woman hold any public office, and he answered:

Mrs. ———, you are the mother of five lovely children. If you were called upon to take your seat in Congress, or in any other public position, just before any one of those children were born, do you think that you would feel in condition to sit there among those men and debate. Don't you think you would feel better if you were at home?"

My correspondent asks what answer should be made to this. Undoubtedly, a woman would find it inconvenient to take part in a Congressional debate when she was on the point of becoming a mother; but are women to be excluded from all positions which could not conveniently be held by a woman on the eve of childbirth? A woman at that time could not conveniently serve in Congress, but neither could she conveniently serve as a nurse, or a school teacher, or a factory hand, or an office stenographer, or a domestic servant, or a scrubwoman. This objection has always been urged against women's entering upon any position or profession which men looked upon as desirable and wanted to keep for themselves; but it has not been urged against women's doing things much harder, provided those things were undesirable and ill-paid.

Childbirth is not a sudden and unexpected event like an attack of apoplexy. It is always foreseen in advance, and women prepare for it accordingly. No person is compelled to hold office. The experience of the suffrage states shows that mothers of young families seldom become candidates and there is not an instance on record of any woman accepting a nomination while expecting a visit from the stork. In the course of the past 25 years, 159 women have served as members of various state Legislatures; and thus far no trouble whatever has arisen from this cause. This objector is behind the times.

A. S. B.

Buy Liberty Bonds



ENGINEERS' CORPS OF THE GAS UNIT
LEFT TO RIGHT: MISS WINIFRED WARDER, MISS
ELEANOR MELLEN, CAPT. M. FORD, MISS PAULINE
PERRY, MISS GLADYS BROWN (SITTING)

Suffrage Service Flag Now Has Twenty-three Stars

THE twenty-three stars in the service flag of the National American Woman Suffrage Association refer to those women actually in front line service who have held office in the suffrage associations here, or who have performed signal service for the suffrage cause. Their names are:

1. Miss Heloise Meyer, of Massachusetts, first auditor of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, scheduled for canteen work in France.
2. Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, member of the Congressional Committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, in charge of Women's Motor Corps in Europe.
3. Miss Irene C. Boyd, of the New York Suffrage Party, serving in a United States base hospital with the American Expeditionary Forces in France.
4. Dr. Esther Pohl-Lovejoy, president of the Oregon Suffrage League, serving on the "Fund for French Wounded."
5. Miss Mary Dewson, chairman of the Legislative Committee of the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association, social worker in France at the call of Major Grayson P. Murphy.
6. Miss Lodovine LeMoyné, publicity chairman of the Fall River Equal Suffrage League, serving in a United States base hospital with the American Expeditionary Forces in France.
7. Miss Elizabeth G. Bissell, of Dubuque, corresponding secretary of the Iowa Equal Suffrage Association, in the French Red Cross canteen.
8. Miss Susan P. Ryerson, former corresponding secretary, Chicago Equal Suffrage Association, now bacteriological expert attached to base hospital in France.

9. Miss Henrietta Taylor, of the Suffrage League of Pine Bluffs, Ark., Red Cross hospital nurse.

10. Dr. Ethel Lyon Heard, vice-president of the Galveston, Texas, Equal Suffrage Association, with the American Red Cross at Chalons.

11. Mrs. Norman deR. Whitehouse, chairman of the New York State Woman Suffrage Party, on special mission.

12. Miss Elizabeth Biddlecombe, secretary of the Newport (N. H.) Suffrage Association, is serving with the Smith College Unit.

13. Dr. Caroline Finley
14. Dr. Mary Lee Ed- } With
wards } Women's

15. Dr. Anna Von } Oversea
Sholly } Hospitals

16. Dr. Alice Gregory

17. Miss Katharine M. Porter, recording secretary of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, in the Y. M. C. A. Overseas canteen.

18. Mrs. Raymond Brown, second vice-president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, in France on a special mission for the Women's Oversea Hospitals.

19. Dr. Adah McMahon, member of the Board of the Equal Franchise League of Indiana, serving in the new gas unit of the Women's Overseas Hospital.

20. Miss Josephine Miller, of Arkansas, a National American Woman Suffrage Association organizer, Red Cross nurse who has formed a Red Cross Committee in every suffrage organization she has started.

21. Miss Josephine Conger, of the Chicago Equal Suffrage Association, canteen worker in France.

22. Miss Lucile Ryan, of Oskaloosa, Iowa, sailed for Italy on September 18, as expert accountant for the Red Cross. Miss Ryan was vice-president of the Mahaska County Suffrage Association during the Iowa suffrage campaign.

23. Miss Adah Bush, vice-president of the Women's Franchise League, of Indiana, Y. M. C. A. worker.

STARS AND STRIPES is the official newspaper edited and published in France "by and for the soldiers of the American Expeditionary Force." In a recent issue the following significant statement appears: "The only live campaign in the United States of America is the women's campaign for the suffrage amendment, which goes on regardless of the fact that the anti-suffragists have repeatedly announced that it pains them and that it is a shame to talk about it during a perfectly good war."

The Suffrage Wk

ON THE 10

The death of Miss Eva Emmons, nurse, is the first casualty reported from the suffrage front. Miss Emmons, who is the wife of Dr. Raymond Brown, has just announced Miss Emmons' death while in active service at Labouheyre.

Winifred Warder of the Engineer Corps, in the first picture—also died of influenza on October 10, and was interred in the military cemetery.



DOCTORS OF GAS UNIT
LEFT TO RIGHT: DR. ALICE FLOOD, NEW YORK; DR. IRENE MAY MORSE, CLINTON, MASS.; DR. ADAM McMAHON, ST. LOUIS



TRUCK AND T

Worker and the War

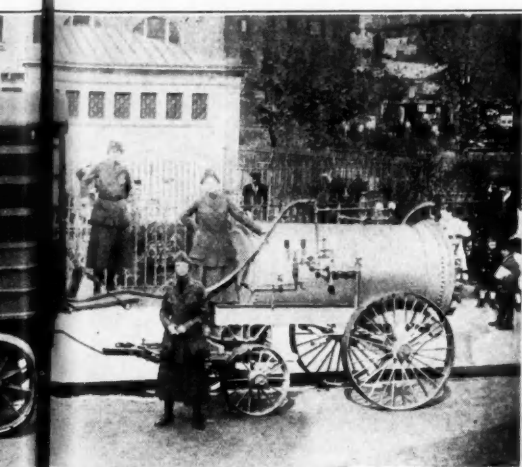
THE OF HONOR

nurse and refugee unit of the Women's Oversea Hospitals, the suffragists in France. A cable from Mrs. Ray-Emma's death from pneumonia. She was stricken down

er Corps first figure at the left of the group in today's October the American Hospital in Bordeaux. She was



NIT OF THE WOMEN'S OVERSEA HOSPITALS
YORK: DR. MARIE LOUISE LEFORT, MEDICAL DIRECTOR;
A.; DEBETH BRUN, BROOKLYN, N. Y., AND DR. ADAH
N, ST. LAFAYETTE, IND.



ED T OF THE GAS UNIT

Gas Unit Arrives in France

THE first all-women Engineer Corps for service among gas victims at the fighting front has cabled safe arrival in France. This staff is in charge of gigantic motor vehicles which are a part of the equipment of the gas unit, the third of the Women's Oversea Hospitals, U. S. A., sent to France by the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

The mobile equipment consists of huge 3-ton and 2-ton trucks carrying apparatus for hot water baths and a trailer for disinfecting clothing.

Truck and trailer will be driven by women chauffeurs. Hot water bath apparatus sufficient for eight baths at a time is carried on the truck, and is worked by women experts. In the trailer is an arrangement for disinfecting clothes at the same time the baths are given. Women engineers will heat the water and run the disinfectors. They have taken special lessons from the American manufacturers in the manipulation of this apparatus.

This is the first complete equipment of the sort to go to the front.

The unit's captain is Mignonne Ford, of New Milford, Conn., and the four other members of the Engineer Corps are: Miss Winifred Warder, Miss Eleanor Mellen, Miss Pauline Perry and Miss Gladys Brown.

Captain Ford is a Smith graduate and a woman farmer. When she left for France she carried along with her in her trunk a pet pig neatly cured as bacon. "I raised that pig myself," said Captain Ford on the eve of departing. "I couldn't bear to leave him behind, and this is the only way I could get him to France. I am sure he will taste good on fine frosty mornings."

Whereupon Miss Warder relieved her soul of a similar confession. "I've a waffle iron in my trunk," she acknowledged. "I wasn't going to tell, but I can make wonderful waffles and they will just match the pig."

"If there were only some one going who owned a pet maple sugar tree," sighed the Engineer Corps in unison, "wouldn't it make us think we were still in good old United States!"

The last member of the Gas Unit to arrive in France is Dr. Nellie Barnes, ophthalmologist, of St. Paul, Minn. She will head a much needed branch of service for gas victims.

Alice Davison, daughter of Henry P. Davison, of the American Red Cross, is employed as inspector by the DeForest Radio Telephone and Telegraph Company.



NURSES AND AIDS IN THE GAS UNIT OF THE WOMEN'S OVERSEA HOSPITALS, U. S. A. LEFT TO RIGHT: MISS ANNE CLARK, MISS EDYTHE LACEY, MISS ANNE HALSEY, MISS CLARA PAQUET

Contributions Received During September for Women's Oversea Hospitals

Reported by Emma W. Rogers, Treasurer

Laura B. Collier.....	\$10.00
Woman Suffrage Party, Brooklyn.....	109.00
Pennsylvania Woman Suffrage Association	237.44
Texas Equal Suffrage Association.....	7.00
Equal Suffrage Association, North Carolina	68.00
L. L. Kimball.....	1.00
Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association	314.50
Eastern, D. of C. High School (Graduating Class).....	67.62
Mrs. William C. Gannett.....	25.00
Schuyler County Woman Suffrage Party	25.00
Myrta L. Jones.....	25.00
R. I. Woman Suffrage Party.....	3,000.00
Equal Suffrage League, St. Louis, Mo..	500.00
Mrs. Homer Earle Sargent.....	5.00
Katharine T. Moore.....	100.00
Luise M. Keese.....	5.00
Iowa Equal Suffrage Association.....	9.00
Annie P. Franchot.....	25.00
Mrs. George D. Pratt.....	1,000.00
Mrs. Alexis Stein.....	25.00
Alice S. Hawkes.....	100.00
Rosalie Sickles Pusey.....	5.00
Anna N. Law.....	18.00
	\$5,681.56

Army Nurses

The National Executive Committee of the Army and Navy Reunion at its annual session, admitted army nurses to full honors, along with men honorably discharged from army, navy or marine corps.

Do Interests Conflict?

By Alice Stone Blackwell

"We who represent the suffrage movement ask not that women be like men, but that they be greater women by having their opinions respected at the ballot box."

S. B. ANTHONY.

WITH woman suffrage apparently close to its final triumph, the opponents of equal rights are full of fears, and some of them relieve their minds by calling names. One of these gentlemen, W. W. Gregg, lately described all men and women who have not at least four children as "neuters," and members of a "third sex," and intimated that the suffragists were mostly of this kind. His article called out so much dissent that he has devoted five columns more of fine type in a New York daily to an effort to explain and defend his position.

He abandoned his claim that every one who is not the parent of four children is a "neuter"—perhaps because it had been pointed out that this definition would include most of the prominent anti-suffragists as members of the "third sex." He now limits this class to persons who have not "the minimum number of two or three." He then quietly drops out of sight the bachelors, and the married men who have not two or three children, and proceeds to argue that the spinsters and the married women with less than that number of children constitute a class by themselves; that they may be expected to vote according to their class interests; and that their class interests are different from those of the mothers of larger families, and are adverse to the welfare of the home.

As a matter of fact, class interests do not divide along these lines. Let us take the case of a municipal election, in which the victory of one faction will mean graft and corruption, the victory of the other a clean and honest city government. What women's material interests would be promoted by the victory of the wrong side? Only those of the small class of women who are wives or daughters of the grafters, and who would profit by their stealings, with the still smaller class of women who are law-breakers and wish to be connived at? Good government is for the interest of the great majority of the population, whether men or women, married or single, parents of large families or small. The mother of a large family might have a stronger reason to wish for clean streets when twelve pairs of little feet tracked mud into the house than if there were only one pair, and a stronger reason to object to a bad water supply if twelve children came down with typhoid instead of one; but the average bachelor and spinster and the father or mother of one child are also benefited by clean water, clean streets, well-managed hospitals, honest police, and all the other details of good municipal government.

Or let us take a national election with some big question at stake—for instance, the question whether a just war should be pressed to a successful close, or dropped before its object was accomplished. Can anyone perceive that in this

matter the interests of spinsters point one way and those of mothers of large families another? Can anyone imagine that the women's vote would divide along such lines? It would be a question not of family status, but of enlightened patriotism. In fact, we might expect that it would take more patriotism for a mother to be willing to send her husband to war if she would be left with twelve children to support than if she would be left with one—and that the spinster would have less temptation than either of them to vote for "peace at any price."

Mr. Gregg talks about voting "in the interests of the spinsters" or "in the interests of the home." In the vast majority of cases, what is for the interest of one is for the interest of both.

The Question of Equal Pay

MR. GREGG cautiously refrains from going into particulars as to how he thinks the unmarried women's vote is going to injure the home; but he lets it be seen that what he is especially afraid of is social welfare legislation. For years the anti-suffrage associations have been laboring to prove that in social welfare legislation the suffrage states are far behind the states where women do not vote. Mr. Gregg evidently does not take much stock in their so-called demonstrations, any more than the suffragists do.

He objects particularly to equal pay for women. He assumes that this means a lowering of men's pay, and consequent hardship for men with families. In a great number of industries, there has been for years a marked tendency on the part of employers to replace men with women workers, and this tendency has been especially conspicuous in states where women do not vote. Thousands of men have lost their jobs, not because women could do the work better, but because women could be made to work cheaper. The principle of equal pay for women, now so largely applied in government work, has been adopted primarily to prevent the lowering of men's wages. It is really to the advantage of the home. Starvation wages for women likewise tend to increase prostitution, and prostitution, of course, is an enemy to the home. The exclusion of women from all well paid work, which is urged by some prominent anti-suffragists, also tends to make men despise women, and that contempt

works against happiness in the home. Injustice is a thing that damages everybody concerned—and often damages those who do it even more than those who suffer it. A long time will be needed to get rid of the deeply-rooted feeling that a woman's work cannot be worth as much as a man's, but it is interesting to see that Mr. Gregg believes equal suffrage will tend towards that result, and fears it.

The Women More Wise

IT is a maxim in war, "Always do the thing to which your adversary particularly objects." This reactionary Mr. Gregg is displeased with New York's women voters because they sent to all the candidates a questionnaire asking them how they stood on suffrage and certain other measures. He fears all the candidates may commit themselves to what the suffragists want; and he says of New York's Woman Suffrage Party:

"Consequently this organization, although not a 'party' at all, as it puts up no candidates of its own, nevertheless will exercise a greater control upon legislation than it ever could by direct action. If it put up its own candidates on its own platform they could be opposed by either the regular parties or by independent candidates, but by persuading or coercing all candidates to subscribe in advance to its own platform, this platform never becomes an issue for the voters, whether men or women, because they never have a chance to vote against it, but must perforce vote for it if they vote for any candidate whatever."

This testifies to the women's wisdom in not putting up a separate women's ticket, as some of the old fogies used dolorously to prophesy that they would do. As for the alleged unfairness of questioning the candidates in advance, the opponents of suffrage and of the other measures on the women's program are equally free to send to every candidate a questionnaire asking, "Will you oppose the Federal Suffrage Amendment? Will you oppose giving women equal pay?" etc., etc. They could have done this, and published the result. If the anti-suffragists are the majority, as Mr. Gregg claims, they must be greatly lacking in intelligence or in enterprise not to have done it. But the truth is that in New York the anti-suffragists are now a negligible factor—and most of the candidates know it.

Ballots and the Birth Rate

MR. GREGG laments the low birth rate among American women, and seems to think that woman suffrage is somehow responsible, even though as a nation we have not yet got it. Perhaps it may reassure him somewhat

(Continued on page 422)

Special Display and Exhibition

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Ownership Statement

*Statement of the Ownership, Management,
Circulation, Etc., Required by the Act of
Congress of August 24, 1912.*

Of THE WOMAN CITIZEN,
County of New York..... } ss.:
State of NEW YORK..... }

Published Weekly at NEW YORK, N. Y.,
for October 1, 1918.

Before me, a Notary Public, in and for the
state and county aforesaid, personally ap-
peared Rose Young, who, having been duly
sworn according to law, deposes and says that
she is the editor of the WOMAN CITIZEN,
and that the following is, to the best of her
knowledge and belief, a true statement of the
ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid
publication for the date shown in the above cap-
tion, required by the Act of August 24, 1912,
embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Reg-
ulations, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the pub-
lisher, editor, managing editor, and business
manager are:

Name of Publisher, Woman Citizen Corpora-
tion, Post Office address, 171 Madison avenue,
New York, N. Y. Name of Editor, Rose
Young, Post Office address, 171 Madison ave-

nue, New York, N. Y. Name of Managing Ed-
itor, Rose Young, Post Office address, 171 Mad-
ison avenue, New York, N. Y. Name of Busi-
ness Manager, Rose Young, Post Office address,
171 Madison avenue, New York, N. Y.

2. That the owners are:

Woman Citizen Corporation, Post Office ad-
dress, 171 Madison avenue, New York, N. Y.
(owner): Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Post Of-
fice address, 2 West 86th street, New York, N.
Y.; Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Post Office ad-
dress, 2 West 86th street, New York, N. Y.;
Mrs. Harriet B. Wells, Post Office address, 46
West 9th street, New York, N. Y.; Miss A. S.
Blackwell, Post Office address, Dorchester,
Mass.; Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore, Yonkers,
N. Y.; Leslie Woman Suffrage Commission,
Inc., Post Office address, 171 Madison avenue,
New York, N. Y., the members of which are:
Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, President, 2 West
86th street, New York City; Miss Mary Gar-
rett Hay, First Vice-President, 2 West 86th
street, New York City; Mrs. Raymond Robins,
Chicago, Illinois; Mrs. Percy V. Pennybacker,
Austin, Texas; Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton,
Warren, Ohio; Mrs. Harriet B. Wells, 46 West
9th street, New York city; Mrs. Arthur L.
Livermore, 144 Park avenue, Yonkers, N. Y.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees,

and other security holders owning or holding 1
per cent or more of total amount of bonds,
mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giv-
ing the names of the owners, stockholders, and
security holders, if any, contain not only the list
of stockholders and security holders as they ap-
pear upon the books of the company, but also,
in cases where the stockholder or security
holder appears upon the books of the company
as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation,
the name of the person or corporation for
whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that
the said two paragraphs contain statements em-
bracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to
the circumstances and conditions under which
stockholders and security holders who do not
appear upon the books of the company as trust-
ees, hold stock and securities in a capacity
other than that of a bona fide owner; and this
affiant has no reason to believe that any other
person, association, or corporation has any in-
terest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds,
or other securities than as so stated by her.

ROSE YOUNG, Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 15th
day of October, 1918.

MAY GUERIN.

(My commission expires March 30, 1919)

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South Carolina Women to Senator Benet

By Mrs. A. C. Hammond

Publicity Chairman of the S. C. Equal Suffrage
League

ON Tuesday, October 1, as the women of America finished their day's work in the great drive for the Fourth Liberty Loan, the news was flashed over the wires that the vote on the Susan B. Anthony amendment had been taken in the Senate and the amendment lost by two votes. Thus the Senate of this great democracy has answered the plea of the American women and the request of President Wilson.

Both South Carolina Senators voted against the amendment. South Carolina suffragists had not expected much justice from them, knowing that both were opposed to the amendment, but when President Wilson came before the Senate and asked for the passage of the amendment as a war measure, we had every reason to expect them to stand by the President.

The junior Senator had stated in every county in South Carolina his whole-hearted support of Wilson and denounced as a traitor every one who dared express an opinion contrary to the Administration. Listen to the *State's* report of his speech at the patriotic rally held in Craven Hall, August 19: "Speaking most reverently, Mr. Benet said that no man since the time of Christ had had such burdens as were upon President Wilson, for he had not only the care of his own people but that the plain people throughout the world looked to him as their spokesman and that President Wilson would see to it that in the peace treaty there would be written a declaration of independence for the world. He besought the people to stand by the President and to give him in every way tokens of their whole-hearted support."

And when President Wilson asks for the passage of the suffrage amendment in the name of the plain people throughout the world that are looking to the great democracy of the West to lead them to a new day, what is Mr. Benet's answer? That the people of South Carolina do not want woman suffrage. He so successfully

Southern Women and Southern Senators

dodged this issue during his recent campaign that he isn't in any position to know whether the people want it or not. When did he ever discuss it with the people of South Carolina? Time and time again he was asked by the women to state his position on the suffrage question and time after time he refused to do so, merely stating that after the election he would make a public announcement.

We deny that the women of the state do not want the suffrage. With our leaders all in war work, there has been no effort to find out how many want it, but the sentiment for it has grown quietly and steadily every year. In a small town in South Carolina lately, the suffragists took a census to find out how much suffrage sentiment existed—90 per cent of the women of the town were in favor and said they would use the ballot if they had it.

But whether it were wanted or not was not the final question. Woodrow Wilson asked that it be passed. The people of South Carolina have demonstrated long ago their desire to stand by the President, trusting to his keen judgment to know what measures are needed by him in the prosecution of the war, and the representatives in Washington have no right to stand against him in the name of the people of South Carolina. The people will repudiate that kind of loyalty.

Senator Jones, of New Mexico, assures us that defeat is only temporary and that the amendment will again be voted upon before adjournment of the present Congress. Let us hope that before the vote is taken some of our states rights Senators may gain a broader vision and see each state not merely as a state, but as a part of a great nation striving towards an ideal of democracy that shall light the people of the whole world.

A New Era in Texas

A PERSONAL letter to an Oklahoma woman from her brother, an election officer in Austin, Texas, gives some unsolicited testimony as to the loyal and efficient way in which the women of Texas voted:

"You perhaps know that our last Legislature passed a law authorizing women to vote in the Democratic primaries, and you can just bet they voted; and surprises were had everywhere for

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JOHN P. TOLSON.

the old politicians. . . . Ex-Gov. Ferguson, who had been found guilty of eleven different charges and had been impeached and put out of office, had the nerve to announce for re-election. But after his impeachment the lieutenant-governor called the Legislature together and had the woman's suffrage bill passed, and what they did to Ferguson yesterday at the polls was a great pleasure to all honorable and law-abiding citizens. Ferguson was defeated by in the neighborhood of 200,000 votes. . . . We are going to have the cleanest state in the Union now, and candidates will learn in a hurry that they must come out with spotless character and live strictly up to it if they want to be elected in Texas. . . . It might be interesting to you to know also how well the ladies knew their candidates. They had all organized and studied the ticket from beginning to end, and most of them knew just how they wanted to vote before going to the polls, even though the ticket was a long one. They voted just as quickly as the men. I helped hold the election at our box and everything was quiet and orderly all the time. . . . The entire election was a landslide for the moral element and undoubtedly means the dawning of a new era in Texas politics. If the women hold together in the future as they did this time it means that any man without good character behind him can hardly expect to hold office in Texas."

Missouri Women to Senator Reed

AT a conference of St. Louis suffrage leaders on October 3, it was agreed that the statement below should be given out relative to Senator Reed's speaking at the Liberty Loan meeting that evening. A committee headed by Mrs. Walter McNab Miller, chairman of the Missouri Suffrage Association, and Mrs. David O'Neil, acting in the place of Mrs. Ernest W. Stix, chairman of the St. Louis Equal Suffrage League, called upon the Chamber of Commerce and the Liberty Loan Organization to confer with them.

(Continued on page 422)

The Weaker Sex

IN addition to taking care of a grocery, a home and a family, Mrs. Albert Nicolay, of Cincinnati, found time to knit 2,500 pairs of socks for the September quota of the Cincinnati Red Cross.

From the Plattsburg Republican.

Wanted—Strong, able-bodied women to unload cars of coal. Good wages, good living conditions. Apply to Chateaugay Ore and Iron Company, Lyon Mountain, N. Y.

ELVA M. WITT, a young Tennessee woman, has just been promoted from the position of assistant passenger agent to that of passenger agent of the Seaboard Air Line at Jacksonville, Florida.

WOMEN still furnish their quota to the casualty list. In the recent bombings of British hospitals by German airmen appear the items: Nursing sisters killed 5, wounded 11; Women's Auxiliary Corps: killed 8, wounded 7.

WHAT the New York *Call* characterizes as "the loneliest job in the world," is the job chosen by three Wyoming women who are shepherders—not shepherdesses of the days of Watteau—on the ranch of B. J. Reno, Campbell County, Wyoming. Each girl cares for 2,500 sheep.

ME. Germaine Camille Louise Mathilde Sommer (né Casimir-Perrier) has been cited in a French army order. She has supported and managed since the outbreak of the war a hospital for the wounded, and has shown, according to the words of the order, "an absolute devotion, giving herself with tireless zeal and energy."

FIVE women cow testers have recently been appointed by dairy agents of the United States Department of Agriculture, co-operating with the state agricultural colleges and the state dairymen's associations. One of these has been placed in Iowa and the other four are in Wisconsin, where the first woman cow tester in the country is now starting her second year of work.

THE Ohio Woman Suffrage Association has protested, through a telegram sent by its president, Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, to President Wilson, against the decision of the Federal Labor Department barring women conductors from Cleveland cars after November 1, and has demanded that the matter be reopened. Mrs. Upton's telegram to the President cited the facts that the Federal investigators failed to give the women conductors a hearing and that public opinion was opposed to the decision and to the method of investigation.

and telegraph service. The appointment was made by Postmaster Burleson in his capacity of director-general of the telephone and telegraph service. Miss O'Connor has had wide experience in labor adjustment problems. She is the workers' representative on the Massachusetts Minimum Wage Commission. She is the president of the Telephone Operators' Department of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and a member of the Executive Board of the National Woman's Trade Union League.

WOMAN today is ubiquitous in what was formerly the purely masculine sphere. We find her in the shipyard, in the engine shop, in the drawing offices. She is to be found in the boiler shop successfully working cranes that have a lifting power of 100 tons and over, even as we find her engaged in making instruments of the most delicate construction and utmost precision. These and a hundred other things is she doing with success. Then why not in the wireless branches of the merchant service? Woman has become a vital force in labor on shore, and she will eventually become so at sea. Let us then admit the fact at once and act accordingly.—*Nautical Magazine*.

WOMEN have outclassed men in certain work in British ship-yards, and more of them are being added to the shipbuilding forces as rapidly as possible.

At Lord Furness's shipyards, on the Tees, seven hundred women are working with spades and shovels, on extensions. Some of the women have been assisting in the building of a temporary railway at the yards, and others laying concrete platforms on which the keels of ships will be put down.

In preparing concrete for the keel platforms gangs of women work beside gangs of men, and in one instance the women beat the men by four cubic yards. Numerous other instances have been cited whereby the women outpointed the men workers on the same kind of work.—*Nautical Gazette*.

THE railroad administration has projected a program for employing thousands of women to replace men taken into the army. This division of the work will be under the supervision of Miss Pauline Goldmark, who has been appointed manager of the Railroad Administration's Woman's Service Section.

MISS Julia O'Connor, of Boston, has been appointed the woman member on a committee to investigate the working conditions in the telephone

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What Republicans Did Not Achieve

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

REFERRING to your issue of August 10, I wish to call attention to two misstatements of facts submitted by Helen Varick Boswell in her article on Republican Achievement:

(a) Section 4, under the heading of *Republican Legislation Affecting General Business*, she says: "An act creating an interstate commerce commission was passed February 4, 1887, and signed by Benjamin Harrison."

The fact is that the Interstate Commerce Act was passed during the first administration of President Cleveland, and was approved February 4, 1887. At that time the House of Representatives was Democratic and the Senate Republican. John H. Reagan, Democrat, of Texas, was a prominent supporter of the legislation in the House, and Shelby M. Cullom, Republican, of Illinois, was prominent in its advocacy in the Senate. Benjamin Harrison did not become President of the United States until March 4, 1889.

(b) Section 4, under the heading, *The Republican Party Provides Sound Monetary Sys-*



Correspondence



"Parties
and
Primaries"

tem, the writer says: "A National Monetary Commission was created by Republican legislators, on whose report the Federal Reserve Act was passed under President Taft in 1910."

The Federal Reserve Act was not passed under President Taft in 1910, but under President Wilson in 1913. It was approved December 23, 1913. In the House of Representatives the affirmative vote for the bill was cast by 249 Democrats, 35 Republicans, 13 Progressives, and 1 Independent; the negative vote was cast by 57 Republicans, 1 Progressive, and 2 Democrats. In the Senate, the affirmative vote was cast by 39 Democrats, 3 Republicans, and 1 Progressive; the negative vote is not given in the authority consulted, the New International Year Book for 1913. There was a monetary commission, and there was a temporary currency measure known as the Aldrich-Vreeland Act, passed by the Republicans in 1908; but the present law has been subjected to the most exacting test, the world-war of 1914. It stood it and is now standing it.

The lady says, "In support of the claims made for the Republican Party as the best and greatest agency of governmental life in the United States, the facts here submitted and which cannot be controverted, speak for themselves." It is respectfully submitted that the two statements referred to above have been successfully controverted, and that in crediting the original Interstate Commerce Act and the Federal Reserve law to the Republican Party, she has out-Boswelled her famous namesake.

Very truly yours,

OCTAVIA P. GAYDEN,

Oakland Plantation, East Feliciana Parish,
Gurley, La.

Indeed She Would

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

In your issue of September the 21st, in the article on page 334, you state that Mrs. McClung went to British Columbia to supply the need of teachers in Alberta and got as many as were needed. The number needed was between nine hundred and a thousand, and several hundred of these Mrs. Maude Whitmore secured in Ontario and Quebec. I was closely in touch with Mrs. Whitmore when she was touring the East for this purpose. She secured some recruits, too, from your own United States. Mrs. McClung would be the first to acknowledge Mrs. Whitmore's part in this work.

MONA H. CLAVE.

Toronto, Canada.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

The series of articles on the above subject that have appeared in the WOMAN CITIZEN have been read with interest. They ought to have and no doubt have, contributed much toward a better understanding on the part of the public as included in your readers, of the various aims and objects of parties in so far as indicated by platforms and creeds.

One of the greatest needs of the age in both *politics* (as defined by Webster—"The Science of Government") and *economics* as closely intermingled with politics as whites and yolks in scrambled eggs, is a *rational* and *moral* reformation of public opinion.

Too few people are inclined to answer the questions 'why'—'now' on any political or economic problem that comes up for discussion. Too many are creatures of habit—inheriting or from custom following certain views on public questions without rhyme or reason.

The "schools for citizenship," whose influence is felt even in Oklahoma, established by the women of New York, and the apparent purpose as evidenced by publication of articles referred to in the WOMAN CITIZEN, of the women of the country to apply reason to politics augurs well for at least future approval of equal suffrage. It should encourage those favoring as proving contentions that all problems of society are mutual ones for men and women—and perhaps it might reasonably be accepted as proof of undesirability of equal or 'woman suffrage' by those who object to any interference with their at present irrational control of the politics of their precinct or larger unit.

If Democracy is worth fighting for abroad, and I soon expect to be so engaged, it ought to be worth voting for at home, as I think the majority of Oklahoma voters will agree on November 5, this year.

FREDERICK G. SWANSON,

Miami, Okla.

"Pacifist" a Misnomer

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

WE who are working for international relations founded on justice and democracy repudiate the name "pacifist" in its present interpretation.

The words "pacifist" and "pacifism" came from Europe years ago in good standing, and in their original sense stood for world organization and the final abolition of war. They were, however, never satisfactory to most of the American workers because of their passive sound and capacity of being misconstrued.

Recently these words have been made to



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stand for qualities both weak and bad; qualities from which in their original meaning they were as far removed as patriotism is from disloyalty. The vast majority of members of peace societies are as remote from "pacifism" when interpreted as cowardice, sedition and treason, as are workers for righteousness from promoters of unrighteousness.

Our belief is what it always has been, viz., that a League of Nations must be formed to keep order and promote justice in the civilized world by means of an International Court, a Council of Conciliation, and an international force.

We believe, further, that after German militarism is conquered, at the Peace Settlement Table, world organization must be effected, so that causes of friction between nations may be reduced and the system of law be made to replace the system of war.

The fruits of this war must be a better and a war-less world.

Mrs. J. MALCOLM FORBES,
Mrs. LE BARON R. BRIGGS,
Miss EUGENIA BROOKS FROTHINGHAM,
Miss KATHARINE McDOWELL RICE,
Mrs. DAVID CHEEVER.

Boston, Mass.

Common Things Like Women

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

I ATTENDED the Democratic State Convention at Waco, September 3-4, as a delegate from Bell County. There were quite a number of women delegates present. This is a novel experience to Texas women. The platform has several notable features in it. After

recommending the submission of prohibition and woman suffrage amendments, which have practically ceased to be matters of political contention, the committee gave a large and comprehensive consideration to education. The paragraph relating to public health contains words more specific and significant than ever seen before in a Texas platform. Urging the enactment of measures to bring about a more sanitary standard of housing both in the cities and in the country is proof of this.

The spirit of the convention was one of harmony, coupled with a desire to please. Surely the new ruling party has proved that it has the courage of its convictions. In this magnificent composition, the platform, the committee even talked about the interests and protection of common things like women and children. Well, it seems that progress is moving forward in Texas.

Our newly elected Superintendent of Public Instruction, Annie Webb Blanton, was there and received an ovation second only to that accorded our splendid young Governor, Wm. P. Hobby.

(MRS.) J. R. POINDEXTER.

Temple, Tex.

What Real Men Think

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

I HAVE said for forty years that my wife was a citizen of the United States just as much as I was and that the men had no right

to keep her from voting. The fact is that the men who are real men never have wanted to do so. The opposition has always come from the whiskey forces and the low-down folks and the politicians. I cannot tell you how highly I prize the *Woman Citizen* and I rejoice that the day of victory is near at hand.

JNO. A. MERRILL.

Los Angeles, Calif.

The Opportunity of the Democrats

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

THE WOMAN CITIZEN, of course, is strictly non-partisan, and justly so, but I often marvel at the even temper you display regarding the various political parties. For absolute stupidity the action of the Democratic Senate, so-called, on the suffrage question recently heads the list. I say this as a life-long Democrat of forty years' standing, regretfully, of course, but in hope of a more satisfactory outcome later on. It is the opportunity of a lifetime for the Democratic party to pass the Anthony Amendment when they have full control of the Government, thereby getting the benefit politically, so to speak. It will be a fitting climax to the already great career of President Wilson to issue a second Emancipation proclamation prior to 1920

WILLIAM F. AIKEN,

Treasurer Greenfield Savings Bank.
Greenfield, Mass.

Women Are Called

to assume bigger responsibilities in every branch of business. Altho otherwise prepared with a sound training, a woman without legal knowledge is unable to respond and make good when opportunity presents itself.

Every business and professional woman—every woman who has charge of property or hopes to acquire such is a better executive or leader because of law training.

Law trained women know the principles that govern business. They can foresee the outcome of proposed transactions and their decisions and recommendations are therefore sound.

They know what to do and what not to do to safeguard and promote their interests.

The Brooklyn Law School has established a course in every day, practical law especially prepared for the needs of women.

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Go Farther!

THE following telegram has been sent by Ralph S. Bauer, of Lynn, Mass., to Mr. John W. Weeks, the Republican Senator from Massachusetts, who refused his support to President Wilson for a measure that the President named as vital to the winning of the war, the Federal suffrage measure:

HON. JOHN W. WEEKS,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

Protesting your vote against equal rights for all human beings at a time when the whole world is aflame fighting for greater liberties and real democracy, and the women of the world are carrying the greater share of the burden and sacrifice to the end that true democracy may live, I send this telegram.

Ever since I have been old enough to vote, I have always—without a single exception—voted for Republican candidates for Federal offices. Next November I will leave the space on the ballot opposite your name absolutely blank, as an individual protest against your action in the Senate yesterday, and I believe there are ten thousand other Republican voters in this State who will elect to handle their ballot the same way. You have absolutely failed to understand the signs of the present day in denying equal rights to the American women—the greatest force for progress in this whole world.

Lynn, Mass., October 2, 1918.

[Mr. Bauer and the ten thousand other Republicans should go farther and vote for David I. Walsh, Mr. Weeks's opponent, a democrat with a little d.

This is a case where something far greater than party advantage is at stake. Fundamental democracy is at stake.—Ed.]

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

The following resolution was passed at our Executive Board meeting yesterday. I hope that you are getting a similar one from every state in the Union.

Whereas: Senators Lodge and Weeks voted against the Federal Amendment for Woman Suffrage before the United States Senate, and

Whereas: We believe that their action was contrary to ideals of democracy, as expressed in the civilized countries of the world, and to which both political parties in the entire nation are fully committed; therefore be it

Resolved: That the Executive Board of the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association view the attitude of our Massachusetts Senators toward the womanhood of America as one of indignity and blind prejudice which intelligent and liberal women will remember for all time. Also be it

Resolved: That we extend to President Wilson our grateful thanks for his action in appearing before the Senate in favor of the Suffrage Amendment, and we hereby offer our loyal support for all measures that will aid the prosecution and winning of the war.

You will be interested to know that we have received more editorial mention during the past three weeks, and of a favorable character, than has ever before been the case in Massachusetts.

MARTHA E. D. WHITE.

Press Chairman, Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association.

Missouri Women to Senator Reed

(Continued from page 418)

The statement made public was as follows:

"It is infinitely repugnant and disagreeable to the women of St. Louis to know that Mr. Reed is to speak in the city to-night immediately following his outrageous conduct on the floor of the Senate last Monday. Since our entry in the war, Missouri has too often suffered from reflections cast upon it by Mr. Reed's attitude on administration measures. We feel called upon publicly to resent his recent discourtesy to President Wilson and his villifying expressions with regard to American womanhood. Moreover, we believe that the invitation to Senator Reed to speak in St. Louis must have been extended before his last effort to obstruct the passage of necessary war legislation.

"However, as the success of the Liberty Loan is the first desire in every woman's heart to-day, no demonstration of indignation shared alike by men and women for one of the speakers shall mar the enthusiasm of the meeting to-night.

"We passionately feel that nothing should interfere with any phase of the winning of the war and regard this meeting to-night as a vital part of the program for putting St. Louis over

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the top with its quota of the Fourth Liberty Loan. We urge every one to attend the meeting and get the inspiration of Signaler Tom Skeyhill's message, and put aside any feeling they may have for an unpopular son of Missouri."

Ballots and Birth Rate

(Continued from page 416)

to observe that babies and ballots are not at all incompatible. Colorado has a higher birth rate than Massachusetts. In New Zealand, when women were given a vote, the birth rate had been declining for fourteen years. Soon after, it took a turn, and for sixteen years it steadily rose, till at the breaking out of the war it was higher than the birth rate of England and Wales. In West Australia, the marriage rate and the birth rate had been going down for years. When women got the ballot, both rates went up, as the wife of the Chief Justice of New Zealand has pointed out in *The Englishwoman*. Who knows but a like salutary change may follow the adoption of the Federal Suffrage Amendment? Mr. Gregg will best consult his own happiness by hoping so, for nation-wide suffrage is certainly coming.

In Sympathy

SUFFRAGISTS will grieve to learn of the affliction that has befallen Mrs. Louis B. Walker, manager of Suffrage House at 1626 Rhode Island Avenue, Washington, in the loss of her young daughter, Mrs. Margrette Louise Devereux, who died of Spanish influenza at her New Jersey home last week. Mrs. Walker has signally endeared herself to the visiting hosts at Suffrage House, as much for her unflinching tact and consideration as for the executive capacity that distinguishes the management of Suffrage House. Coming into the active suffrage ranks a stranger only a year or two ago, she has made an enviable place for herself in the suffrage program. The sympathy of hundreds of women who have come to know her will be with her in this hour of sore bereavement.

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Handkerchiefs for Christmas at McCutcheon's "The Linen Store"

This year, in spite of War conditions, our stock of Pure Linen Handkerchiefs for the Holidays is larger than ever before because we ordered very heavily two years ago, in anticipation of the present Linen shortage, and before the price of Linen advanced so sharply.

We are, therefore, in a position to offer our patrons, *unusual values* in Holiday Handkerchiefs. All are of *pure Linen*, as McCutcheon Handkerchiefs have been for the past 63 years. We counsel early selection while stocks are complete.

Embroidered Handkerchiefs

From France, Ireland, Switzerland, Spain and Madeira. We have never had a more beautiful assortment, and the values have never been better.

For Children—All white, and white with colored borders, 25c., 50c., 75c. and \$1.00 each, and up.

For Women—All white, and with colored borders, 25c., 35c., 50c., 75c. and \$1.00 each, and up.

Initialed Handkerchiefs

For Women—\$3.00, 4.00, 6.00 to 12.00 the dozen.

For Men—\$6.00, 7.80, 9.00, 12.00 and 15.00 the dozen.

For Children—3 for 65 cents.

Khaki Handkerchiefs

Pure Linen, of good serviceable quality and generous in size, 65c. and 75c. each.

Orders by mail filled promptly

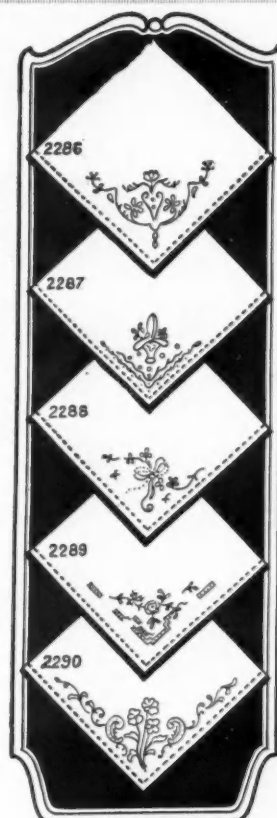
Handkerchief purchases are delivered in dainty McCutcheon boxes suitable for presentation purposes.

NOTE: We respectfully suggest that in so far as possible you act on the Government's request that Christmas shopping be done in October and November this year.

Our illustrated Fall and Winter Catalogue, which will be sent gladly on request, is full of sensible Christmas Gift suggestions.



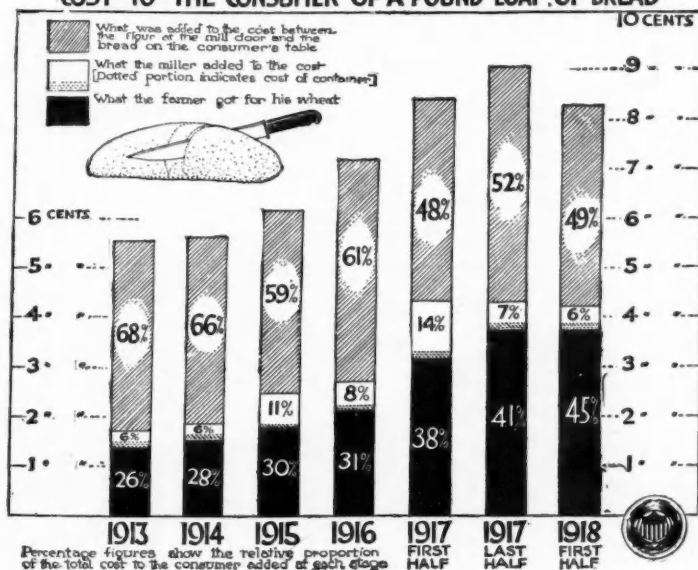
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EXPLANATION OF CHART

COST TO THE CONSUMER OF A POUND LOAF OF BREAD



U. S. FOOD ADMINISTRATION

SINCE 1913 farmers have been receiving for their wheat a gradually increasing proportion of the price paid by the consumer for bread. The amount received by the wheat grower for his contribution to the average pound has increased from less than 1½ cents per loaf in 1913 to more than 3½ cents early this year. The proportion to the whole price is shown by the relative length of the black columns of the chart.

The middle portion of each column shows what the miller received for his milling costs and profit. This has been a somewhat variable factor, but is now at the minimum (6%). In this 6%, however, is included the cost of the containers (bags, sacks, etc.) shown as dotted area which has increased very nearly in proportion to the price of bread itself. Bags now cost about 50 per cent more than in 1913 and 1914.

The shaded portion of the column represents the expense of distributing the flour, making it into bread and getting the loaf to the consumer.

The chart shows that the farmer is now receiving a much larger share of the final price for his product than in the past, and that a considerable amount of "spread" has been taken out of other expenses.

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**Eat Less — Waste nothing
Create a Reserve**

**AMERICA MUST FEED
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Whose Limit Is All That He Can

(1)
This is the song of the plane—
The creaking, shrieking plane,
The throbbing, sobbing plane,
And the moaning, groaning wires:
The engine—missing again!
One cylinder never fires!
Hey ho! For the plane!

(2)
This is the song of the man—
The driving, striving man,
The chosen, frozen man:
The pilot, the man-at-the-wheel,
Whose limit is all that he can,
And beyond, if the need is real!
Hey ho! For the man!

(3)
This is the song of the gun—
The muttering, stuttering gun,
The maddening, gladdening gun:
That chuckles with evil glee
At the last long dive of the Hun,
With its end in eternity!
Hey ho! For the gun!

(4)
This is the song of the air—
The lifting, drifting air,
The eddying, steadying air,
The wine of its limitless space:
May it nerve us at last to dare
Even death with undaunted face!
Hey ho! For the air!

"OBSERVER, R. F. C."

The eyes of the army. The airplanes are going over, thousands of them. There must be more to follow, thousands of them. Let us turn our own eyes inward—search our own hearts—and see that no selfish, slacker dollar remains unconsecrated to the service of the men we love.

Would We Not Die for Them—Our Fighting Men in France?

Then let us BUY for them—all the bonds we can—with the same great unselfishness with which they fight and die. This is the spirit with which they and we—fighting—working—saving together—will as God sees us, inevitably WIN!



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The Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL
FOUNDED 1870

NOTICE: When you finish reading this magazine place a one-cent stamp on this notice, mail the magazine, and it will be placed in the hands of our soldiers or sailors destined to proceed overseas. No wrapping, no address. A. S. Burleson, Postmaster General.

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October 26, 1918



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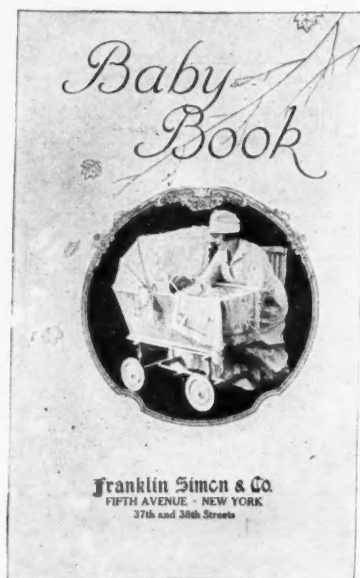
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Knitted Wool Gloves—extra warm with long wrist.	Cloth Gauntlets	.75
1.50, 1.65 & 1.95		
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2.25		
extra long wristlets.	Black Cloth Gloves—small sizes.	.50
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CONTINUING the Woman's Journal, founded 1870 by Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell, as a weekly newspaper devoted to winning equal rights and especially to winning equal suffrage for women, and published weekly in Boston, Massachusetts, from 1870 to 1917. Continuing also the Woman Voter, and the National Suffrage News. In succeeding the National Suffrage News, The Woman Citizen became the official organ of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and as such tries to maintain intimate contact between the Association and its two million members throughout the United States.

Entered as second class matter, June 13, 1917, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

THE WOMAN CITIZEN

Founded June 2, 1917

Published every Saturday by

The WOMAN CITIZEN CORPORATION
at 171 Madison Avenue, New York

Ten cents a copy; yearly subscription (52 numbers), \$1.00. Postage to foreign countries fifty cents extra. Entered at the New York Post Office as Second Class matter, under the act of March 3, 1879. Copyright, 1918, by The Woman Citizen Corporation.

VOL. III OCTOBER 26, 1918 No. 22

PUBLISHED by the Woman Citizen Corporation, in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

The directors of the Corporation are Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, and Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore.

Alice Stone Blackwell is a special contributing editor.

Rose Young is the editor-in-chief.

Mary Ogden White, Mary Sumner Boyd, and Rose Lawless Geyer are associate editors.

Our Circulation Story

"PLEASE let me congratulate you on the pith and point and delectable cleverness of 'Our Own Congressional Record,'" writes Miss Mary Stewart from Washington, D. C. "I read it with zest and many a chuckle. If only our own congressional record were edited with such skill we might attack it with less discouragement.

"And let me also say in passing that I read the *Woman Citizen* week by week from 'kiver to kiver' and congratulate myself that we at last have a woman's magazine of distinction."

Miss Stewart should know whereof she speaks as she is secretary of the Committee on Women's Political Organization of the Republican Congressional Committee and is no doubt familiar with "Records." Corroborating this testimony is the following from Mrs. Edwin W. Rouse of Baltimore:

"The *Woman Citizen* of October 5th had such interesting records of the Senate proceedings that even though I was present in the Senate I had to read every word."

"I value the *Woman Citizen* highly, not only as a woman's and a suffrage magazine, but because it is dealing with reality and truth," is the word that comes to us from Miss Hilda Erickson of Chicago as she assures us that she will ever remain a faithful subscriber.

Something of this same loyal enthusiasm is reflected in the letter from Miss Estelle Downing of Ypsilanti, Michigan, which reads:

"I always read the *Woman Citizen* as soon as I enter the house even before I take my hat off, simply because I can't wait. Its doctrine suits me to a T."

If another vote is needed to make it unanimous, we suggest the following from Miss Anna E. Pierce of Albany, New York:

"Some copies of the *Woman Citizen* were sent me in the summer, which were so well edited and so interesting and forceful in the presentation of the topics of interest that I must avail myself of the chance to see them every week."

"I enjoy the *Woman Citizen* so much, I really cannot be without it," writes another friend, Mrs. Frank Stranahan, President of the Florida Equal Suffrage Association.

It is just such enthusiasm as this that spells sure victory for the cause throughout the country.

ROSE LAWLESS GEYER,
Nat'l Circulation Chrm.

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Wisconsin: Mrs. Charles Mott, Milwaukee.

Circulation Contest

1. A pledge will constitute an entry.
2. No entries will be accepted after December 1, 1918.
3. Contest closes January 1, 1919.
4. In case of a tie for any one premium, the prize will be awarded to each qualifying contestant.
5. Only actual paid subscriptions will be counted in the awarding of premiums.

First Cash Premium

FIFTY DOLLARS

To the State Association that sends in the highest number over 200 (paid new subscribers). The net price per subscription to the State Association is .70, the .30 to go into the state, county or local treasury, as may be decided by arrangement between the state and its branches.

Second Cash Premium

TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the County Association that sends in the highest number over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the State Association, and would help to swell the state's total.

Third Cash Premium

TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the Local Club that sends in the highest number over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the County Association into the State Association, and thence to the *Woman Citizen*.

Fourth Cash Premium

TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the co-operating Subscriber who sends in the highest number over 50. This would be independent of state, county and club circulation activities, would apply to states that do not take up the circulation work in an official way, and would come directly to the *Woman Citizen*. The net price per subscription is \$1.00. No discount.

Relative Position of State Leagues in the *Woman Citizen's* Circulation Contest:

October 12th

- 1 Iowa
- 2 South Dakota
- 3 Georgia
- 4 Indiana
- 5 Michigan
- 6 Minnesota
- 7 New Jersey
- 8 Wisconsin
- 9 Massachusetts
- 10 New York
- 11 Ohio
- 12 Virginia
- 13 New Hampshire
- 14 Missouri
- 15 Alabama
- 16 Texas
- 17 Maryland
- 18 Pennsylvania
- 19 Maine
- 20 Louisiana
- 21 West Virginia
- 22 Connecticut
- 23 South Carolina—Tennessee
- 24 Kentucky
- 25 Arkansas
- 26 Washington, D. C.
- 27 North Dakota
- 28 Rhode Island
- 29 Nebraska—Oklahoma
- 30 Washington—Mississippi
- 31 Illinois—Kansas
- 32 North Carolina
- 33 Vermont

October 19th

- 1 Iowa
- 2 South Dakota
- 3 Georgia
- 4 Indiana
- 5 Michigan
- 6 Minnesota
- 7 New Jersey
- 8 Wisconsin
- 9 Massachusetts
- 10 New York
- 11 Ohio
- 12 Virginia
- 13 New Hampshire
- 14 Missouri
- 15 Alabama
- 16 Texas
- 17 Maryland
- 18 Pennsylvania
- 19 Maine
- 20 Louisiana
- 21 West Virginia
- 22 Connecticut
- 23 South Carolina—Tennessee
- 24 Kentucky
- 25 Arkansas
- 26 Washington, D. C.
- 27 North Dakota
- 28 Rhode Island
- 29 Nebraska—Oklahoma
- 30 Washington—Mississippi
- 31 Illinois—Kansas
- 32 North Carolina
- 33 Vermont

The publication of this issue has been delayed, owing to a general strike of the press feeders in New York City.

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Women's Boots to \$12.00 per pair

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A list of woman's opportunities.

A column for the attention of Vigilance Committees.

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Bath gowns, cotton flannel or other material that is neither heavy nor bulky—any accepted Red Cross pattern.

Send to the Infirmary for Women and Children, 321 East Fifteenth Street, New York City, and mark for

WOMEN'S OVERSEA HOSPITALS

Send All Funds for the Hospitals to the Treasurer,

MRS. HENRY WADE ROGERS

171 Madison Avenue, New York City

The Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

A Journal of Democracy

October 26, 1918

"We shall fight for things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

William E. Borah

THERE are in this country today many British and French men and women as speakers for the Liberty Loan or for the United War Work campaign. Several of them have expressed their amazement at the recent action taken by the United States Senate, when by two votes it defeated the Federal Suffrage Amendment. Almost without exception their comment closes with, "We always thought of the United States as progressive, you know." And although the smile and voice are sympathetic, the words cut American pride like steel.

"A decent respect for the opinions of mankind," requires that the exact responsibility should be located. Locating it is not difficult. Thirty-four Senators voted, or were paired, against the amendment. Sixty-two for it. Republican New England and the Democratic South stood together and the Atlantic Seaboard, from Maine to Louisiana, cast twenty-eight of the thirty-four opposed votes. This section of our country is notoriously conservative, the views of its citizens ranging from mere unchangeableness to astounding reaction. There are notable exceptions, but conservatism of intense variety describes the laws, institutions, and customs of most of these states. New England Republicans, plus Pennsylvania, with nine votes, followed the lead of Senator Lodge, who proudly admits that he formed his opinion on the woman question thirty years ago and has seen no reason since to change it! In justice it must be said that five New England Senators, of larger vision and progressive mind, voted for the Amendment.

THE South, although in all but two states the number of adult white women outnumbers the total adults, male and female, of the colored race, cast nineteen noes, southern Senators taking the ground that they were afraid of the Negro woman vote. They admitted on the floor that colored men in most southern states are disfranchised by property, poll tax and educational tests and that these tests would apply to women. But they frankly added that the Negro women were so much more intelligent, progressive and ambitious than the men that they would not be able to intimidate them into silence.

Strange admission!

The two Delaware Senators declared that no matter what any one else said, they knew woman suffrage would turn Delaware Republican and as they lived by the Democratic Party they would oppose suffrage to the death. As a matter of fact, the

cotton industries both North and South with their employment of thousands of women and, in the South, children, furnish a more correct determination of motives.

It must be recorded that a splendid, upward-tending, progressive movement is to be found in every southern state and that an astonishingly large number of southern newspapers are earnestly outspoken for the Federal Suffrage Amendment. Nine Senators from the South voted for it.

Yet whenever any progressive question, non-political, is introduced into Congress, its proponents at the outset count the Atlantic Seaboard as against it. Suffragists expected no more favorable consideration of their cause from this section than is given other similar questions.

Three Senators, all elected by a large German wet vote, Reed of Missouri, Hitchcock of Nebraska and Pomerene of Ohio, voted against, as might be expected.

THREE Senators, one counted in the above list and two additional, took terrible historic responsibilities upon their shoulders. One, Senator Drew of New Hampshire, an old gentleman of the reactionary school, was appointed to take the place of Senator Gallinger, a life-long friend of woman suffrage, and thus a vote for the amendment was lost.

The two additional Senators were Senator Wadsworth of New York, who disregarded the 103,000 majority in this state for woman suffrage in 1917, and the resolutions from his Legislature and his party convention calling upon him to vote for the amendment. He chose to give up politics and retain domestic tranquillity in his home by voting against the amendment.

Senator Baird, Republican, an elderly, rich gentleman and "boss" of long standing, filled the place of Senator Hughes, Democrat, who died. Senator Hughes would have voted for the Federal Amendment. Senator Baird's associations with politics have not been of a kind to prepare his mind to respect women or their cause and he voted his natural convictions against it. Senator Drew and Senator Baird, replacing favorable Senators, are easily the two men whose votes lost the amendment.

Upon the shoulders of these three men rests much of the opprobrium of the defeat of democracy at home in the midst of a war for democracy abroad.

These thirty-three Senators are immovable, woman-baiting, congenitally-foreordained anti-suffragists.

The thirty-fourth Senator and the man who bears the brunt of the responsibility for the defeat was William E. Borah of Idaho. His continuous talk about the sacredness of state rights strengthened the opposition of southern Senators and several friendly Senators repeatedly said that his influence against the amendment was more powerful than that of all their combined opponents, for reasons which follow.

Suffragists make eleven charges of inconsistency, insincerity and injustice against Senator Borah.

First—He claims to be a believer in woman suffrage, yet he repudiated his professed sentiments and paired against the amendment, the ONLY suffragist in the entire Senate who voted against the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

Second—He represents a state where women have voted since 1896. He declared on the floor of the Senate at one time recently that no matter what the women of his state should do or say, it would not affect his vote, thus brutally insulting his women constituents. Repudiating the sentiments of his state which he is supposed to represent, he paired against the amendment.

Third—He represents a party which in every possible way has espoused the suffrage cause and the amendment. The National Republican Committee endorsed it in May and his own state party endorsed it in June, 1918. Two-thirds of the Republicans in the House of Representatives had voted for the Amendment January 10, 1918, and two-thirds of the Republicans in the Senate stood ready to do so whenever the vote was called. Yet he repudiated the instructions of his party and was paired against.

Fourth—He represents a party whose history and tradition are in line with the submission of the Suffrage Amendment. In 1860 his party was welded into a national political power by this issue: "Are we a nation or are we a loose federation of states?" By the arbitrament of arms it was decided that ours is a nation. The Republican Party submitted the 14th and 15th amendments and secured their ratification. Senator Borah declares now: "I will not vote for a measure that deprives each state of the right to control its own elective franchise. . . . The race question has been a fearful load to the South and I cannot consent to increase the burden." He thus repudiates the entire history and tradition of his party and declares the causes which brought it into existence and kept it in power for nearly half a century a mistake.

Fifth—He represents a portion of the country whose history and traditions are in line with the amendments. He was born in Illinois and educated in "bleeding Kansas." Yet he spoke and voted with the Democrats of the South. On the other hand, fifteen Democratic western Senators who were born and educated in the "Solid South," spoke and voted for the amendment! In 1858, Lincoln and Douglas presented a similar anomaly. Douglas, born and educated in Vermont, surrounded by anti-slavery influences, aligned himself with every pro-slavery interest. On the other hand, Lincoln, southern-born, saw the fallacy and the wickedness of slavery and boldly assailed it. Which was right? History repeats itself and in a lesser way that incident is duplicated. The western-born Republican Borah, has aligned himself with every anti-suffrage interest; while the southern-born Republican Poindexter of Washington and Fall of New Mexico, and the Democratic Smith of Arizona, Thomas and Shafroth of Colorado, Lewis of Illinois, Myers of Montana, Pittman of Nevada, Jones of New Mexico, Owen and Gore of Oklahoma, Chamberlain of Oregon, Kendrick of Wyoming, Culberson and

Shepherd of Texas, Robinson and Kirby of Arkansas defend the Federal Amendment by voice and vote.

In other words, seventeen southern-born Senators expand under western influences and get so national a view of things that they see the narrow selfishness of state rights when applied to questions of inherent justice. More, nine Senators within the old time state rights section have seen the same truth and voted for the suffrage amendment. Senator Borah has "progressed backward with such rapidity of celerity" that he stands as one with the most unreconstructed southern Democrat.

WITH the exception of the notorious filibusterer, Senator Reed of Missouri, Senator Hitchcock of Nebraska and Senator Guion of Louisiana, Senator Borah was the only man, in the mighty stretch of country extending from the Pacific to the Mississippi, who voted, or was paired, against the amendment.

Sixth—Believing Senator Borah to be a believer in woman suffrage and influenced against the amendment only by his conviction that it was as easy a matter for any state to extend it as it had been for Idaho, great pains were taken to acquaint him with the facts that there are many states wherein no woman can be enfranchised under the existing state constitutions and where the constitution cannot be revised except under conditions exceedingly difficult to overcome. For example, the women of New Mexico cannot be enfranchised for twenty-five years by the state method. Indiana has tried in vain to call a constitutional convention and has lost 150 attempts to amend a constitution which has been in existence since 1852. There are some twenty states with exceedingly difficult technical conditions to overcome. Suffragists have classified constitutions as impossible, improbable, difficult, and fair. Knowing full well that a generation would elapse before the women of all states could secure the vote, owing to the peculiarities of state constitutions; knowing that Great Britain and Canada had each given the world their pledges of sincerity in the war for democracy by extending suffrage to women, Senator Borah yet placed his deciding influence against the amendment. His explanation is that he prefers that women should get their suffrage, if at all, by the state method.

So did we, and so do we prefer the route to Berlin by rail and that to democracy by peace, but when those routes are closed we will accept them by war rather than have the progress of human liberty longer delayed.

Senator Borah claims to be a believer in woman suffrage, but he blocks the only road which leads to its establishment.

Seventh—Senator Borah knew that men made the constitution; that the state constitutions grant suffrage to foreigners after a residence of six months and over with small proof of fitness for the vote, and that millions of men are now voters under those qualifications; that these new comers from all quarters of the globe have the right to vote on the enfranchisement of women by the state method, and thus by their European training and inherited views to withhold political freedom from women. He knew that American-born, American-educated women tax-payers, business women, homekeepers and teachers are forced to plead for their political liberty with men who do not know the meaning of the words constitution and amendment. Yet he was adamant to the reasoning that since American men had subjected women to these indignities, a humiliation no other country in the world has visited upon women, it became their duty to rectify the wrong by granting them at least the fairest road to freedom under our laws.

Eighth—Senator Borah says it is the right of the men of each state to determine when it is time to give women the vote, and

that it has nothing to do with the case that the women of each state have paid more in money, in sacrifice, in heart-breaks, in lives, to secure the vote than have all the men of this country put together at any period or at all periods combined within its history. State rights is superior to human rights, says he, and therefore human rights must wait until state rights is ready to act. It is subversive of our scheme of government, says he, that three-fourths of the states should put suffrage for women over on the remaining one-fourth if the men of those states should be unwilling; but Senator Borah voted for the prohibition amendment which grants three-fourths of the states the same right to put prohibition over on the remaining one-fourth should the men of those states object!! Tweedledum and tweedledee; why is state rights divine rights in the case of the restraint of human liberty, such as prohibition, and a menace to the stability of government when it extends human liberty, such as woman suffrage?

Ninth—In 1910 Senator Borah introduced the same Federal Suffrage Amendment into the Senate although no one in Idaho asked him to do so; and in 1918 when the strength of the movement had at least quadrupled he paired against it, although petitions from Ashton, Moscow, Idaho Falls, Almira, Gray, Lund, Wajan, Pocatello, Twin Falls, Lewiston, Blackfoot, Mackay, Shoshone and Boise asked him to vote for it.

Tenth—Senator Smith of South Carolina, in the debate on woman suffrage said, "this is not a nation in the common acceptance of the term, but a combination of sovereign powers, each within its own domain as sovereign as the Government that it by common consent erected." Yet it was not the sovereign states but the nation that compelled the mothers of our land to give up their sons to a war for democracy—and more than 17,000 of these mothers now wear the gold star for the boy who will never come back. The nation is about to impose an eight billion dollar tax, including one on incomes, which will reach the average woman of the millions of women workers and the millions of women property holders. The nation has entered the homes of every state and given its orders there as to what may be eaten and worn. The nation has implored women to take the places of men, to join in the work of mercy of the Red Cross and other war services, and they have responded by the millions. They are to be found in munition plants, administration offices, camps, hospitals and canteens giving "all that they have and all that they are" to the support of a war for human liberty. There has been no state rights about the national demands now being made upon women. When Great Britain and Canada demanded sacrifices of women they offered political liberty—dismissal from the long-fought campaign for woman suffrage—as part return. But when millions of American women, with hurt pride that other nations should be more just, appealed to the Senate for the only action it could take, that is, the passing on of woman suffrage to the states for ratification, one William E. Borah, professed suffragist, representative of woman voters, the only representative from a suffrage state where women had opportunity to exercise the vote, stepped forth and closed the only door through which women of the whole nation might pass to their enfranchisement.

Eleventh: The President of the United States appealed to the Senate to pass the Federal Suffrage Amendment as a war measure in order that America's claim to democracy should be consistent and flawless; in order, as he himself set forth, that he might have in his hands instruments, spiritual instruments, that he sorely needs for the successful discharge of the executive duties of the war.

Senator Borah refused the President's appeal.

We record these incontrovertible facts that the world may know the truth.

Dislodgment Methods in Indiana

THE board of directors of the Women's Franchise League of Indiana, has entered a vigorous protest against the proposed tour of Senator Henry Cabot Lodge in that state under the auspices of the Republican Party. Senator Lodge, by his adverse stand on suffrage, has shown himself to be out of tune with democracy, according to the following protest:

"The board of directors of the Women's Franchise League of Indiana protests against the coming of Senator Lodge, of Massachusetts, into our state at this time to speak in behalf of the Republican Party in the present campaign. In view of the open opposition of Senator Lodge to the Federal Suffrage Amendment and his pronounced leadership of the anti-suffrage forces on the floor of the Senate, the Women's Franchise League of Indiana cannot believe that the Republican Party seriously intends to put such an indignity upon the women of the state."

This action was backed up by that of many single associations throughout Indiana, among them the Women's Franchise League of Elkhart, with 300 members.

What action the Republican party will take on the protest of the women is not yet known, but a letter sent by E. M. Wasmuth, chairman of the Indiana Republican State Committee, to the women of Indiana, shortly after the protest was made, is believed to indicate that the Republican Party will not arrange for Senator Lodge to speak during the campaign. The letter from Chairman Wasmuth reads as follows:

"Despite the fact that the Federal Suffrage Amendment was recently defeated in Congress, the Republican Party, pledged to the suffrage cause in both its national and state platforms, stands loyally back of the movement as evidenced by the vote in Congress when both of our Indiana Senators, and more than two-thirds of the entire Republican Senators voted for its passage.

"The Republican Party further sends greetings and pays tribute to the women of Indiana for the tremendous part they play in the great crisis now upon us. Without their loyalty, sacrifice, fortitude and patience, Indiana would not have taken front rank among the States in war activities, and in sending such splendidly equipped men to the service."

Louisiana First

THE voters of Louisiana will have an opportunity on November 5th, to prove to the satisfaction of the Louisiana women that victory for suffrage lies along the "state route." The referendum campaign now in progress in that state is attracting keen interest, as Louisiana is the first distinctively southern state to submit a suffrage referendum. The battle is being waged with vigor by the Woman's Suffrage Party of which Mrs. W. S. Holmes is president and the Louisiana State Suffrage Association of which Miss Jean M. Gordon is president.

The two suffrage bodies present a solid front in this matter and are proving beyond a doubt that the women of Louisiana do want the vote. One particular proof of this fact is the petition now being circulated calling upon Governor Pleasant to urge by proclamation the adoption of the State Suffrage Amendment by the people of Louisiana at the general election. The petition bears a long list of signatures of women who stand for the best interest of the state and who are leaders in its development. The petition reads:

"Whereas, national honor, the platform of the Democratic Party, and justice to the women of Louisiana, call for the separation of women from the undeserved and ungenerous classification now accorded them by the state constitution; and

"Whereas, the General Assembly of 1918 has submitted to the voters a suffrage amendment granting women full citizenship rights;

"We, the undersigned women of Louisiana, do hereby petition His excellency, the Governor, to urge by proclamation the adoption of this amendment in the best interests of the state and the nation."

The suffrage resolution passed the Louisiana Legislature last June, the Senate voting 29 to 11 in its favor and the house voting 80 to 21, a 4 to 1 vote, for the amendment. At that time Governor Pleasant, in his address to the Legislature, declared the time was right for the enfranchisement of the Louisiana women. President Wilson gave his support to the suffrage cause in a written appeal to the assembly to pass the amendment and urged its adoption by the state.

Victory in Nebraska!

THE referendum on the partial suffrage law enacted by the last session of the Nebraska Legislature will not be placed on the ballot at the general election next month, in accord with an opinion handed down October 18 by Judge L. A. Flansburg of the District Court of that state. By this opinion the suffragists are so far victorious in the injunction suit brought by Mrs. Edna M. Barkley and others, representing the suffragists, to prevent the Secretary of State from placing the referendum on the ballot in pursuance of a petition circulated by the anti-suffrage forces.

It was further held by the court that though the suffragists had not been guilty of such "laches" as to entitle the defendants to a dismissal of the plaintiffs' case, still so much time had been consumed and such an immense volume of testimony adduced and so many issues of fact raised that the defendants could not conclude their defense before October 21, the time required by law for the issuance of ballots. It was also held that, "though the referendum petition at this stage of the proceedings appears to be invalid and of no effect when considered ex parte from the testimony of the plaintiffs alone," nevertheless, the defendants under the law were entitled to be heard. The court held that the filing and acceptance of the referendum petition suspends the partial suffrage law until the case is finally adjudicated and the petition found to be insufficient.

It was further the opinion of the court that "should the referendum petition be finally adjudged valid, the proposition should then be referred to the people at the first general election ensuing after the entry of such judgment."

The outstanding feature of the court's opinion given, as the opinion stated, after all evidence was carefully weighed, was as follows: "That upon the pleadings and proof submitted it appears that a *prima facie* case has been made by the plaintiffs, and that as the proof stands the referendum petition falls short of having the valid signatures of 10 per cent of the legal voters of the state as required by law. That so great a number of signatures appear to be not genuine, and that so many certificates of circulators appear to be impeached for fraud, that the unaffected portions remaining would be insufficient to constitute a valid referendum petition."

Doubling Their War Burdens

OKLAHOMA is in the midst of a state campaign to win the vote for women. It is proving out the state-by-state method of enfranchisement. This is the method cordially recommended by those United States Senators who refuse to follow President Wilson's lead and vote for the Federal Suffrage Amendment. These men say that woman suffrage is a state question, and that it is easy and practical for each state to give its women electoral rights.

Here is a statement of just how easy it is for Oklahoma: In order that an amendment to the state constitution shall become a law, it is necessary that it shall receive a majority of all the votes cast at the election, not merely of the votes for and against the amendment. That is to say, if a voter forgets to mark his vote at all on the amendment question, it is counted as a nay vote.

Every voting man in the state therefore must be aroused to a degree of interest which will make him take a definite position. Those who know the general inattention given any constitutional amendment whatever by the rank and file of voters can estimate how easy it will be to get a majority of the ballots cast in the Oklahoma election *correctly marked* for the women's enfranchisement. If they are incorrect they will be counted against; if they are blank they will be counted against.

To carry on such an arduous task in the midst of war work, through the biggest Liberty Loan drive ever held in any country, through an influenza epidemic (which alone is accounted a political disaster by New York politicians), Oklahoma women and Oklahoma men are giving of their best.

The two major parties are for the state amendment. The Ex-Governor is for it, both United States Senators are for it. Oklahoma Congressmen are for it. So are the press and the clergy.

On the state suffrage board of Oklahoma, are many women known for their efficiency in war work and in social service. Mrs. Clarence L. Henley of Oklahoma City and State Chairman of the Woman Suffrage Campaign Committee, is head of the volunteer workers of the State Food Demonstration and secretary of the Food Exhibits at state fairs. Mrs. Frank Haskell of Tulsa, Vice-Chairman, was head of the Woman's Committee for the Fourth Liberty Loan and has a reputation for selling more bonds than any other woman in Tulsa.

Mrs. A. P. Crockett, secretary, is state chairman of the Fatherless Children of France. She has taken the first steps in organizing the children of the Oklahoma City schools into groups who will adopt and support the orphaned little ones. Just as soon as feasible, the work of organization will be perfected through the principals of the schools and their teachers. Mrs. C. B. Ames, wife of the State Food Administrator, has one of the most difficult tasks in the suffrage campaign, as she is chairman of the Finance Committee. She is also an active war worker. Mrs. B. W. Slagle, Pottowatamie County Representative on the Campaign Committee, is Shawnee Chairman of the Red Cross Drive. Miss Aloysius Larch-Miller, an ardent suffrage worker, was a state speaker for the Fourth Liberty Bond Campaign.

Such are the double burdens born by women who work for suffrage by the state method. The National American Woman Suffrage Association has sent aid into the state, and Mrs. Frank J. Shuler, Corresponding Secretary and National Chairman of Campaigns and Surveys, is giving expert trained skill to the campaign. She is ably seconded by her daughter Miss Marjorie Shuler, who is acting as press chairman of Oklahoma throughout the campaign. The great bulk of Oklahoma newspapers strongly back Miss Shuler, printing news stories and making constant editorial comment in the interests of the Amendment. National organizers, well and favorably known all over the country, are lined up in the campaign.

Among them are: Miss Alice Curtis, Miss Alma Sasse, Miss Edna Annette Beveridge, Miss Sally Fanny Gleaton, Mrs. Mary K. Maule, Miss L. Lola Walker, Miss S. Isabella Sanders, Miss Doris Long, Miss Mary Parke London, Miss Margaret J. Thompson.

Meantime the Oklahoma delegation in congress has sent the following telegram to the newspapers of Oklahoma:

"We, the Oklahoma delegation in Congress, unanimously en-

dorse the woman suffrage amendment and express the hope that men of all parties will support it at the coming election. The women of Oklahoma have heroically borne their full share of the sacrifice and sorrow demanded by the world war for democracy. Let them have an equal share in self-government within our state."

It is signed by Senators Robert L. Owen and Thomas P. Gore and by Representative Scott Ferris, Dick T. Morgan, Charles D. Carter, W. W. Hastings, James McClintic, Thomas A. Chandler, Joseph B. Thompson and Tom D. McKeown.

Suffrage Briefs

FORMER Governor John H. Morehead of Nebraska, Democratic nominee for United States Senate, has pledged his unqualified support to the Federal Suffrage Amendment in the event of his election. In response to a query from Mrs. F. J. Birss, member of the Nebraska Woman Suffrage Association, Mr. Morehead replied:

"Answering your inquiry, I beg to advise that if I am elected to the United States Senate and the Amendment now pending, or a similar one thereto, is submitted, I shall vote for it."

LONG term as well as short term candidates for the United States Senate are lining up in favor of the Federal Suffrage Amendment. Of all the states where senatorial contests are forward, Kentucky seems to be carrying off the palm, by right of having her short term Senator, Senator Martin, already on the suffrage side, while now comes Governor Augustus O. Stanley, Democratic nominee for the long term, with the following message to Mrs. John Glover South, president of the Kentucky Equal Rights Association:

"Your favor of recent date to hand, advising that the Kentucky Equal Rights Association, through its executive board, respectfully requests that I state whether or not, if elected to the United States Senate, I will vote in accordance with the request of President Wilson for the submission of the Federal Amendment. I take great pleasure in advising you that I shall."

THE Federal Suffrage Amendment in the U. S. Senate is still burning alive. When the Senate voted to reconsider its adverse action and to replace the measure on the calendar this restored it to exactly the same position that it had held before, except that now the women know their friends from their enemies. The anti-suffragists are trying to spread the impression that the issue is closed for this session.

On the contrary the action thus far taken was only a preliminary skirmish followed by a line-up. The measure is still pending and can be brought up again at any time.

It will be brought up again as soon as we secure those needed two votes, either by changes at the November elections, or by change of heart among the holdover members, or by changes due to death and replacement.

Let all our readers make it a point to disabuse their friends and the public—and especially the press—of any misleading notion that the question is settled so far as this Congress is concerned.

A. S. B.

IT has been said of President Wilson: "He is a man with a lean, stubborn jaw, who uses a megaphone of such size as only democracy can construct. He speaks over the heads of

rulers, and the peoples of the world hear and understand."

He never sent through that megaphone a better message than his recent address on equal suffrage. It failed to pierce the moss-grown hides of some of his own supporters, but it went far and wide to the American people, and has helped powerfully to pave the way for the ratification of the nation-wide suffrage amendment when it shall have passed Congress and gone to the states.

Its educational effect has been great, and will not be limited even to this country. In every foreign land where women are still excluded from the ballot, the cause of equal rights has been set forward, and the inevitable day of victory—close at hand in some countries, farther off in others—has everywhere been brought a little more near.

A great thing is a megaphone, when it utters words of wisdom!

A. S. B.

Women and Reconstruction

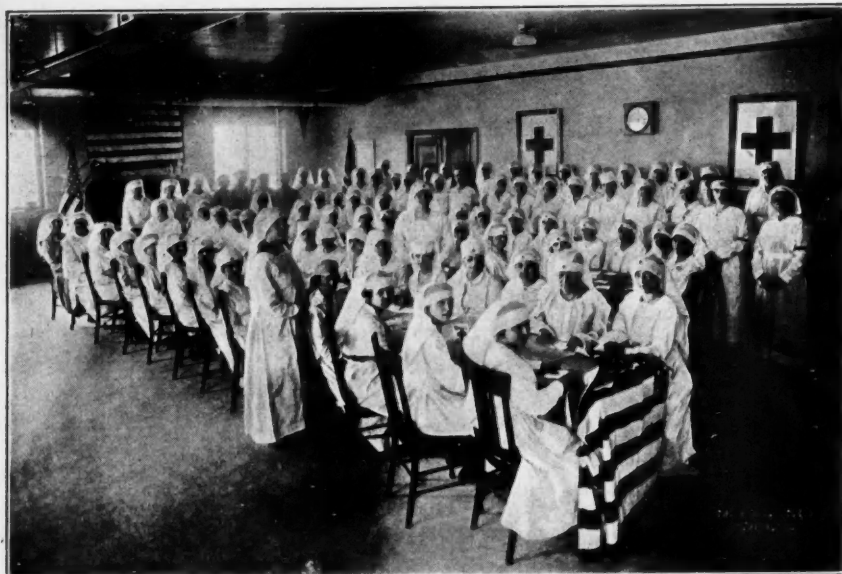
THE war is visibly drawing to a close; when it ends we shall be faced with the problems of reconstruction—problems of the most varied nature, which will call for the skill of every kind of people who have specialized in regard to any of the great departments of human life. There will be, among others, the problems connected with vast numbers of widows and orphans, and the problems connected with the enormous numbers of women who have been brought into industry by the war emergency, besides the problem of nursing and caring for hosts of maimed, blinded and crippled men, and readjusting them to the country's normal life.

To men as different as President Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt, these facts have seemed to be an added argument for equal suffrage, and an argument for granting it as early as possible. To most men who have any progressive outlook at all, it is clear that the joint wisdom of men and women should be brought to bear upon these problems, on the ground not so much of the women's abstract right as of the country's urgent need.

But how different the question looks to the anti-progressive mind! Senator Weeks of Massachusetts is not only a reactionary, but an ultra reactionary of the most extreme type. His record in Congress shows that he has opposed almost every progressive measure and opposed it to the last ditch. Again and again, when the popular demand for some improvement has become so strong that the common or garden variety of conservatives in Congress have yielded and voted for it, Senator Weeks has been one of the little handful of irreconcilables who have stood out against it to the bitter end.

His attitude towards woman suffrage as bearing upon reconstruction, therefore, may be taken as typical of the extreme reactionary view. To a woman who was urging him to vote for the Federal Amendment, Senator Weeks said that it seemed to him particularly undesirable to bring in a large number of ignorant and inexperienced voters before the problems of reconstruction were settled. Very soon after, he enumerated in Congress a list of the important questions which would have to be settled after the war, and among them what is to be done about the vast number of women who have been brought into industry by the war. This is one of the questions about which he thinks it vitally important that the women themselves should have no say; and this is one of the reasons why he and others like him are determined to fight to the last ditch to stave off equal suffrage as long as possible.

A. S. B.



EMPLOYEES OF THE WOMAN'S BENEFIT ASSOCIATION OF THE MACCABEES
DOING RED CROSS WORK

CO-OPERATIVE campaigning has been brought to the top-notch of perfection in the suffrage campaign now under way in Michigan. Practically every organization of influence in the state has joined hands with the suffragists in an effort to write a suffrage amendment into the state constitution on November 5.

All differences of politics, creeds and rival interests have been forgotten in the common desire of the men and women of Michigan to place the state four square with the fundamental principles of democracy.

The homes, the grange, the schools, churches, business interests, press, politicians, theatrical world, organized labor, fraternal organizations, and political societies are represented in this co-ordinated movement.

The last Legislature decreed that Michigan women should have presidential suffrage and, in addition, ordered the question of full suffrage submitted to the voters at the general election, and the progressive interests of the state have cooperated with the Michigan Equal Suffrage Association in presenting the matter to the voters.

When the opening guns of the campaign were fired, Mrs. Percy J. Farrell, of Detroit, who leads the suffrage hosts of the state, expressed the hope that the campaign would be conducted on a dignified, conservative plane and to this plane the campaign is being held. Organization has been the keynote of the program, which has included all the activities which enter into modern campaigning, even to the suffrage schools.

Mrs. Farrell's executive staff includes: Mrs. Myron B. Vorce, Detroit, first vice-president; Mrs. G. W. Patterson, Ann Arbor, second vice-president; Mrs. Huntley Russell, Grand Rapids, third vice-president; Mrs. A. H. Cote, Port Huron, recording secretary; Mrs. H. Lee Simpson, Detroit, corresponding secretary; Mrs. William F. Blake, Grand Rapids, treasurer; Mrs. Daniel Quirk, Ypsilanti, first auditor; Miss Irene Kleinstuck, Kalamazoo, second auditor; Dr. Blanch M. Haines, Three Rivers, Michigan member National Executive Council.

Of tremendous importance in this co-operative battle for suf-



MRS. LOCKE

Michigan's Campaign



MISS BINA M. WEST
SUPREME COMMANDER W. B. A. O. T. M.

"I have felt that women should be unselfish in this matter and that it is a cause which every self-supporting woman in particular should support."

frage are the twenty-five or more influential organizations of the state that banded themselves together in a federation, which brought to the aid of the women the active work and influence of men who are recognized leaders in the state's affairs. Its official roster includes: Grant D. Slocum, chairman; Lieutenant-Governor Luren D. Dickinson, first vice-chairman; Mrs. Percy J. Farrell, president of the Michigan Equal Suffrage Association, second vice-chairman; Hon.



mpn of Co-operation

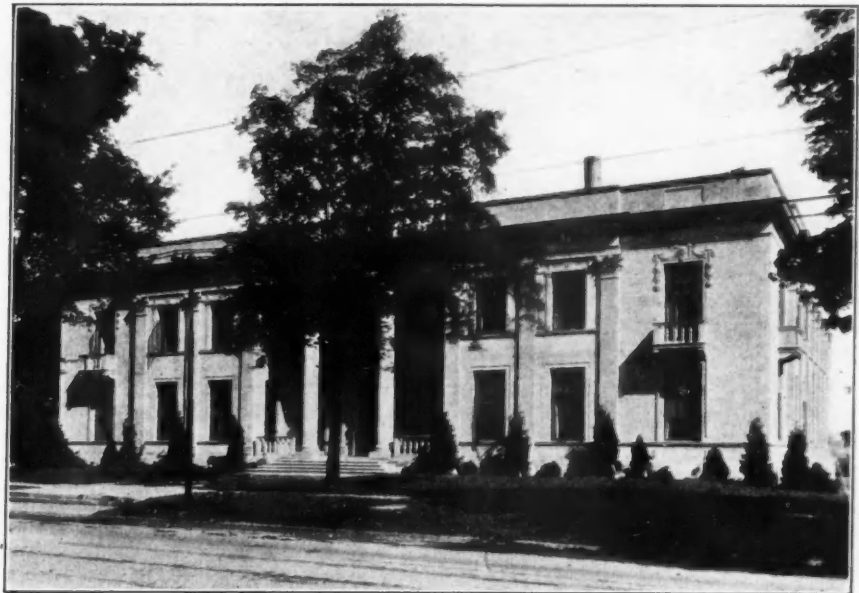


MRS. PERCY FARRELL, PRESIDENT MICHIGAN
EQUAL SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

"I want to have the Suffrage question presented to the men of Michigan in a way that will compel support; because it appeals to their intelligence."

Woodbridge M. Ferris, third vice-chairman; Mark T. McKee, secretary; W. A. Comstock, treasurer; John C. Ketcham, chairman executive committee.

Some idea of the co-operation that has been given the suffragists in their campaign may be had from a glance at the membership of the honorary committee for the last annual convention of the state suffrage association. The list includes state officials and distinguished citizens.



HOME OFFICE BUILDING OF THE WOMAN'S BENEFIT ASSOCIATION OF THE MACCABEES,
PORT HURON, MICHIGAN



MRS. DROELLE

THE large part taken by the Woman's Benefit Association of the Maccabees in the Michigan Equal Suffrage Campaign deserves to be entered in the archives of national history. Consecratedly the W. B. A., under the admirable leadership of Miss Bina M. West, has taken over whole congressional districts for propaganda and organization.

Mrs. Alice B. Locke and Mrs. Alberta Droelle, two of the dynamic forces in the Woman's Benefit Association, have toiled long hours, traveled long distances, and spoken with persuasive eloquence on behalf of the state suffrage amendment. Their co-operation with the Michigan Equal Suffrage Association cannot be over-estimated.

With that same determination which has enabled Miss Bina West to build, from a tiny nucleus, a nation-wide organization, she has

taken up the cause of suffrage and has been enthusiastically followed by her association.

THAT the politicians of Michigan are keenly alive to the political expediency of enfranchising the state's women is apparent from the list of endorsements given by the political parties and their leaders. Both the Republican and Democratic parties included suffrage planks in their state platforms, and otherwise showed an active inclination toward the suffrage cause.

Governor Sleeper, in an address at the Michigan Republican Convention, said: "The splendid, self-sacrificing labors of all our women, the devotion of mothers who have given up their sons, of young wives who have given up their husbands, are beyond praise. Can we now do less than confer upon them the privileges and responsibilities of full citizenship?"

Inasmuch as political straws show the way the wind blows the following prophecy from State Democratic Chairman A. S. Stevenson, "The women are going to vote—put that down"—is significant.

No stauncher ally of suffrage can be found than the churches of Michigan. Over their own signatures more than 150 clergymen

(Continued on page 441)



MISS MARY McDOWELL of Chicago made a striking address to a gathering of suffragists the other day, on the eve of her departure for Europe. At the request of the Young Women's Christian Association, she is going to look over the plants in England where women are employed in making munitions and see what additional measures can be taken to safeguard the women. Miss McDowell is an expert, and she urges all American women to consider it part of their war work to make public opinion on this question and to safeguard the women who are being drawn into industry in such unprecedented numbers.

"The line of battle extends from France to the factory," said Miss McDowell. "It is our job to back up this army of women here. They are the second line of defense. We must safeguard their health and morals as we try to safeguard the health and morals of the men at the front.

"The main points upon which we must insist are the eight-hour day, no night work, a rest period in the morning and another in the afternoon, one day's rest in seven, and equal pay. The Committee on Women in Industry says that no woman must lift more than twenty-five pounds, continuously. Some one objected: 'Why, a woman often lifts twenty-five pounds when she lifts her body.' Yes, but she does not lift her body every two minutes the whole day long. I want all of you to watch freight houses and railroads, to see that no woman is put in to lift heavy weights without the aid of a mechanical device. There are such devices, and they will be put in if required.

"BE mindful also to keep up the pay. Sometimes a woman of means taking a position to free some man for the war offers to do the work for a mere trifle as a matter of patriotism. But then when the man comes back from France he will find his means of livelihood gone. Don't be a sentimental patriot! Keep up the wages for the men's sake."

Miss McDowell spoke of the admirable capabilities the war had revealed in women—of a woman in England whose fine color sense had enabled her to temper tools so well that they lasted twice as long as the tools made by the man who had done the work before her and who had been at it for years; of a woman of sixty who had been in a shop as "boss," and of whom a man said to Miss McDowell: "She's great! We never have had such good spirit in the shop before."

In a large round-house at Chicago, Miss McDowell said, she saw big black women from Alabama climbing all over locomotives and wiping them down. They were getting the same pay that the men had had. There was much

The Battle Line— from France to Factory

By Alice Stone Blackwell

"men's work" that women could do, but she reiterated that they ought not to be used for handling freight. A big firm in Chicago had thought of employing women for this, and asked her opinion. She went to see the manager, taking with her "two husky college girls," and for an hour, while she talked with him, they tried their hands on the freight and found that it was too heavy. She came again, with a woman doctor and a trained nurse, and they gave the same opinion. Then she put the question up to all the leading gynecologists of Chicago, men and women. All but one answered that it would be too great a risk. That one had been born and trained under the Kaiser. He replied that women could handle those great weights perfectly well, even when pregnant. She told the head of the firm the outcome of her inquiries and he gave up the idea.

Miss McDowell said that the big, husky Polish and Slavic women, who would most likely be used for this kind of work, might look to an inexperienced observer as if they could very well do it, but, as a matter of fact, it would be more dangerous for them than for American women, because most of them had had no medical attendance during childbirth and hence had often been left with internal injuries, making such work especially unsafe for them.

"We must see that the health of the women workers is safeguarded," said Miss McDowell, "and after the war it will be too late. We must do it now—for the sake of the women and of the future generation, and of the men."

The National American Woman Suffrage Association has a committee to help along this line, and all the members should give it their co-operation. When women have the ballot they will be the better able to safeguard the "second line of defense."

A MASSACHUSETTS woman, Miss C. J. Brennan, has just been engaged by the du Pont Company to serve as sanitary expert for their great munitions plant at Penniman, Va. She is a graduate of the Institute of Technology, and is probably quite equal to the task. "Big Business" thinks she is good enough to bear large responsibilities; yet Miss Brennan could not serve as a member of a health board in the smallest village of Massachusetts. With the country towns already largely stripped of men, and with more of them continually leaving for the war, the Massachusetts Legislature still year after year votes down the bill to make women eligible to serve on boards of health—a thing which they are already doing with success and acceptance throughout

a large part of these United States of America.

Here is an added reason for the ratification of the Federal Amendment. There will be a speedy end to this piece of antediluvian stupidity when women have a vote.

THE close of the fight for equal suffrage is in sight. Along with the joy of the victory there should go a deep sense of responsibility.

Not long ago there appeared in the paper a touching account of a war wedding. It took place at an institution where many wounded soldiers were slowly regaining strength. The bridegroom was one of them. Instead of holding crossed swords above the couple, his comrades ranged themselves in two rows, holding up and crossing their crutches in the air so as to form an arch for the bridal party to march under. It seems as if a married life so begun could never become unpatriotic or frivolous.

The young women who will soon come marching into the land of freedom should remember the sacrifices by which the opportunity was won for them. With a great price the older women obtained this freedom; but the young will be free born. To win the ballot for all women, thousands of women during the past seventy years have given untold time and labor. Many have given their health and not a few have laid down their lives. The new freedom will have been nobly earned. It should be nobly used.

The new voter will not be worthy of the pioneers if they do not vote according to their best light and exert themselves constantly to get more light upon the public problems that await solution. They should never expose themselves to the biting words of reproach addressed by Whittier to those citizens who were too indifferent to vote:

"Our hearts grow cold;
We lightly hold
A right that brave men died to gain—
The stake, the sword,
The axe, the cord,
Grim nurses at its birth of pain."

"To know the new, search the old," say the Japanese. The record that women have already made for themselves in the suffrage states shows that as a rule their votes are cast conscientiously and for the public good. The way they are rising to the new responsibilities cast upon them by the war proves afresh (if any further proof were needed) that they are not only willing to serve their country, but abundantly able.

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Binding Two Nations Together

HOW keenly women of Great Britain are watching and waiting for the enfranchisement of American women is shown in the following letter to Mrs. Ida Husted Harper from Mrs. Fawcett, president of the Women's National Union of Suffrage Societies of Great Britain:

"MY Dear Mrs. Harper:

We are watching your position in regard to the woman suffrage amendment in the Senate with the deepest interest. It must be very wearing to just have the decision so frequently postponed. Here we are in mid-September and no vote taken yet. We very much appreciated the value of President Wilson's letters to Senators Shields and Baird. They have been quoted in a large number of papers here.

"We do warmly appreciate the voluntary self-sacrifice of the American people in abstaining from wheaten bread in order to send this invaluable food to Europe. I think this ought to bind our two nations more closely together in the future than anything else could. Everyone says that the situation as regards food in this country is safe. The main anxiety is now about

coal. France is frightfully short and Italy is wholly dependent for coal on her Allies. But we hear that the spirit of the Italian people is now on a higher plane than has ever been the case before. You sent us a word about the new claims we are making for women—seats in Parliament, etc. When our council met immediately after our victory last spring, we enlarged "the objects" of the National Union of Woman Suffrage Societies, which had been simply and solely for suffrage to "*equality of opportunity*" for women. I think this was right and indeed inevitable. The question of women in Parliament may be said to have raised itself. The Labor Party adopted it as part of its programme, and almost suddenly opposition on principles seemed to vanish. It will require an alteration in the law and the Government will be questioned about this as soon as Parliament meets. Mrs. Strachey is decidedly of the opinion that our present Government intends to encourage women candidates. If she is correct we may expect a declaration of policy from them very shortly.

"The question of equal pay for equal work has also made immense progress during the last few months. The antis, who, like Lord Bryce, took the line of saying that the vote would

make no difference, have proved themselves shortsighted, nay blind, as we always believed them.

"We are intensely relieved about the military situation since the date of Foch's counter-attack, which began July 18th. I was speaking at the Proportional Representation meeting that afternoon. Young Lord Grey (son of the Albert Lord Grey, who was Governor of Canada—not of Sir Edward Grey), who was also speaking, announced the victory on the Marne which saved Paris a second time. He said that he of course was no authority on military affairs, but those who were had told him that this victory might probably be the *turning point of the war*. It was an historical moment. I shall never forget it, and I don't think any of us will ever forget that there for the first time American troops were present in strong enough numbers to be a great element in the victory. How good it is to remember this and to cherish its remembrance for ever more. I rejoice with all my heart in the strong friendship which has gradually been built up and culminated on April 6, 1917.

Ever yours very sincerely,

MILlicENT GARRETT FAWCETT."

Holm House Farm,

Leeds, England.

September 15, 1918.

When writing to advertisers please mention the WOMAN CITIZEN.

Jersey Women Fight Sub-cellar Politics

THE storm that has been threatening to break about the head of Senator Baird, since he voted against the Federal Suffrage Amendment, is growing blacker as the days pass, according to New Jersey suffragists.

Through its state branch, the New Jersey Women Suffrage Association, the National American Woman Suffrage Association is in a fight to the finish against Senator Baird. It is the policy of the National Association to fight against a candidate not for some one of his opponents, but as Senator Baird has but one opponent, the situation resolves itself into a "Help Hennessy" campaign and the suffragists will do their campaigning through the campaign manager of Mr. Hennessy.

It is to be remembered in this connection that the National Suffrage Association is not a flying wedge of an organization with national scope and arbitrary powers but a confederation of state associations. State matters are always under the immediate direction of the suffrage association of that state. It is, therefore, the brilliant young leader of the Jersey association who has taken the helm in the Jersey crisis. Her name is Mrs. E. F. Feickert, her home town is Plainfield, and she brings to the battle line 120,000 women who want to see Senator Baird defeated because of his anti-suffrage vote in the United States Senate, whereby he refused

President Wilson's appeal for support for the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment as a war measure, repudiated Governor Edge who appointed him on a support-the-President promise and defied the Republican State platform which endorsed the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

SPEAKING for her organization, she says: "There are many reasons why the differing attitudes of Senator Baird and ex-State Senator Charles O'Connor Hennessy on the suffrage question serve as a fair test of the stand which will be taken on other important war measures by the two candidates for the remainder of Senator Hughes's unexpired term. When Mr. Baird was appointed to serve until the November election it was announced that he had been made Senator on condition that he would support President Wilson's war policies.

"The record of Mr. Baird's opponent is one of conscientious endeavor and accomplishment. He served the State of New Jersey in the Assembly and State Senate from 1912 to 1917, and the record of these years shows that during that time he invariably stood for progressive legislation and in strong opposition to the self-appointed boss of the Democratic Party, James R. Nugent. He stood by the measures of Governor Wilson in Trenton, and we believe he

will also firmly uphold the measures of President Wilson in Washington."

Nearly every official in the National American Woman Suffrage Association is scheduled to go over into Jersey to "help Hennessy" during the next fortnight.

Details of a carefully worked out plan, which the suffragists hope will defeat the Senator, have been forwarded to each of the 400 county, town and municipal suffrage leaders over the state. Senator Baird's campaign slogan, "Support the President—Win the War," will, it is thought, in the face of his denial of President Wilson's plea for his support of the suffrage amendment, make so strong a case against him that out of his own mouth he will be judged by the Jersey voter.

"HAS the party of Wilson in New Jersey reached the level of the sub-cellar?" was the question asked by the Jersey City Journal the day after Boss Nugent turned his coat in order to defeat the President and the woman suffrage amendment. If there is anything with which Mr. James Nugent is less *en rapport* than with President Wilson it is the idea of letting women have any say-so in Jersey politics. The one hope for the Democratic Party in the President's home state, continues the Journal, is "that the consciousness of its wretched condition will produce a reaction, for it is inconceivable that the Democratic Party of New Jersey, unless it is lost to all shame, will much longer tolerate the ruffianly leadership of this Essex boss.

"James R. Nugent ran the Democratic State Convention and, with the aid of Mayor Frank Hague of Jersey City, and Dennis Collins of Union, defeated the plank called for by President Wilson declaring anew for woman suffrage and pledging aid to the efforts of the President in ranging this country on the side of equal franchise.

"There may be a grain of comfort in the thought that many of the South Jersey and other rural delegates opposed to the arrogant Essex boss had gone home when Nugent forced the issue, but the bad taste arising from the final scenes at the Democratic convention has will linger long.

"Not content with defying his party's Commander-in-Chief, Nugent also offended the ears of men and women in that audience by his loose language, his unprintable epithets and his bullying tactics.

"The campaign in New Jersey starts with chaos on every hand. On the Democratic side, Nugent will now proceed to knife Hennessy and support Baird for the short term United States Senatorship.

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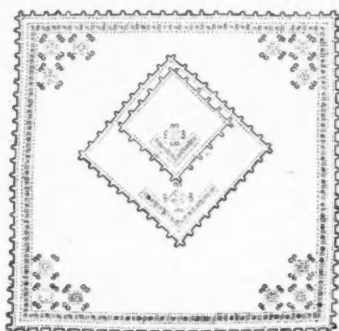
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The Trenton Times, commenting on Baird's falling off of 25,000 votes, says: "It is fair to assume that it is largely because of Senator Baird's refusal to keep the pledge he made last February to Governor Edge, to support the President in his war program; and it will be interesting to see what effect his refusal to keep faith will have on him election day, when he will be opposed for the short term by Charles O'Connor Hennessy, who not only favors the suffrage amendment, but has always been a loyal supporter of President Wilson.

"If Senator Baird's course is being dictated by political and corporation influences he should seek new advisers; if he is being guided by his personal prejudices, he deserves to be defeated on election day, even if, as some of his friends are declaring, 'Defeat would be almost a death blow.'"

"It is altogether to the Jersey Senator's discredit that he was one of those to help defeat the women's amendment."

The Elizabeth Journal adds its word to the women's brave effort to get New Jersey out of the sub-cellar before election. It says: "The women of New Jersey are among the most active of those who have attempted to scourge un-American and disloyal influences out of communities. For instance, the women of Elizabeth were among the first to attempt to

debar from open circulation in this community enemy-language newspapers. But the influence of women stops at the ballot box.

"It is a vitally important matter that the Federal Suffrage Amendment should be acted upon favorably by the Senate. This step should be taken without delay to arm women with the all-powerful ballot.

"The women of the nation should be given the chance to help protect it against Hun propagandists while the men are fighting in the war. They should be given the chance to help make the adjustments and solve the problems of the post-bellum days."

Miss Hay's Message to New York City Leaders

"SUFFRAGISTS who have their cause at heart should cast their ballots on election day for the men who have long championed the cause of women suffrage rather than for the men who now deem it expedient to express a belated belief in woman's enfranchisement. When I say this, I take it for granted that the most important thing of all is espoused by the candidates we are considering, namely patriotic support of the Government in its prosecution of the war. When this is equally advocated by all. suffragists should be sure to

reward their friends, not only out of gratitude but because we can honestly believe that men who are suffrage supporters have the sense of justice, the progressive spirit and the realization of the meaning of democracy that others lack.

"IF we do not make the effort to let men aspiring to public position know that women remember and appreciate their services we are striking a blow at woman suffrage in the other states of the Union. For the fact cannot be over-emphasized that what New York women do has tremendous weight with people throughout the country and let it once be shown that we are indifferent to those who have generously helped us, there will be little incentive for men in other states to assist their own women. In an ideal state of society, men would advocate measures for high motives merely and without hope of reward, but at present we have not reached such a state, and must face the fact that people are controlled by mixed motives, by selfish and unselfish interests and that even the best like practical appreciation. As in most cases we can express this by our votes, without sacrificing our ideas or our ideals or lowering our standards, we should do it and should urge other suffragists to follow the same line of action."

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Suffrage Leader Planned "Joy Drive" in Kentucky

"CHEERO" was Kentucky's message to the United States in the opening of the fourth Liberty Loan Campaign. Not as a burden, but a privilege, did the people of Louisville undertake their share of fund raising under the management of Mr. and Mrs. Robinson A. McDowell. A huge Liberty Loan parade opened what the leaders call their "Joy Drive."

The parade was a living rainbow of prismatic colors shown in the many hued caps of the women, in the flags, blue-starred for service. The women's part in the parade was engineered by Mrs. McDowell, who is recording secretary of the Kentucky Equal Rights Association.

The Service Flag Division was made up of war fathers and war mothers without invidious sex distinctions, Mrs. McDowell stoutly maintaining that fathers shall not be discriminated against.

Looking over the parade was like viewing some exquisite rainbow arching the city, because the women of the Liberty Loan Committee each wore a Tam o'Shanter cap, like that so favored by Elsie Janis in war work in France. All the women wore white frocks, and the caps were pink, orange, yellow, green, blue and heliotrope.

Part of the joy effect in this brilliant parade was produced by the lines of people singing as they marched. Specially written Liberty Loan songs were printed on rainbow-tinted slips of paper, so that every man, woman and child could join in. Here is one:

"DON'T LET THE SON GO DOWN"
"So line up, and sign up, and buy a Liberty Bond;
For all our sons are over there to fight the German crown.
Make up your mind, do it today,
Don't let the Son go down,
But line up,
And sign up,
And buy a Liberty Bond."

As Suffrage Workers See the Loan Drive.

(With apologies to Mr. Rudyard Kipling)

By Grace Fitzhugh Thomson

IF you can keep your head while all about you
Are spending cash on foolish things or worse,

If you can do with shabby clothes and corn bread

To buy War Savings Stamps for "Uncle's" purse,

If you can work and not be tired by working
At some dull round where Conscience is the boss,

With no more chance of getting cash or credit
Than winning the Distinguished Service Cross;

If you can stick with all your pulses tingling,
At that small thing you can and must do well,
And not for petty pleasures set them jingling—
Those quarters that must go for shot and shell—

But watch and work and turn and twist,
contriving

To make a dollar do the work of four,
And know full well that you are just arriving
At what the French have done for years—
and more;

If you can talk and always still remember
That gossip often plays the German game,
If you can silent be and yet a member
Of that great host that feeds the Torch's flame,

If you can give your heart and soul and spirit
And all the best you are, the best you've won,
Then only is this sacred land yours to inherit,
And you have earned your right to freedom,
Son!

—From New York Times.

Concerning Mary Minus

(**Absolute loyalty to him as the chief ruler of this nation during the present tremendous war does not blind the President's friends to the fact that he recently acted in the matter of woman suffrage in a way much at variance with what all had a right to expect.*****
Marvelously well have the mind and heart of this man borne the strain of enormous responsibilities. There are psychological contagions and infections quite as definite as physiological epidemics. The strongest man may be made weak, the clearest-headed may be made delirious by influenza. What, then, may not happen to an over-worked thinker exposed to the contagion

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JOHN P. TOLSON.

of the present feminist mania?) Excerpts from letter signed "M" in the Richmond, Va., Times-Dispatch of October 17th.

Mary at Seven:

Mary Minus raised her hand; "O, Teacher, dear," cried she, "my 'rithmetic is just as wrong as anything could be. Look, Teacher, on the second page and in the 'leventh line. Don't you see the answer there is not at all like mine?" (And, though it was against the rule, we children laughed right out in school.)

Mary at Eighteen:

Years afterwards I saw her at the well-known "Teacup Inn." An old acquaintance passing asked: "My dear, where have you been?" "To the Auditorium," Miss Minus made reply. "And was so bored I really thought that I should surely die." The old friend gasped; "Did you not hear them render 'The Messiah'?" "No, indeed," Miss Minus said, her sweet voice rising higher. "They did not play a single thing" (she put down her tea-cup), "They spent the whole time I was there in simply tuning up."

(This time I blushed for Mary's sake, 'twas such a ludicrous mistake.)

Mary—Age Uncertain:

Today, in searching for the news, I find Miss Mary's published views, no less a personage anent than Woodrow Wilson, President. She tells us that his mind is great; but underneath the strain of late he has become a little hazy. Indeed, she fears, is somewhat crazy. His opinions, she avers, are quite at variance with hers. In words of several syllables on his actions she reflected. So different, she tells us, from what she of him expected, and intimates, in manner kind, that Wilson is of unsound mind.

(O, Mary Minus, hold your pen. We hate to blush for you again.)

ALICE OVERBEY TAYLOR.

THE WOMAN CITIZEN'S

BOOK NUMBER

WILL BE OUT NOVEMBER 2.

YOU WILL LIKE IT

Michigan's Campaign of Co-operation

(Continued from page 435)

have come out for suffrage for women. Practically every denomination—Catholic, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, Jewish, Congregational, Evangelical—is included in this list of endorsements from clergymen who are an influence in the state.

The suffragists have also had the co-operation of the leaders in educational work in the state. One of the interesting developments was a decision made by the board of education of Grand Rapids to the effect that a discussion of woman suffrage is an educational matter, not political, and that therefore the school houses of the city could be used for suffrage meetings.

Organized labor is lined up on the side of the Michigan women in their campaign. At their Twenty-ninth Annual Convention the Michigan Federation of Labor passed a strong resolution for suffrage.

JUST as suffragists have co-operated to the fullest in all war service work, so the Executive Board of the Women's Committee of the Council of National Defense of Michigan has co-operated with the suffragists of their state, and passed resolutions endorsing suffrage and pledging active support to the campaign.

The suffragists are proud to claim as further allies the business women of Michigan. Suffrage and the pending amendment were given a rousing endorsement by the business women when 600 of their representatives gathered at Detroit for the annual convention of the Michigan Woman's Association of Commerce.

When the Wayne County Equal Suffrage League opened its membership drive on behalf of the referendum campaign, Miss Jessie Bonstelle, president of the Stage Women's War Relief, directed the playlet "50-50," which featured the occasion and which was presented by the members of Miss Bonstelle's company. Wayne County, which is really Detroit, has put up a splendid campaign based on organization. Mrs. Augusta C. Hughston, a tried and true suffrage campaigner, has filled the exacting office of campaign manager.

From the largest daily to the smallest weekly the suffragists have had a powerful ally in the press. Practically every newspaper of any size or influence is fighting for suffrage. At the opening of the campaign the *Detroit Journal* sounded this warning: "What guarantee is there that the liquor interests, though ousted, may not aspire to come back? Who can say they are not secretly plotting again to fight votes for women in Michigan?"

"The watchword is: teamwork, Teamwork, TEAMWORK."

And teamwork it has been.

At the same time that the news columns of

Michigan papers are announcing: "The antis are in our midst," the editors are fighting the suffrage battle editorially, intimating in no uncertain terms that Massachusetts, from whence the antis hail is overstepping the bounds when it sends emissaries to Michigan to dictate its political policies. The *Detroit Times* announces the appearance of the antis as follows: "The National Association Opposed to Women Suffrage has dropped in to spend the twilight hours of the fall campaign in Michigan. If the charming visitors do as much to accelerate the cause of equal citizenship in this state as they did with their spirited dissent in New York a year ago, no one could be more welcome."

The *Detroit Abend Post*, a leading German newspaper of the state, is opposed to woman suffrage. Simultaneously, with the arrival of the two opponents of suffrage, the advocates of the "Beer and Light Wine" Amendment presented a petition to the Secretary of the State for an amendment to be voted on in April, 1919.

Verily, two coincidences worthy of consideration.

"Suffrage is a war issue," says the *Bay City Tribune* and Michigan replies, "It is."

"Let Michigan wipe out the stain of its double defeat of suffrage a few years ago, and quit playing the unchivalrous, narrow-minded boorish role of the stone age," advises the *Muskegon Chronicle*, while the *Mt. Clemens Monitor* says, "It looks more and more as though the women will be winners in Michigan this fall."

Michigan has weathered several campaigns and each time has come out the stronger. Her arch enemy has been the liquor interests. This spring Michigan went dry. Whether or not the "influences" are dead remains to be seen. Under the heading "Another Dead One" the official bulletin of the Michigan Equal Suffrage Association, edited by Mrs. Ida Porter Boyer, tells of the demise of one of the well known anti-suffrage organizations.

"The recent dissolution of the Royal Ark in Detroit is another instance of the rapidity with which the organizations opposed to woman suffrage are fading out of existence. Many of them were pro-German in sentiment, and anti-American as well as anti-suffrage in expression. Many suffragists of Michigan will recall the bitter opposition of the Royal Ark organization in the campaigns for votes for women in 1912 and 1913. The membership of the Royal Ark, it is said, consisted of eleven hundred saloon men, yet this small number of men, representing chiefly liquor forces, dominated political questions and elections. The Royal Ark had the Kaiser's viewpoint and estimate of womanhood, and like the Kaiser, its passing will not be mourned by the patriotic masses of good citizens. Michigan will have a chance to elevate her women November 5th, and thus efface the pro-German tenets of Royal Arks and associate anti-suffragists."

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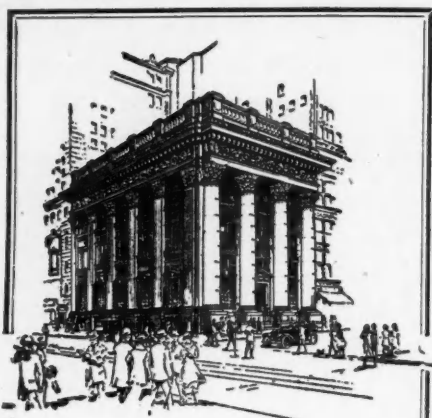
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IN the war roster of the suffrage officials the name of Mrs. T. T. Cotnam of Arkansas, one of the directors of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, was accidentally omitted.

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Committee. She is vice-president for the state and has direction of all women's work. She has organized the state from one end to the other, and has ninety chairmen with their committees actively at work. In many counties Mrs. Cotnam is sure that the major part of the work has been done by women, and in all the counties the women have helped very much.

Arkansas has an active suffrage campaign under way, as a Constitutional Convention is putting up a new Constitution to the voters of the state for ratification on December 14.

If the new Constitution is adopted, full suffrage will be obtained for the women of Arkansas. The women of the state, in addition to their war work, are expected to make a canvass of the voters before election. But none of this great work of winning the vote for themselves is allowed to interfere with gaining Arkansas's quota of the War Savings Stamps securities—\$35,000,000.

Mrs. Cotnam took an active part in the second and third Liberty Loan drives and put the entire force of her organization into the fourth.

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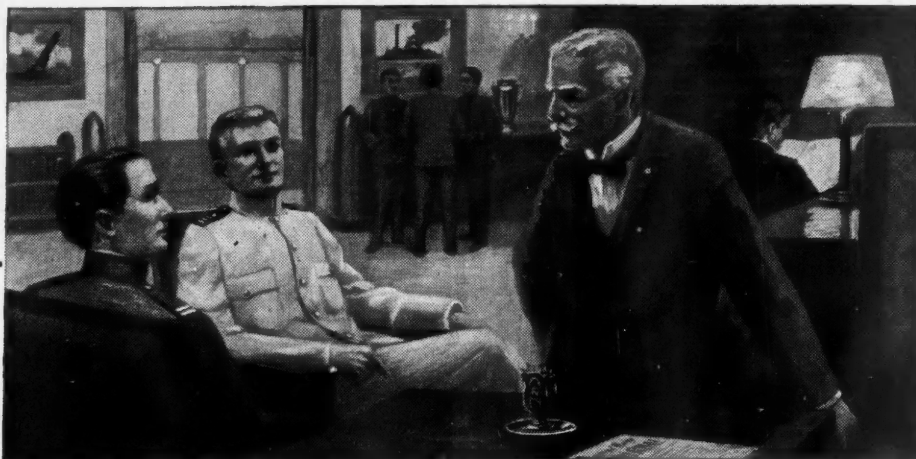
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The Last Word About the War

And How Colonel Sibley Was Helped to Write It

SCENE: (Army and Navy Club, New York, where Commander Ellsworth, U. S. N., and Captain Trowbridge, U. S. A., are having a conference and an after-dinner cigar in the Club Library and are joined by Colonel Sibley, U. S. A., retired)

The Colonel: Well, comrades, I win!

The Commander: Been fighting again, Colonel? Who says you're retired?

Colonel: I was retired, but now I'm in action again or soon will be, and this time with the pen instead of the sword.

Captain: How's that?

Colonel (Drawing closer to the table and glancing around): Well, comrades, I don't mind telling you in confidence that I just signed up with the Editor-in-Chief of a big magazine (name censored for the present) to write a series of articles on the Great War.

Commander: Tell us about it.

Colonel: Well, it's going to be a long campaign. The Editor, whom I have just left, wants an extended series of articles, to begin with an exhaustive survey of the causes which led up to the War.

Captain: The causes? All of them? Well, you've sure got your work laid out for you.

Commander: I should say you had.

Colonel: The Editor feels that way

himself. He's now concerned chiefly about what has happened up-to-date and the authority upon which my statements will be based. The Editor's a big gun in the business, you know, and his rivals will be getting his range if he exposes himself. He wants to secure a strategic position so that he can't be successfully attacked on anything he prints.

Captain: Well, what did you suggest?

Colonel: I'll tell you. While he was talking I was thinking and I finally told him that what he wanted as a reserve-force was some late general reference work of recognized reliability that he could fall back on. "That's it," he said, and then asked: "Which one?"

Commander (Turning his head and glancing at a set of The New International Encyclopaedia in its special case): I'll bet I can tell which one you named.

Captain (Glancing at the set): Ours, of course.

Colonel: You're both good guessers. Of course I named The New

International and the Editor nodded his head and said: "That's the very work I had in mind, not only as an authority on the causes of the War and what has already happened, but when peace comes I hear the publishers are to bring the war-volume down to date at once and are to send it to all subscribers in exchange for the war-volume now in their possession so they'll know the last word about the conflict."

Commander: Well, that settled it, I suppose.

Colonel: Yes, I told the Editor that the selection of The New International as our authority simplified the problem and he added that it not only simplified the articles, but solidified them and made them so authoritative that he would be able to follow out with safety his plan to publish the series of articles in book form.

W.C.
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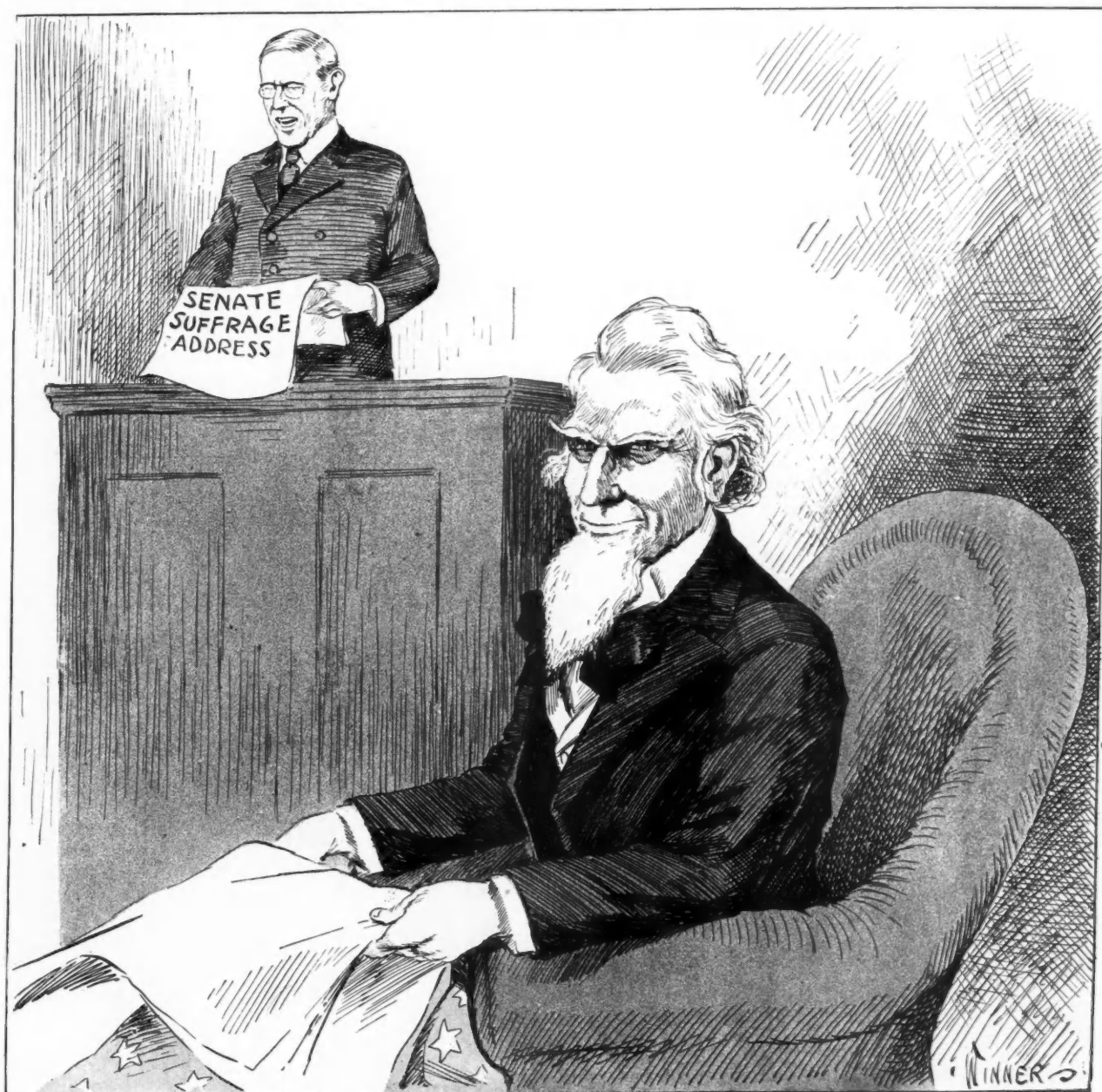
NOTICE: When you finish reading this magazine place a one-cent stamp on this notice, mail the magazine, and it will be placed in the hands of our soldiers or sailors destined to proceed overseas. No wrapping, no address. A. S. Burleson, Postmaster General.

THE Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S NATIONAL POLITICAL WEEKLY

10 Cents a Copy

November 2, 1918



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Entered as second class matter, June 13, 1917, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

THE WOMAN CITIZEN

Founded June 2, 1917

Published every Saturday by

The WOMAN CITIZEN CORPORATION
at 171 Madison Avenue, New York

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VOL. III NOVEMBER 2, 1918 No. 23

PUBLISHED by the Woman Citizen Corporation, in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

The directors of the Corporation are Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, and Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore.

Alice Stone Blackwell is a special contributing editor.

Rose Young is the editor-in-chief.

Mary Ogden White, Mary Sumner Boyd, and Rose Lawless Geyer are associate editors.

Our

I dislike very much to get along without the *Woman Citizen*. Michigan will vote for suffrage by 100,000, I am sure!
CHARLES FLOWERS, Detroit, Mich.

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THE coming week brings one of the most momentous days in all the history of suffrage—November 5. On that day the general elections will be held, and on that day four states—Michigan, South Dakota, Louisiana and Oklahoma—will hold state referenda on suffrage. The political status of every woman in the country will be affected by the result of the votes cast on that day.

These pre-election weeks have not been idle ones for the suffragists. They have put forth earnest efforts in the hope of insuring the triumph of democracy at the polls. The *Woman Citizen* is proud to have had a part in this great work. That it has been a factor is evidenced by the messages that come from the several states telling of the practical value of its editorials and news matter.

"The *Woman Citizen* is indispensable to me," writes Mrs. John H. Lewis of Lynchburg, vice-president of the Equal Suffrage League of Virginia. "I find it hard to express my sense of its worth—its force and courage and fine morale. What we of the South owe to it no words can tell. It is the electric spark that sets us going."

Massachusetts women feel the same way about it, to judge from the editorial comment in the *Suffrage News Quarterly*: "The *Woman Citizen* is a live magazine and one that no person awake to the vital activities of the day, and women's participation in them, can afford to do without."

Then there is the following from Senator Helen Ring Robinson of Denver: "Of course, I could not get along without the *Woman Citizen*." Mrs. Robinson is well fitted to judge of the merits of the magazine as a woman's political weekly.

"We need your publication," writes Miss Alice B. Pelican of Chicago; "we need it to remind us what we need; want; why we want what we want; what we are; and our possibilities. I'll boost it."

Though events of such importance have been happening in the suffrage world as to keep interest at high tide, the forecast for the coming months is for even livelier times. The *Woman Citizen* will tell you all about it as the weeks pass.

ROSE LAWLESS GEYER,
National Circulation
Chairman.

Story

Circulation Contest

1. A pledge will constitute an entry.
2. No entries will be accepted after December 1, 1918.
3. Contest closes January 1, 1919.
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First Cash Premium FIFTY DOLLARS

To the State Association that sends in the highest number over 200 (paid new subscribers). The net price per subscription to the State Association is .70, the .30 to go into the state, county or local treasury, as may be decided by arrangement between the state and its branches.

Second Cash Premium TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the County Association that sends in the highest numbers over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the State Association, and would help to swell the state's total.

Third Cash Premium TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the Local Club that sends in the highest number over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the County Association into the State Association, and thence to the *Woman Citizen*.

Fourth Cash Premium TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the co-operating Subscriber who sends in the highest number over 50. This would be independent of state, county and club circulation activities, would apply to states that do not take up the circulation work in an official way, and would come directly to the *Woman Citizen*. The net price per subscription is \$1.00. No discount.

Relative Position of State Leagues in the *Woman Citizen's* Circulation Contest:

October 19th

- 1 Iowa
- 2 South Dakota
- 3 Georgia
- 4 Indiana
- 5 Michigan
- 6 Minnesota
- 7 New Jersey
- 8 Wisconsin
- 9 Massachusetts
- 10 New York
- 11 Ohio
- 12 Virginia
- 13 New Hampshire
- 14 Missouri
- 15 Alabama
- 16 Texas
- 17 Maryland
- 18 Pennsylvania
- 19 Maine
- 20 Louisiana
- 21 West Virginia
- 22 Connecticut
- 23 South Carolina—Tennessee
- 24 Kentucky
- 25 Arkansas
- 26 Washington, D. C.
- 27 North Dakota
- 28 Rhode Island
- 29 Nebraska—Oklahoma
- 30 Washington—Mississippi
- 31 Illinois—Kansas
- 32 North Carolina
- 33 Vermont

October 26th

- 1 Iowa
- 2 South Dakota
- 3 Georgia
- 4 Indiana
- 5 Michigan
- 6 Minnesota
- 7 New Jersey
- 8 Wisconsin
- 9 Massachusetts
- 10 New York
- 11 Ohio
- 12 Virginia
- 13 New Hampshire
- 14 Alabama
- 15 Missouri
- 16 Texas
- 17 Maryland
- 18 Pennsylvania
- 19 Maine
- 20 Louisiana
- 21 West Virginia—Connecticut—Kentucky
- 22 South Carolina—Tennessee
- 23 Arkansas
- 24 Washington, D. C.—North Dakota
- 25 Rhode Island—Illinois
- 26 Nebraska—Oklahoma
- 27 Washington—Mississippi
- 28 Kansas
- 29 North Carolina
- 30 Vermont

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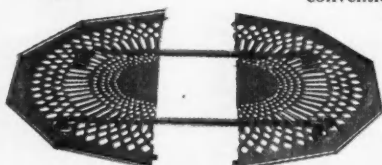
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A heavy crystal ash tray, engraved with a line design, and with a hammered Sterling silver band on the top. 4 in. in dia. \$3.50.

"Don't put off for tomorrow the Christmas gift that you can buy today!" That's a mighty good motto for this year when we have agreed, at the Government's request, not to hire extra labor for the Holiday rush. There will be no rush and you will have a wider choice of gifts if you come in or write in immediately after you read this notice.

Reminding you of each full hour of your day at the Red Cross canteen, or wherever your war-work takes you, this boudoir clock will also keep time while you are sleeping if you wind it once in 24 hours. Burnished gold, burnished gold with polychrome flowers, or white enamel with colored flowers, \$7.50.



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A Venetian glass box in amber or crystal with a cover topped with a piece of fruit in natural colors, 5 1/2 in. in dia. For preserves or jellies in the dining-room, or for bonbons or chocolates in the living-room. \$3.50.



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The Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

A Journal of Democracy

November 2, 1918

"We shall fight for things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

About Voting for the One Who Votes for You

THERE are two things that the women of the voting states have long left unlearned or half learned.

One is the fact that in this day and generation the acceptance of woman suffrage is fundamental to the acceptance of democracy itself. There is no room to-day for any such paradox as a philosophy of self-government for half the people of the world at the expense of the other half.

• Put it in geographical terms and see how it outrages the very essence of democracy. Put it that the Eastern hemisphere is to have self-government at the expense of the Western. Put it that North America is to have self-government and run South America besides.

Put it in industrial terms. Put it that capital is to govern at the expense of labor.

Then put it back into terms of sex discrimination; put it that men are to have self-government at the expense of women.

Nobody with half an eye should be able to tolerate the sight of such a formula. It seeks to project democracy from a base of shifting sand. The man or woman who tries to talk democracy from that base doesn't know democracy from a crown and sceptre. The candidate who falls back on his "fine record on other issues" when he is wrong on the fundamental concept of self-government, affronts democracy itself.

It ought not to be necessary to have to keep harping on this point. Yet it is necessary. Again and again women voters say, "Oh, well, let suffrage go. Senator Blank is a great man. As women we cannot afford to be so narrow in our citizenship as to disregard his greatness because he does not agree about suffrage." As who should say, "Oh, well, the foundation is rotten, but the house is all right, for the wood trim is lovely."

The assinnity of such logic is patent when you talk like that about a house. It ought to be just as patent when you talk like that about a Senator, or a Representative, or a Governor.

Men and women into whose alleged minds there has never percolated the idea that women belong in the world scheme of

self-government are not to be trusted with the administration of government for either men or women.

THE second thing that voting women have not learned is that the effect of their vote is not confined to the boundaries of the state in which the vote is cast, but is nation-wide.

Given this deficiency in their suffrage education, it is not surprising that in suffrage state after state, woman after woman decides to overlook, or forget, or condone the past suffrage attitude of some candidate, on the ground that suffrage having been won in her state, it makes no difference whether a candidate's past record on suffrage may have been pro or anti.

But out beyond the state confines, in other states where suffrage has not been won, and down at Washington where nation-wide suffrage has not been won, there are long lines of candidates, actual and potential, who watchfully wait for the answer to this question:

"When the women get the vote, do they remember?"

Remember which one believed in woman suffrage when believing wasn't so comfortable, nor so profitable?

Remember which one opposed as long as there was the ghost of a hope in opposition, and only swung around with a death-bed gesture of repentance after suffrage had gone over the top in spite of all opposition?

Do women remember or do they forget?

Do they believe themselves when they say that woman suffrage is vital to democracy, or are they merely making a noise like democracy?

It is the voting women of the nation who must make answer. And that answer, let it not be forgotten, will be a determining factor in settling the immediate fate of nation-wide suffrage.

The Country and the Senate

THE President put into terms of beauty and eloquence the thing that was already written in the hearts of the great majority of American people,—*Tribune*, Minneapolis, Minn.

THE vote on the woman suffrage amendment in the Senate—54 to 30, lacking 2 votes of the needed two-thirds to effect its passage—shows that the Old Guard made up very largely of Southerners, is fighting a losing battle, in the last ditch. One or two more tests such as have just now been gone through, and the women's cause will without doubt prevail.—*Advertiser*, Montgomery, Ala.

SENATOR JAMES A. REED declared his vote against woman suffrage was in conformity to the wishes of a majority of the sex in Missouri. As usual, Senator Reed got his ideas on crooked. The women of this state have been carefully denied any opportunity to express themselves on the subject in an election, but they have made known their sentiments in other ways. They are overwhelmingly for the ballot, as has been shown by petition, private poll, and convention vote.—*Gazette*, St. Joseph, Mo..

WEST VIRGINIA woman suffragists will derive not a little comfort from the fact that in the critical vote on the amendment in the Senate yesterday Senator Golf and Senator Sutherland voted for suffrage. The *Intelligencer* believes that the West Virginia senators voted right. They voted in accordance with the progressive sentiment of the day. Woman suffrage is certain to prevail eventually. It may be temporarily delayed, but its final triumph is not far distant.—*Intelligencer*, Wheeling.

IT is interesting to scan the roll of Senators opposed to the measure. That in itself is about the best recommendation possible. Most of them have been long in service and have been re-elected by the political machinery they have set up rather than on platforms of ideas and policies.—*News*, Omaha, Nebraska.

AS in all other war measures where there has been delay, it was the Democratic majority that turned down the President in the case of suffrage. A more progressive outlook on the part of the many Southern senators is needed before equal suffrage may be approved by a Democratic Senate. Hon. John Sharp Williams and others have not yet outgrown race hatred and race distrust. Other Southern senators fear the effect of the women's vote upon social conditions; it may take little children out of the cotton mills of Georgia and the Carolinas.—*Tribune*, Oakland, California.

TWICE during this week Senator Borah has been quoted in New York papers as having committed himself in favor of the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

On Tuesday of this week, the Editor of the *Woman Citizen* had the following conversation with Senator Borah over the long distance telephone:

Editor: "Do you wish to make a statement for the *Woman Citizen* as to your attitude on the Federal Suffrage Amendment?"

Senator Borah: "No, I do not want to give out any statement for publication. You people can make such statements as you please—"

Editor: "We do not make statements without due authorization."

Senator Borah: "I will make no statement for publication."

Editor: "Have you anything to say with regard to the report that you had committed yourself to the Amendment?"

Senator Borah: "I will say that it was utterly without foundation."

NEVER has the United States Senate more conspicuously shown that the old title "The graveyard of good legislation" fits than it did yesterday when the Suffrage Amendment was defeated.—*Gazette*, Worcester, Mass.

THE Democrats have had, and still have, control of the Senate. If they had had any desire to pass upon the question it was in their power to take action at any time. But for nine months the amendment has lain quiescent in committee, while the women of America have been proving their rights to its passage by the great work they have done and the tremendous sacrifices they have made for the nation.—*Globe-Dem.*, St. Louis, Mo.

THE American Women want the ballot. Wanting it, they must have it. The President eloquently showed what the women of this country and of all countries have done to entitle them to anything and all things they want. We, as a nation, cannot make good as the leader of liberalism and progress if we deny to any element in our population that has served democracy and liberalism so nobly as the women an equal voice in the conduct of our affairs.—*Press*, Sioux Falls, South Dakota.

"WHEN it comes to demanding fundamental reforms inside Germany there is one which President Wilson will presumably hold out for—woman suffrage."—*The New Republic*. Would it not be somewhat overweening on our part to hold out for woman suffrage in Germany, when the Senate of the United States, 'the greatest deliberative body in the world,' has just failed to submit to the states a suffrage amendment to the federal constitution?"—*Free Press*, Milwaukee.

SUCH opposition as there is yet remaining to equal suffrage is based on minor objections and small prejudices. No man of any standing is quite fool enough nowadays to assert that women are incapable of exercising the ballot privilege wisely.—*Telegram*, Deadwood, S. D.

ON Tuesday, November 5th, voters of Louisiana will be called upon to approve or reject fourteen proposed amendments to the constitution of the state. Easily, the most important of these proposed amendments are the equal suffrage measure and the tax propositions intended to promote the usefulness of our public schools. Our views with respect to a single suffrage standard are well known. As a matter of elementary justice and as a guarantee of good political morals we advocate adoption of the Haas-Powell (suffrage) amendment.—*Journal*, Shreveport, La.

THE CAREER OF DAVID BAIRD



Notes and Comments

THE great increase in the suffrage vote in Congress is the next best thing to a victory.

By Alice Stone Blackwell

Last time, the amendment was defeated by a large majority in the lower House, and had a bare majority of one vote in its favor in the Senate—nowhere near the needed two-thirds in either house. This time it went through the lower House by more than a two-thirds majority, and lacked only two votes of having two-thirds in the Senate. Evidently the pincers are closing upon the anti-suffragists, as they are upon the Germans. The next time we shall go over the top.

THE friends of the United States have more cause to be concerned about the postponement of victory for suffrage in the Senate than the friends of suffrage have. It has undoubtedly lowered our country's prestige in the eyes of liberals all over Europe. But we would remind our friends, especially in England and Canada, that the case against the United States is not quite so bad as it looks upon the surface. The broad fact cabled to other countries is that the suffrage amendment has failed to pass; but the vote showed a very large majority for it in both houses. The U. S. Senate did about as well as the British House of Lords, where woman suffrage, after passing the House of Commons seven to one, went through by a vote of a little less than two to one. If a majority vote had sufficed here, as it does almost everywhere else, the suffrage amendment would have been passed long ago. It was blocked only because the United States is saddled with a constitution harder to amend than that of any other civilized country. The reactionaries of both parties had to join forces in order to scrape together the minority of votes which held it up; and no intelligent person imagines that the hold-up can be more than temporary.

THE biggest impetus that could have come to the suffrage cause next to the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment was its defeat by the tiny margin of two votes after the President's great speech in its favor and under circumstances which have aroused widespread indignation. Many women who have hitherto been lukewarm suffragists are now red-hot. They have been mild sympathizers; now they are demanding to be put to work.

Another gratifying feature is the number of men who express disgust with the handful of belated Senators responsible for holding up the measure and who voluntarily declare they will never vote to send them back.

Still another advantageous outcome is the impression that President Wilson's speech has made upon women who neither knew nor cared much about equal suffrage before, and the marked increase in their readiness to sign the suffrage petition.

Still another is the shock that the narrowness of the vote has given to many persons who had not been keeping close track of the advance of equal suffrage. They knew it was coming, but they did not know it was so nearly here. Among all editors, except the most reactionary, the consensus of comment seems to be that the opposition may as well be getting ready for its funeral.

As George Eliot says, a sense of the inevitable is a great reconciler: few of the lurid prophecies of disaster that were so common a short time ago are heard today.

UNITED STATES SENATOR WEEKS, of Massachusetts, ought to be defeated, for his country's good.

He voted against the submission of the amendment for nationwide woman suffrage, which is not only an important war measure, in the opinion of the Commander-in-Chief, but also, in the opinion of the suffragists, a measure that will be of immense value to the country, and of vital benefit to millions of men, women and children. It is going to be particularly needed during the era after the war, in order that the best intelligence of women as well as of men may be brought to bear upon the complicated and difficult problems of reconstruction, which will involve vast numbers of widows and orphans.

MR. WEEKS has also voted or paired against almost every progressive measure; among others, against the election of United States Senators by popular vote; against allowing the parcel post to carry more than 50 pounds; against prohibition; against allowing the United States Government to lay any tax upon incomes (the public demand for this measure was so strong that the vote for it stood 318 to 14; Mr. Weeks was one of the 14); against increasing the tax on excess profits due to the war; against the creation of the Federal Trade Commission, to deal with unfair business practices in interstate commerce, and with profiteering (it was the Federal Trade Commission that lately exposed the Beef Trust); against the Armor Plate bill, to enable the Government to manufacture its own armor plate (when it had been proved that the great steel corporations were selling their armor plate abroad for much lower prices than they were charging to our own Government at home); against the establishment of the Shipping Board, involving the Government's whole shipping program, which has been so successful in carrying troops and supplies to France; against the Rural Credit bill to extend Government credit to farmers; and against the Clayton Act, which was framed to strengthen the Sherman Anti-Trust law and to protect organizations of farmers and workmen guilty of no illegal acts from being prosecuted as conspiracies in restraint of trade. He voted for the Shields Water Power bill, and when the Soldiers' and Sailors' Insurance bill was under consideration, he voted for an amendment which proposed to reduce from \$10,000 to \$7,500 the amount of insurance that a soldier or sailor might take out for the benefit of his family. This last vote is denied by Mr. Weeks's friends. It was cast on October 4, 1917, and recorded in the Congressional Record, page 7753.

THESE are only a few of the objectionable votes that Mr. Weeks has cast. In calling them objectionable, the present writer speaks for herself as an individual, and not for the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association. That organization is made up of persons of all shades of opinion on every question except suffrage. Speaking for herself, she would say that Mr. Weeks, both in the House and in the Senate, has almost invariably voted in the interests of "Big Business" in the bad sense of that term, and against the interests of the people. Either he or any other candidate who might be elected from Massachusetts could be trusted to vote to defend the country against foreign enemies; but Mr. Weeks's record shows him to be in close alliance with its domestic enemies. He is not an "all-around patriot," and he ought to be defeated, for his country's good.

A Campaign Survey

IN the elections which will be decided on November 5th, there is a suffrage stake in nine different campaign situations. In four states a suffrage amendment to the state constitution will be submitted to the voters. The four states are Oklahoma, Michigan, South Dakota and Louisiana.

Hopes run high for a favorable outcome in each of the four states, but the fact remains that victory—if victory it is to be—must be won at unnecessarily heavy cost to suffrage workers by the state route.

Let us look at the situation in each of the four states in question:

In Oklahoma the campaign has been carried forward with great energy. All the various avenues of activity that enter into modern suffrage campaigning have been in evidence. The prospects are bright, yet Oklahoma presents a supreme difficulty since any amendment to the constitution must receive a majority of the highest number of votes cast for any candidate or measure at the election. The fact that Oklahoma is a Democratic state and a firm supporter of President Wilson's policies will be to the advantage of the suffragists.

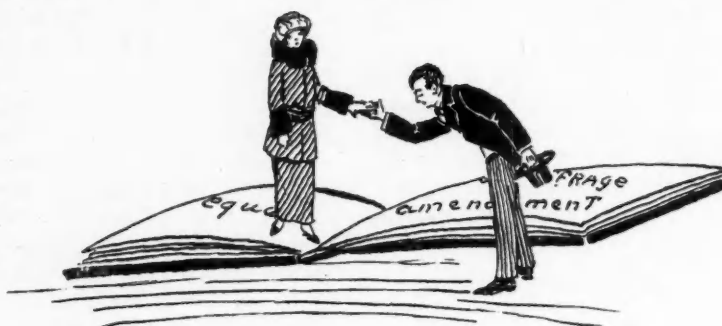
Michigan's campaign is unique in that it is carried out on a co-operative basis. The Michigan Equal Suffrage Association, under the leadership of Mrs. Percy J. Farrell, has had the close co-operation of the politicians and the political parties. Organizations of professional and business men formed themselves into a federation in order that they might aid in the suffrage work more effectively. The churches, the schools, the grange, philanthropic organizations, practically every body of men and women of influence in the state, have gotten in line, the Woman's Benefit Association of the Maccabees, under the leadership of Bina West, having been a special aid.

IN South Dakota where the suffrage clause is combined with a citizenship clause, a vote for the citizenship amendment will be considered a vote to make South Dakota, now a first paper state, 100 per cent. American. It is not believed that many voters, under present conditions, can fail to register their Americanism by an affirmative vote on the Amendment. Mrs. John L. Pyle, President of the Universal Franchise League of South Dakota, has been in charge of the campaign.

To Louisiana goes the honor of being the first distinctively southern state to have a state referendum. Suffrage sentiment in Louisiana has had the backing of the Governor and of other men of influence in the political life of the state. In a letter to the Legislature, urging the passage of the suffrage resolution, President Wilson also urged that the state adopt the measure.

Arkansas makes a fifth state in which suffrage by constitutional amendment will be voted on during the year 1918. The question does not, however, go to the polls in Arkansas until December.

With primary suffrage already an established fact down there, the adoption of full suffrage is generally predicted. The Democratic party at its last convention urged full suffrage for Arkansas women, and endorsed the Federal Suffrage



Amendment as well. Do Arkansas women want to vote? Between forty and fifty thousand of them voted at the first state primary open to them, and thus proved the case beyond peradventure of a doubt.

In every one of these states suffrage campaigns have been waged during the last few months as

vigorously as the war work of the women would permit. The cost in time and energy has been terrific and, win or lose, is an urgent argument against the state method of securing suffrage.

Meantime, suffrage has a stake also in five congressional campaigns. In Idaho, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Massachusetts and Delaware, the state suffrage associations, branches of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, have been interested in campaigns to elect senatorial candidates who will support the Federal Suffrage Amendment when it comes again to a vote in the Senate. Strictly non-partisan in character, the campaigns have been designed to bring about the election of those candidates who will vote for the Amendment.

The campaign against Senator Baird in New Jersey has been pushed with vigor by the New Jersey Woman Suffrage Association, of which Mrs. E. F. Feickert is president. Four hundred of the state association's local suffrage leaders were mobilized for a short and sharp campaign. The New Jersey suffragists have made it clear all along that their campaign has not been against the Republican party, but against Senator Baird because of his obstructionist methods.

A SIMILARLY intensive campaign has been waged in New Hampshire against George H. Moses, the Republican candidate for the Senate, an avowed anti. As in New Jersey, the opponent of Mr. Moses, Mr. John B. Jameson, is for the Federal Amendment.

Senator Weeks, of Massachusetts, has been given cause to remember his negative vote on federal suffrage during the last weeks of the campaign. A very definite activity against his candidacy for reelection was developed early in the campaign. The Massachusetts Suffrage Association in a resolution recently characterized the negative vote of both Senator Weeks and Senator Lodge as "contrary to the ideals of democracy as expressed in the civilized countries of the world." They stated also that the attitude of the Senators toward the womanhood of America was one of indignity and blind prejudice, one that "liberal women will remember for all time."

Suffragists fired one of their guns in the campaign against Senator William E. Borah, of Idaho, in the form of an editorial issued by the National American Woman Suffrage Association under the signature of Mrs. Catt, as president. Eleven charges of inconsistency, insincerity and injustice are made against him. Though Senator Borah represents a party that espouses the cause of suffrage, though he represents a state that has had full suffrage since 1896, and though his state party at its last convention endorsed the Federal Amendment, the Senator has persisted in his "defeatist" activities and stands the ONLY SUFFRAGIST in the entire Senate who voted against the Federal Amendment.

State Conventions

THE Maine Woman Suffrage Association has held its annual gathering at Lewiston. It was a lively session, covering the work the suffragists have accomplished in the past year, and outlining aggressive plans for the future. Miss Mabel Connor, president of the association, emphasized equal suffrage as war work in her annual address and cited the progress made in foreign countries during this war period. There are now twenty-nine leagues in Maine, and Miss Connor pointed out that there would be plenty of work for all leagues and their membership during the coming session of the Maine Legislature.

The feature of the convention was an address by Mrs. Halsey W. Wilson, corresponding secretary of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Mrs. Wilson delivered a stirring address, which showed work for suffrage to be a patriotic measure at this time. "America cannot stand before the world and proclaim democracy without putting her own house in order," said Mrs. Wilson. "Suffrage for women must come in America before the full meaning is given to our strong democratic utterances." Mrs. Wilson closed her address by saying that woman is assuming her rightful place in the world's events during this war period. "Woman suffrage," she said, "is the climax of a century of struggle towards self-expression and self-determination. We should be traitors and slackers to give up our struggle just now as the last goal is in sight."

Much interest centered about the election of officers, which resulted in the re-election of Miss Connor as president. She will have on her staff: Vice-presidents, Miss Helen N. Bates, of Portland, and Mrs. Benjamin Brewster, of Portland; recording secretary, Mrs. George M. Chase, of Lewiston; corresponding secretary, Mrs. W. H. Pattangall, of Augusta; treasurer, Mrs. Fred I. Luce, of Old Orchard; auditor, Mrs. Alton C. Wheeler, of South Paris; congressional counsellors: chairman, Miss Helen N. Bates, of Portland; First District, Miss Margaret Thompson, of Kennebunk; Second District, Mrs. E. M. Lawrence, of Portland; Third District, Mrs. Julia Getchell, of Waterville; Fourth District, Mrs. A. W. Averill, of Oldtown.

A LIBERTY Loan Rally was one of the features of the forty-seventh annual convention of the Iowa Equal Suffrage Association at Cedar Rapids. The suffragists have been a big factor in all the state war service work and the rally held at Saint Paul's Methodist Episcopal Church marked the opening of activities on behalf of the Fourth Liberty Loan Drive. Mrs. W. W. Marsh, of Waterloo, auditor of the state suffrage association and chairman of the Woman's Liberty Loan Committee, for Iowa, presided at the rally. The speakers on this occasion were Mrs. Cora G. Lewis, of Kansas, and Mr. J. A. Davis, of Chicago.

The convention opened with a mass meeting, held in the chapel of the Presbyterian Church, with Miss Anna B. Lawther, of Dubuque, state president, presiding. Hon. J. F. Robb, Mayor of Cedar Rapids, gave the address of welcome. The program

included an address by Mrs. Richard Edwards, of Peru, Indiana, President of the Indiana Woman's Franchise League, who spoke on "The Goal in Sight"; addresses by Mrs. C. C. Loomis, of Cedar Rapids, chairman of the Linn County Suffrage Association, and Mrs. Ida B. Wise Smith, of Cedar Rapids, President of the Iowa Women's Christian Temperance Union.

Miss Laura Bass, of Des Moines, gave an address on "Woman in Industry" at the Thursday afternoon session, and there were talks by Mrs. Pearl W. Hague, Chairman of the First District, who spoke on "Money-Raising Stunts"; by Mrs. Laura Hurd Baily, chairman of the Ninth District; by Miss Sarah Scott, of Burlington, who spoke on the *Woman Citizen* circulation canvass in Iowa, and by Mrs. Ralph Thompson, who spoke on publicity.

The president's address and reports of state and district board members occupied the Thursday morning session. Mrs. James A. Devitt, of Oskaloosa, spoke on the suffrage school held recently at Oskaloosa and the Women's Oversea Hospitals, U. S. A. The election of officers featured the Friday session.

The members of the State Board present included Miss Anna B. Lawther, Dubuque, president; Mrs. James A. Devitt, Oskaloosa, vice-president; Mrs. Ella G. Caldwell, Adel, treasurer; Dr. Effie McCollum Jones, Webster City, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Frank Dodson, Des Moines, recording secretary; Mrs. W. W. Marsh, Waterloo, and Miss Miriam Le Compte, Corydon, auditors.

The chairmen of the local committees were Mrs. R. D. Taylor, Committee on Local Arrangements; Mrs. H. E. Spangler, Committee on Hospitality, and Mrs.

C. K. Thompson, Committee on Publicity. The Hotel Montrose was the official headquarters.

THE Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, of which Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout is president, celebrated its fiftieth anniversary on October 25th when in Annual Convention at Chicago. A feature of the meeting was a telegram from President Wilson in which he congratulated the suffrage workers on their loyalty. He declared that the whole country is growing more and more to admire those, who, with wise foresight, are pressing on for the great act of justice for which the Equal Suffrage Association stands.

It was shown through the reports read at the convention that the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association has done a commendable amount of war service work and has supported the government in every way possible in its war program. The part that women must play during the reconstruction period was also emphasized in the talks and addresses, and one speaker declared that women should be represented in the peace parley when it comes. The suffrage association has been working strenuously in a campaign to carry the call for a constitutional convention at the November election, by which it is hoped Illinois will come into the list of full suffrage states. More than 1,000 meetings have been held in the interest of this campaign, which closed with an energetic program of activities.

"The Joy of Scaring"

Dedicated, with Apologies to the Author, to
Anti Suffragists Anywhere.

The Scarecrow

Once I said to a scarecrow, "You must be tired
of standing in this lonely field,"

And he said, "The joy of scaring is a deep and
lasting one, and I never tire of it."

Said I, after a minute of thought, "It is true;
for I too have known that joy."

Said he, "Only those who are stuffed with
straw can know it."

Then I left him, not knowing whether he had
complimented or belittled me.

A year passed, during which the scarecrow
turned philosopher.

And when I passed by him again I saw two
crows building a nest under his hat.

—From *The Madman*, by Kahlil Gibran.

(Alfred A. Knopf Co.)

Women's Votes—

IS the new woman voter something more than an additional cypher multiplying the electorate without changing its quality? Two women suffrage leaders are answering this question in the affirmative. They both say that in the woman vote there is a real or a potential value, which men who are not blinded by party traditions should see.

Both of these women should know, as they are minutely acquainted with conditions in the neighboring states of New York and Connecticut.

But Connecticut women have no vote!

But Connecticut women will soon have it, says Miss Katherine Ludington, president of the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association, and she says it with a smile of conscious power.

The fact is Connecticut is too near New York to stay out of the game long, and Connecticut women have their hat in the ring for suffrage, full, municipal, presidential—some measure of what they will soon have in complete measure. Certain political gentlemen in nutmeg communities are shrewd enough to know this.

With gentle persuasiveness Miss Ludington hopes to help some who are on the wrong side of the fence over the stile, and in the meanwhile New York is demonstrating what the new woman vote is worth.

That New York state women are not just doubling their party vote, but that they are already maintaining an independence of their own, and by this have become the actual balance of power throughout the state, is claimed for them by Mrs. Helen M. Leavitt of the New York Woman Suffrage Party.

Mrs. Leavitt, who had just returned from a registration tour through the state, made clear the reasons for her belief in an interview at the *Woman Citizen* office recently.

She gave incidents to prove that throughout the entire state in primary elections women had acted as independent voters and brought to naught the prognostications of machine politicians.

In several instances where the machine complacently announced its expected vote, counting upon the registered women as just so many pawns to follow party dictation, leaders were obliged to confess to a crest-fallen defeat. The women simply ran amuck, voting as they saw fit.

Up-state women, like up-state men, are generally Republicans, but this has meant no foregone conclusions.

For example, no Republican traditions prevented the women of Jefferson County from massing all their forces and helping to elbow Mr. Elon Brown off the political earth.

It is quite true that Mr. Brown has a keen scent, from long habitude, and that foreseeing what was coming he withdrew from the nominations. But this does not change Mrs. Leavitt's assurance that the massed attack of up-state Republican women swept Mr. Brown aside and nominated Mr. Pitcher, an Independent Republican, for the state Senate. Mr. Brown had been a bitter foe of woman suffrage, and was, moreover, hostile to beneficent legislation for which women of the state had worked.

Another decisive indication that women's votes are not just so much gross material at the disposal of the party boss was seen in Albany County, where the Republican leader, William Barnes, had nonchalantly promised 12,000 votes at the primaries for the nomination of Merton E. Lewis as Governor of the State of New York.

Now Mr. Lewis had never believed in granting woman votes even by the state method, and was firmly opposed to the Federal Suffrage Amendment. He was also opposed to ratifying the prohibition amendment, an ominous sign, said the women. He would be quite as likely to oppose ratifying the Federal Suffrage Amendment when it should have passed. Mr. Lewis had made some death-bed repentances on the subject of his opposition to suffrage in general, and had even gone so far as to say that now that New York state women have the vote, he would not take it from them.

At which the women said, "Hah!", knowing that the

people having given, only the people can take away—And New York state women are now people. But they were taking no chances on Mr. Lewis, neither had they reason for trust in Mr. William Barnes, who was forced to eat very small pie, and return 2,000 votes where he expected 12,000. Mr. Barnes has now discovered that Republican women are not pawns on his chess board. For in his district, it was universally conceded that the women were the balance of power.

Then there was Miss Lillian Huffcut's district around Binghamton, where the Republican women turned the election to United States Congressman Hill.

In Oneida County an even more drastic defeat occurred where State Senator Wicks, of Utica, long time enemy of suffrage, of good labor legislation and of prohibition, was badly beaten by Davenport. This was absolutely a woman's job.

One of the prettiest cross currents of the whole primary election occurred in Buffalo and gave Mrs. Leavitt almost more satisfaction than any other incident. "It was such a neat proof," said she, "of the fact that women are not out to knife the machine, or put spokes into the wheels of their party. They are



MRS. LOUISA A. SWAIN, WHO LIVED IN LARAMIE CITY, WYOMING, AND IS BELIEVED TO HAVE BEEN THE FIRST WOMAN IN THE WORLD TO EXERCISE UNLIMITED FRANCHISE

The Balance of Power

out for clean politics, that's all. They will work for the machine or against it, just as it happens, according as the machine is or is not doing the square thing. My whole case for the women's value in the primaries rests on the fact that they used their consciences and the best intelligence they had to get the right man.

"The Buffalo women, for instance, endorsed a candidate for county clerk against whom the machine was arrayed. They endorsed also Assemblyman Brady, who was being supported by the machine. Brady was running against Alexander Taylor, an old enemy of suffrage.

"One of these was a machine man, the other not, and the women voters held their heads level. They were not out to defy the party, nor yet to be dictated to by it. They simply kept the right to decide in their own hands.

"They were there, as elsewhere, the balance of power."

WILL Connecticut Republicans wake up?

This is in reality a question Miss Ludington's suffrage followers are asking each other.

Connecticut women have become politically self-conscious. They are peering over the invisible border which separates New York state, motoring back and forth, symbolically as well as actually, and they know that very soon the men of their state will turn to them for political help.

They believe in preparedness. The men will not catch them napping; they will not turn to them in vain. Like true women they have foreseen just how necessary they are going to be to the forward-looking Connecticut men.

So they have arranged their little political banquet daintily.

They are passing it on a tray.

As yet some of the men are not hungry, and some have clumsily knocked off their viands. But some know a good thing when they see it.

It happens to be the Democrats collectively whose eyes are on the banquet the women have arranged.

Yet here and there are Republicans, not too surfeited with anti-suffrage oratory, nor yet those who hold strategical positions in the country, says Miss Ludington, but still some, progressive, forward-facing and not well pleased with the kind of rations being fed them by the party leaders. These have turned towards the women for help.

The old liners of the *apres-nous-le-deluge* variety, those who

look no farther than this fall's elections, have not yet awakened to what voting women signify in the Empire State, and so think they can get along without taking Connecticut women into their counsels.

But the women suffragists of Connecticut see farther ahead than 1918. Suddenly their state is faced with the problem of women in industry—Bridgeport has shown them this fact. When the demobilization of men begins, agonizing problems will be upon Connecticut women who must then be reckoned with.

It is up to us, who foresee to arouse those who do not yet see, says Miss Ludington.



A RATHER LIVELY CORPSE

THIS is not a picture of the Anti-Suffrage Senators standing about to gloat over the hoped-for demise of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, although it looks as if it were. It is a picture from W. H. Hudson's "A Little Boy Lost," and shows Martin's dream about the vultures that squatted around him in his sleep on the desert.

This is what he heard in his dream: "'We must not be in a hurry,' said the most important one. 'We must wait.'

"'We are getting very hungry,' said one of the others at length.

"'Surely,' said another, 'there are means of telling whether a person is dead or not.'

"Just then Martin, opening wide his eyes very suddenly, cried, 'Feel my heart.'

"It was as if a gun had been fired among them. All together turned and fled. For they were not little men in black clothes, but vultures. You see, Martin was not dead after all, and so they had to go away without any dinner."

Not such a bad prediction about the thirty-four wilful ones after all.

POLITICAL parties can no longer afford to disregard the women of the state when formulating their policies, according to her. Acting on this premise, the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association has launched a campaign of education in practical politics. The results will be reciprocal, for while the political parties will be awakened to a consciousness of the women as a political factor in the state, the women will be made thoroughly acquainted with the principles and precepts of the parties.

"Whether or not women of Connecticut or certain other states are enfranchised at this moment does not affect the situation in the least," said Miss Ludington; "suffrage for women is so close that it is practically here and it is time the political parties asked themselves what provision they are making for the women, what legislation they are promoting that will further the cause of women who are more and more coming into industry and the business of the world. The reconstruction period is coming and women will be factors in this great world upbuilding.

Political parties must awake to the new state of things.

"At the same time the women must be informed regarding the political parties and their policies. So the suffrage association aims to be not alone a medium for getting the ballot but an organization for an intelligent understanding of politics."

To accomplish this the suffrage association, some 38,000 strong, has extended the good hand of fellowship to both the Democratic and Republican parties and invited them to participate in a unique triangular campaign of political education.

The campaign is carried on along three lines, first through issuing of leaflets setting forth the matter pertinent to each

(Continued on page 473)

Read That You May Serve

READ one daily paper—not always the same—for facts. Know which paper you are reading. Learn, by your reading of other papers, what the policy of the paper you read is supposed to be, and why. Take an occasional pinch of salt with the news you read. If a piece of news, as set forth in the headlines, seems terrible, or strange, or even important, skim the succeeding column for phrases like, "It is said," "It is believed," "It is rumored," "It is alleged," etc. These are the phrases that let the paper out, when the news has done its work on your mind but proves to be not true! Skim two or three papers other than your favorite, for news purposely omitted from yours, or for editorials and letters attacking questions of the day from other standpoints. Keep an open mind on all disputed questions; and however forcefully you act, once your mind is made up, do not feel either that it must be so for the Daily Moon said it, or that it's got to be so, for you believe it.

Know how to cull from the weeklies or fortnightlies, or monthlies that you read, the articles which will profit you, so that you reinforce your daily gleanings with deeper knowledge on the few subjects that most nearly touch you. If your income is small so that you cannot take several of these synoptical digests of the world's affairs, *patronize your library*, or your mind will be furnished and your opinions formed by a second rate, bald-headed little gentleman or a large, first rate, be-spectacled lady, neither of whom, if seen by you, would look like an oracle!

If you must keep up with the books of the day, skim them lightly. The most important element in the art of reading is the art of omitting. Really read of these books only that which grips you. If, after reading the first twenty pages of a current book, you have to drive your attention to it, put the book down. It is evident that you should borrow, not buy, this sort of book.

If there is some subject not immediately germane to the Great War, that you formerly thought, and expect in future to think highly important, *study it hard*, if only for a quarter hour a day. Read, mark, take notes, reread, digest, assimilate, and if possible use the material you get on this subject. Read so hard that the objects and accidents both of the war and of your daily life fade into the background or off to the edge of your consciousness.

What to Read and How to Read During War Time

By John Cotton Dana
Newark Public Library

This is of great importance to your future mental, emotional, even to your physical life.

Read something bright and joyous, unconnected or only mediately connected, with today's doings. To be sure of

getting such materials, and as an act of patriotic economy as well, read the old classics, so long unused upon your shelves. There you will find books that everyone is supposed to know, mysteriously omitted by you in the days when you read good literature as a duty to yourself and your yet unborn posterity. Jane Eyre, The Vicar of Wakefield, Don Quixote, Locksley Hall, Lorna Doone, Leaves of Grass, The Caxtons, The Three Musketeers—go through the shelves of your handsomest bookcase, whose key turns most gratingly in the lock, and make up some of those glaring

deficiencies, which you have always supposed you would make good during your prolonged last illness, those painless, aimless declining years, which may or may not come to you. For the bedtime reading, consider them.

If you are so minded, this joyous reading may be of a philosophic or religious character. Plato, Socrates, David, Paul, Jesus may bring fresh vigor to you.

If you can read, and if it refreshes you to read, at times absolutely light and frivolous tales, keep one on the stand beside your bed, or couch, or easy chair, for use as a soporific. Such a book

is "Ruggles of Red Gap," or "The Lady with the White Veil," or "The Runaway Woman." Some people cannot read these books. They prefer to play solitaire. But to many there is relief from tension in such reading equal to that produced physically by the masseur—and less expensive, if one gets the book from the library.

Remember, ladies and gentlemen who knit for the soldiers over there, that if you will do your knitting in a circle wherein one reads aloud you will not then make of your knitting time either a worrying time or a stupefying time. In that case, you can, if you will read as I have advised, make it a time of profit and refreshment.

For it will be seen that this advice has its keynote: Read to keep sane, that your present service may be given with clearness and power, and that you may be fit to serve in the good days that are to be.



Allen G. Cram

*"O Beautiful, Long, Loved Avenue,
So Faithless to Truth and Yet so True."*

—Joaquin Miller.

From Maurice's Fifth Avenue (Dodd, Mead & Company.)

Joan and Peter

A Study of Muddle-Headed Educational Schemes Whereby World War Was Induced

MR. H. G. WELLS has, in *Joan and Peter* (The Macmillan Co.) done a notable thing. He has

By Louise Connolly
Educational Adviser in the Newark Library

IS Mr. Wells getting old? What is this we read about a "multiplication sum" that English ladies,

induced the American people, in the midst of the Great War, to read a book all about English education—and frankly about it, at that.

The Americans are intimate with English educational methods of the "near past" through Nicholas Nickleby, David Copperfield, and Tom Brown. Stalky and Co. has kept them fairly informed of the exceeding conservatism with which the scions of upper-class families are still being trained to manly virtue by a system fostering the twin vices of brutality and servility. We are not then surprised to meet with the usual scenes wherein the big boys bully and train to gross indecency the smaller ones, who in turn cringe and toady to their debauchees; wherein under masters shirk, and fawn, and perfunctorily set tasks and hear lessons in the style of the sixteenth century; and wherein head masters viciously and publicly cane blubbing youngsters, thereby training all the young hearts committed to their care into shameful bestiality.



H. G. WELLS

As a set-off, reminiscent of Tom Brown, we have Troop, "conscientiously prolix on the just use of the birch. Troop put conscience into each whack." And so the secret of the real training into his overlordship that has made of the Englishman the incomparable empire builder is set forth. To the average middle-class American, accustomed to see our lads and lasses passing in and out of classrooms, chatting, chaffing, giggling, showing decent courtesy in all school relations, and receiving equally decently courteous treatment from teachers and classmates of both sexes, from janitors and co-eds alike, butchers' sons, clergymen's daughters, foreign and native born, yea, even white and colored together, all respectable because respectability is respected, these pictures are amazing. But in view of Owen Johnson's late revelations of the sort of vulgarities in speech and conduct perpetrated by the exceptionally esteemed master in one of our own highly prized private schools—and the petrified astonishment indicated when, by confidence in a pupil's decency, the master actually gets decent conduct in return, we may conclude that our really upper-class boys' schools are not more than a century ahead of the best English traditions in their disciplinary methods, and that they are certainly behind them in their training for social responsibility.

WELLS does, however, give us an insight such as we have not had before into English fad schools, which are much like many of our own. Those of us, however, who have followed even cursorily the English experiments of the last quarter century know that, even as here, not all new educational movements are merely the diversions of faddists. Indeed, Mr. Wells's description of some phases of work done at the School of the Venerable Bede sounds to the modern teacher suspiciously like an uncomprehending version of sound and sensible practice. The school that was "a vehicle for booms" was quite possibly a school which used current events to excite interest in legitimate subjects such as geography, spelling and what not of traditionally school-fit lore.

school mistresses of decent position, cannot "do"?

Anyway the sum of his well-nigh six hundred pages is that the Great War, and the shocking ignorance and shiftlessness that preceded it, and the economic and social hodge-podge that bid fair to follow it, are all due to silly, moss-covered, aimless, conventional and hide-bound educational methods in high, low and middle schools. Which is undoubtedly true. And who could have made the novel reading world think about it if Mr. Wells had not aired his own ignorance of educational aims and methods in this epigram-studded diatribe? Let us be grateful. The scintillant rhodomontade has its undoubted uses.

As to women: Mr. Wells has made again the great modern scientific discovery that women are people. His older generation consists of one gentleman of partial education, specialized experience and analytic mind, surrounded by a bevy of entirely irrational and irresponsible females whom he meritedly despises with the usual guileless naïveté of masculine superiority. His younger generation consists of a group of tailored and unmoral young men, and some examples of the results of Mr. Wells's emancipation. "Since women are people, they must be prone to human motives," argues the author; "hence a woman may be respectable and yet feel ordinary human passions." So he proceeds to do exactly the reverse of what industry has of late been doing after it made the same discovery. The employer has put women into overalls. Mr. Wells has put youths into petticoats. "Joan" is a lad in a female frame, and educated at Girton.

THE fact is, that the abundant flood of explicit and illuminating phrases with which he is himself able to inundate a subject has hurried Mr. Wells into the natural error of supposing that all women have explicit although not illuminated minds, and so his Joan throws instinct overboard and demonstrates her intentions like a geometric theorem, after which, she carries them out like a baseball captain—an absurd and impossible situation. As Peter would say, "It isn't done."

In the plethora of topics introduced by Mr. Wells, one stands forth. His new-found religious zest is introduced in the story of Joan and Peter as in all his recent works, and it is war-wounded Peter who throws some light on the muddling business of life. In his delirium Peter visited great headquarters of the Lord God, whom he found in a cobwebby Army office.

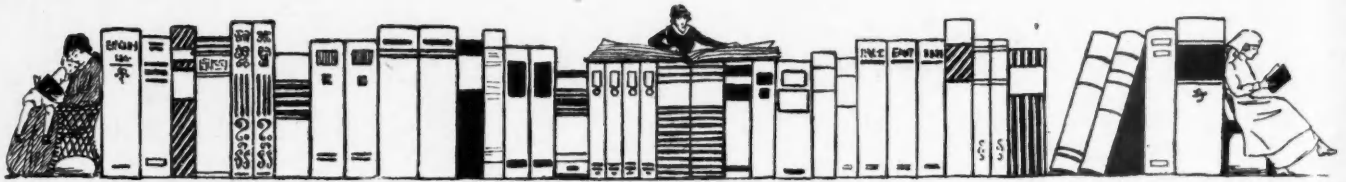
To Peter's many complaints against the badly organized universe, the very tired Lord God said patiently:

"Don't you like it? Neither do I." Then gently, and as an afterthought, He added to Peter: "Why don't you make it better? I'd be glad to have you."

It's a sort of keynote to Mr. Wells's undigested review of all the things that ought not to be.

The book doubtless will provoke much discussion—about education, about the British Empire in its relation to the present war, especially as to Germany's imperial aspirations, about the future peace, and about The Sex.

Out of such conversation thought is often evolved. Moreover, there can be no question but that the publication of this tome has saved much wool, and some tobacco.



War—A Moral Force

Two Books Reviewed for the Woman Citizen by a War News Editor

The Principles of War

General Foch's Book on War Strategy

AS the Entente people witness the great military reversal of 1918 which is carrying them toward that final victory upon which they are determined, it is their unusual privilege to have had this thing which seems like a miracle explained to them. In this explanation what appears to be a miracle is no miracle at all, but the triumph of an art of war evolved by a representative of the greatest military nation and one who became, by common consent, commander-in-chief of the Entente armies. These principles are succeeding now, however, only because the Entente people possess the sublime patience and never-ending courage required to apply this art to the great struggle through which we are passing.

For fifteen years General Foch had been teaching the principles of his art. They are peculiarly French, and perhaps no other nation could have evolved them or him to prove their validity by execution. The basic policies are decisive attack and economy of forces. "Victory by Battle" is Foch's one aim, and for that he demands that his forces shall be husbanded with the utmost frugality until the enemy can be manoeuvred into a position where he can be attacked relentlessly and decisively beaten. French frugality and élan blossom in this theory of war.

From another point of view, the basic feature of Foch's theory of war is that defeat is a "purely moral result," and not the product of material factors. "It is," he says, "the result of a state of mind, of discouragement, of fear brought on the vanquished by a combined use of moral and material factors employed simultaneously by the victor." He holds to Napoleon's belief that victory comes, not because of numerical superiority and better armament, but because "by planning we shall have greater numbers at a decisive point; by our energy, our knowledge, our use of weapons we shall succeed in raising our morale and in breaking yours."

In a word, then, Foch in his *Principles of War* (The H. K. Fly Co.) contends that war is not a contest of might, but of brains and moral qualities. It is not an exact science, but an art guided by moral intelligence and gov-

erned by the self-confidence that comes to those who know that they know.

The theory of war to which Foch subscribes, dates, as he shows, from Napoleon, who taught Europe "absolute war." This was in contrast to predecessors who had tried to make war without risk, avoiding battle instead of accepting it. To these Napoleon replied when he wrote Marshal Soult: "I desire nothing as much as a big battle." The goal of Foch is, as it was the goal of Napoleon, to destroy the enemy's force, and he discards reliance upon the machines of war, pinning his faith to the morale of the individual soldier. "Whatever is done in an army," he says, "should always aim at increasing and strengthening that moral strength."

Having set out these principles, General Foch takes up the details of warfare, explaining them on the historical examples and excellent maps attached to the book. He avoids highly technical language, writing with such simplicity that the untutored civilian follows him with ease, and finds the explanations as interesting as fiction. In its light, the momentous events of the past six months become intelligible and the reader can fancy what the main moves of the rest of the war will be.

An International Survey

WITH the mid-term political contest taking violent shape and concentrating upon the conduct of the war and the kind of peace desired by the American people, there is need for viewing this momentous event in a dispassionate and detached way. Our entry into the conflict has tended to obscure many things that happened prior to that event. These it is worth while to recall. For this reason James Brown Scott's *A Survey of International Relations Between the United States and Germany, August 1, 1914-April 6, 1917* (Oxford University Press), has a timely value.

Mr. Scott writes with his usual poise in the colorless, judicial mood, letting facts present themselves and tell their own tale. He states the many controversies that came up to this government while it was neutral, and explains the handling of them authoritatively on the basis of the official documents. Were these documents presented by themselves, probably few would read them, but the author has wove-

them into a story of the war for the period indicated in the title in which he uses as much of the documents as is required and defends by judicial opinion and law the course followed.

Of perhaps even greater value for ordinary purposes is the introduction which runs through four fairly long chapters in which Dr. Scott introduces quotations from fifteen German spokesmen to show the German conception of the state, of international policy and of international law in which the war finds its origin. The spokesmen quoted range from Frederick the Great to the Kaiser and include Hegel, Mommsen, Bismarck and the modern jingo Junkers, Treitschke and Bernhardt. It is a remarkable cloud of witnesses, from whose mouths comes a picture perfect in its versimilitude to the Germany we have come to know and have decided must go.

The first chapter recites the genesis of the war, tracing the trail of German ambitions, policy and intrigue through its history and, specifically, since the reorganization in Europe after the Napoleonic wars. The sketch, while not complete, is comprehensive enough to show the working of German plans that resulted finally in the efforts to win for Germany, by force, the fanciful Mittel Europa Empire now falling to pieces like the one-horse shay. Thereafter the author confines himself strictly to our international relations with Germany, presenting his subject in this manner. Dr. Scott puts in collected form the practical questions, arising out of a modern war, upon which international law needs classification. This, although it is not a specified purpose, outlines a program for the revision or restatement of international law which is to be expected as one of the great advances in international relationships resulting from the war. The reference values of the Survey are too obvious to call for comment.

"**L**ORD, if I'd half your brains, I'd write a book:

None of your sentimental platitudes,
But something real, vital; that should strip
The glamour from this outrage we call war.
I'd show them, not your glamorous 'glorious
game,'

But War,—as a war is now, and always was."

—*The Other Side.*

Poems by Gilbert Frankau (Alfred A. Knopf).



Women and the Sovereign State

"HOW did it come about?" asked a bemused suffragist the other day, "that men ever got this autocratic power to say whether we may or may not vote?"

That's just it, how did they?

It is a question women have been bewildered over for several generations. It is the question A. Maude Royden tries to answer in her *Women and the Sovereign State* (Headley Bros., London, Eng., and F. A. Stokes Co., New York).

The answer, Miss Royden thinks is basically due to the fact of the exploitation of women for biological purposes. "The wrong—if it be a wrong—can never be fully comprehended till the history of women is written." In kind the wrong done to women is like that done to exploited toilers even of to-day, who make parts of a machine so that only one, or, at best, a few, functions are developed. Women have been specialized for men's needs or for men's desires, and among these needs and desires there are none—or, until lately there have been none—for women's political comradeship, or women's political counsels.

This is the gist of Miss Royden's argument.

THE State needs children. It has therefore seen to it that women should produce them. It has only recently given much attention to caring for these children after they were produced.

The State has also taken account of the women whom men have requisitioned for their desires. These women it has bludgeoned, used, thrown aside, commandeered, all at the same time. That either the mother or the prostitute should decide social questions for herself has been no part of the State's concern.

The practical results of subjugation of women, of all sorts of women, have been high birth rates and high mortality rates among children on the one hand, of diseases among men and women alike on the other. A one-sided view of social questions must continue to bear such bad fruit, says Miss Royden. Only by the freedom of women is the freedom of the race possible.

Miss Royden's book is not a new presentation. It is a sharp and incisive review of the biological arguments for women's emancipation.

FOR what else did Edith Cavell die but that men should go free? Now, a year and a half ago, how stood the relations of men and women? Were they true relations or false ones? . . . Do you think this desperate tussle for realities, for the real instincts, the real needs of life, will not lay open, as it cuts deeper and deeper into the flesh of life and comes nearer and nearer the bone of it, the real relation between men and women? Do you think that when war is over they will look on each other as they were looking before it began? I don't. . . . I believe that the Great Solvent has resulted in making of us one people as we have certainly never been before. —Maurice Hewlett quoted in *The Coming Dawn* (John Lane Co.).

WHEN woman has gained a foothold in the state, what is she to do with it? Here is another set of questions women are asking. They have been so insistent in asking it of the data department of the Leslie Woman Suffrage Bureau of Education that Mrs. Mary Sumner Boyd, the department's head, has brought out in book form the substance of her many answers. *The Woman Citizen* (Frederick A. Stokes Co., N. Y.) is not in any way to be confused with Horace A. Hollister's book by the same name (D. Appleton & Co., N. Y.). Mr. Hollister's volume is "a problem in education." Its author is a professor of education in the University of Illinois, and his book is concerned largely with social progress among women, with woman's place in industries, her changing legal status. It is historic and educational in its scope and outlook, filled with excellent information.

Mrs. Boyd's book, on the other hand, is of immediate value as a manual. It approaches at once the basic question of woman's citizen-

ship, such as the denial of that right to her because of marriage with a foreigner.

This book is significant for several reasons. It is the first output from the files of the new Leslie Woman Suffrage Bureau, but it will not be the last from that storehouse of information. It is the namesake of the *Woman Citizen*, the official organ of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and its information is gleaned at first hand. Much of its most valuable material has been laboriously collected from official sources in every state in the Union, and is fresher than if collated from printed reports.

Points are covered in these chapters which have received little attention in book form, because, up to the present, they have been of pressing importance only to an unrecognized group of women fighting for their own and their sisters' enfranchisement. Such questions are, whether doubling the electorate doubles the cost of voting, whether women vote when they have the chance; questions of women's jury duty, the "bad" woman's vote; in fact, all that mass of educational material which has been assembled to answer the attacks of those opposed to woman suffrage.

A preliminary chapter by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt is devoted to the struggle for the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

That this material will be highly prized by future authors of civics there is no doubt. What Mrs. Boyd has here gathered has a force and vitality of vivid sociological importance.

HOW popular is the name of this magazine! Yet another namesake is Mary Austin's *The Young Woman Citizen* (The Woman's Press, N. Y.). It, too, is an inspirational book by a mistress in the art of writing. It sets forth the social and moral obligations of citizenship, not merely in the mechanics of government but in world relationships. It is far other than a book of civics, being an analysis and a review of the progress of women from cave woman to voter.

A STRAIGHT ahead suffrage argument is found in Josephine Schain's *Women and the Franchise* (A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago). It is like Miss Royden's book, retrospective of women's social changes, but only briefly so. Its main current is along the line of the attainment of suffrage. It is of value to the suffrage worker.

The gentle art of being a woman citizen is made definitely easier now that Mary Sumner Boyd meets the wayfarer on the threshold of citizenship with this little manual that encompasses so much in the way of information and stimulation.—R. Y.

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women*

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By HORACE A. HOLLISTER

What is woman's place in life? In this new book, Professor Hollister makes a general survey of woman's status and achievements in the various fields of service, both historically and as they appear today, and, in the light of such a survey, seeks any needed readjustments of women's place in society. From this viewpoint he discusses citizenship, suffrage, the social, economic and religious life of women, and war, motherhood and other timely questions. \$1.75 net

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The Greatest Mystery of the Age

By Eliza Stowe Twitchell

THERE has recently been published a book entitled "The Science of Power," by one of the foremost of modern English sociologists, Benjamin Kidd, in which he declares that in woman lies the future center of power for civilization. Coming as this does, as his conviction after years of profound thinking, it carries great weight. This book contains two chapters on Woman, in which the author propounds her relation to the state and to the race, ignoring entirely her individual relation to man. The view gives the two chapters essential value, since nothing has contributed more to cast odium upon the subject of woman's civic rights than the persistent uniting of it to two subjects to which it bore no relation whatever, viz., her sex and her inability to fight.

In view of this, it is interesting to know that Mr. Kidd accords to woman the center of power in the future progress of civilization, partly because she cannot fight, but chiefly because of her altruistic nature. He says: "It is not in the fighting male of the race, it is in woman that we have the future center power in civilization"; also, and this whole sentence he italicizes, "*It is woman who by the necessities of her being has carried within her nature, from the beginning, in its highest potentialities the ruling Principle of this new era of Power.*"

Ever since Darwin "justified the ways of God" to woman some have continued to follow his lead in proclaiming the dogma that woman was created for one sole purpose, the perpetuation of the human race, thus limiting all her relationship to the home. This philosophy contains a half truth, which has caused it to live on in spite of its startling falsehood. Not in her feminism, in her willingness to sacrifice herself for others, lies her power to perpetuate the race. It is in the spirit of altruism that there lies the highest source of power for all future progress. America is now fully awake to this spirit, which Mr. Kidd characterizes as "the new era of power."

It is refreshing, after all that has been said about woman's small brain, to read from Kidd: "At the back of human consciousness, as the literatures of nearly all peoples bear witness, there has always lurked a conception of woman's mind as being, in circumstances which men have never allowed themselves freely to imagine, a power of incredible magnitude." Also: "Woman's mind remains the greatest mystery of the age." Of her treatment through civic laws, he says: "These systems of power have ever sought to exploit woman as no other being has ever been exploited in life. Out of this struggle the mind of woman has emerged. It is like the emerging mind of civilization itself in the upward stress of progress."

Only in recent years, and among a small class, has she attempted to gain her rights by copying man's methods of being militant. This being contrary to her nature, it has proved a broken reed, and she has been driven back to her old art of pleasing and being helpful. Just now the world has great need of her, and she is meeting every call with high courage and willing sacrifice. It needs no prophet to foretell that her civic rights are already secured, that she will soon be invited to take her place within the organized state, that its character may become a well rounded whole.

Feminine Achievements

IT is strange that a man should spend time and pains writing about the successful achievements of women. But it is still more strange that it should be strange, since women have taken such obvious pride all their days in the successes of men. Yet here is a man, W. A. Newman Dorland, M.D., F.A.C.S., a physician, and a captain in the medical section of the Officers' Reserve Corps of the U. S. Army at that, who has found a chivalrous pleasure in proving that the sex to which his mother belongs is just as capable of mental attainment as that to which his father belongs.

It didn't seem to have occurred to Dr. Dorland that his thesis was disputable until after a certain number of anti-suffrage physicians went out of their way a few years ago to prove that it was only by the grace of males that woman has been kept from prehensile adherence to the ancestral tree.

"Women have not the constructive germ plasm which leads to great constructive discoveries," said one physician, and debonairly waves off Mme. Curie as "only part discoverer of radium."

Let us see if this is true, says, Dr. Dorland, and proceeds in true scientific fashion to congregate facts and dismiss theories.

The body of his book, *The Sum of Feminine Achievement* (The Stratford Company, publishers, 32 Oliver Street, Boston), is thus taken up with an assemblage of women of previous generations, who have done things worthy of note. This list of 400 women is set over against 400 famous men of modern history, and, still continuing his scientific methods of analysis, Dr. Dorland classifies them by professions, by attainments, by types and by ages.

He finds a "remarkable parallelism." His 400 famous women fall under about the same general headings as men. "The men in the original investigation were divided mentally into two distinct groups, namely, those whose intellectual activities culminated in some practical and visi-

ble application of their lines of thought" as inventors and warriors, and the thinkers, or "those whose intellectual activities manifested themselves in process of ratiocination with the object in view of arriving at abstractions or metaphysical concepts or of drawing positive deductions from a careful analytical study of large numbers of correlated facts" as the philosophers and scientists. Grouping women along these lines and comparing results with those obtained from a similar grouping of men, there are noted 112 women workers as against 110 men, and 288 women thinkers to 290 men—practically an identical showing for the two sexes.

The average age of women's mental activity is two years earlier than men's. The average acme of achievement in women is 45, as against men's 50. The duration of men's and women's mental activity almost exactly tallies, women holding out a year longer than men.

The remainder of this highly informing scientific study is devoted to special achievements of women in various lines, ending with complete reference tables.

HERE is a book for the Suffragist. It is an anthology by Josephine Conger Kaneko, *Woman's Voice* (The Stratford Co.).

It is quite like having a victrola in the house; for here are not just the echoes of what women said generations ago, but what women of today are saying. One finds old friends here, but new and familiar friends, too. Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, for one. Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw is there, side by side with Selma Lagerlöf. Mrs. Ida Husted Harper is another well-known author quoted. Many more might have been included, but the book, on the whole, makes a fine showing of women's views on subjects essential to society.

"When woman's voice is heard the world around," says the editor, "mankind will hearken to her cries and heed them."

IT is the woman question on its psychic side that absorbs Florence Guertin Tuttle in *The Awakening of Woman* (The Abingdon Press, New York). It is concerned with spiritual meanings, with the woman of genius, the creative impulse of woman, the emotions and aspirations of women. It is what one calls an inspirational rather than an immediately informative book.

Treasure and Trinket Fund

A NECKLACE of twenty-four gold dollars is offered for sale by Miss Virginia Branner, the proceeds to go to the fund for the Women's Oversea Hospitals. If you wish to buy it send word to the National American Woman Suffrage Association, 171 Madison Avenue, New York City.

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The Allies i

By K. Clark

VICOR

The purpose of the Congress of ALLIED WOMEN, August, 1918, was not only to create a benevolent and to reinfuse ideals worthy of the sacrificing mothers, but to prove the unparalleled opportunity of interpreting to one whose hands will rest in increasing measure the maternal world. It was believed that such forces rightly regulated



DR. MARGUERITE S. COCKETT AS A FRENCH SOLDIER

PARIS, more than ever the capital of the world, the capital of the Allies at war, became in August the capital of the Allied Women on War Service—as it has ever been the center of the feminine world.

August, 1914, the outstanding date in history made by man is supplemented by August, 1918, a historical date for the recognition of women. Late, by four years, one may say, but preliminary to a future when one date will suffice for both men and women in their activities and in their deliberations.

A Mass Meeting of Women on War Service was held in the Champs-Élysées Theatre, which was to have been presided over by M. Clemenceau, French Premier, and addressed by the Hon. Lloyd George, English Premier; but, the events of war interfering, it was actually presided over by Lord Derby, British Ambassador, and addressed by M. Stéphen Pichon, French Foreign Minister.

This massed gathering of what may be called the women of the world was significant. There were women present officially representing the nations at war; British, French, American, of course; also Belgian, Italian, Russian (the women of the world have not barred their Rus-

sian sisters from the association of the free), Roumanian, Polish, Serbian, Montenegrin; women from the Republics of South America; of Asia; of Africa.

It was something to have gathered together outside of France, and at a moment's notice, these women, from all corners of the world.

Lord Salisbury once said that four men around a table could settle the affairs of the world. The world has changed, since the days of Lord Salisbury and the sale of Heligoland. Yet, once let free women of the world meet under one roof and the affairs of the world are much more likely to be advanced to a place where they will be—not settled—but urged further and further toward that event of peace and perfection, always far off, but always divine, toward which the whole creation moves.

The Executive Committee of this Congress included women from the three larger Allied countries: such women as Madame Jules Siegfried, Mme. Avril de Sainte-Croix, Mme. Edouard de Billy, Comtesse d'Haussonville, Mme. Emile Boutroux, the Marchioness of Hartington, Miss Ethel Knight, Comtesse Helene Goblet d'Alviella, Mrs. Robert Woods Bliss, Mrs. Edith Wharton, Mrs. Benjamin Lathrop, Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., Mrs. W. K. Vanderbilt, and a group of official women war workers of the American Red Cross, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, the American French Fund for Wounded. The Lyceum Club, on Rue de Penthièvre, branch of the London Lyceum, became headquarters of the Congress, and the environment suggested that an Inter-Allied Club for the Alliées might be the result of the movement.

There was a dinner at the Hotel Quai d'Orsay, where under a brilliant light of crystal chandeliers, rare in this Paris of the blue night lights, five hundred Allied women broke bread together—war bread, of course. A program of toasts—spoken toasts not being *defendu*—with Mrs. Robert Woods Bliss as toast mistress was heard; an entirely feminine feast, for even

the gentlemen of the press were waiting without the gates.

There was a conference addressed by British women, the Hon. Mrs. Alfred Lyttleton, Dame Katherine Furse, the Duchess of Atholl, and Mrs. Oliver Strachey, where the magnificent work accomplished by the women of Great Britain during the four years of the war was reviewed—and the women of every country present felt humble before the tremendousness

This Congress was initiated by the Y. W. A.



CONGRESS OF ALLIED WOMEN ON WAR SERVICE. NOTE THE VARIOUS UNIFORMS: AMERICAN Y. W. C. A., FRENCH ARMY NURSES, FOYERS DU SOLDAT. WHEN LORD DERBY READ THE ROLL CALL, EACH UNIFORMED WOMAN PRESENT RECEIVED A PICTURE OF THE PICTURESQUE CEREMONY.

ies in Paris

K. Clark

CORY

LIE WOMEN on WAR SERVICE, held in Paris, better mutual understanding of their varied activities, making made on the battlefield, but also to impart to one another the women of the nations in the formative influences in the building of the new world, and directed will shorten the war.

of this revealed effort. Small wonder Hon. Lloyd George in his written message to the Congress declared: "The war was begun in order that force and brutality might crush out freedom among men. Its authors cannot have foreseen that one of its main effects would be to give women a commanding position and influence in the public affairs of the world." That position British women hold today, and the women of the British Deputation witnessed

to the worth of the women. That influence will be felt in ever greater degree.

THERE were conferences in which the war program of the French women was reviewed. The world is just beginning to understand that the activity of French women in sustaining the war has been equal to their suffering during the war. They have done definite pieces of work and in their conferences they discussed the conditions of feminine labor, the housing problem, work in the fields, the crusade against tuberculosis, depopulation, and the preservation of the future. M. Pinchon, speaking to these women of France, dared to declare: "Out of the war woman will win a new world. She will have had so large a part in the liberation of the world that the world will not dare limit her. She will have her place in a civilization which she has helped to save."

In the preparatory days preceding the Conference, a wise French woman, who wished that her country, her Government, might be wiser, said to an American member of the Executive Committee: "If you can get the French Government back of this movement, you will have accomplished the liberation of the women of France; a new era will begin for them."

The French Government, M. Clemenceau himself, paused in the midst of the "making of war" to recognize the Congress. Unable to go himself, he "commanded" M. Pichon to go. Not only that, but the French Government, which controls munition factories, and the French directors of privately owned munition factories, permitted delegations of women to be sent to the Conference, women

munition workers from Lyon, St. Etienne, Roanne, Bourges, and from Paris. They continued the wages of these women, they gave them a "bond" for their transportation.

The "munitionettes"—a word that has succeeded the old Bohemian word of "midinettes"—undoubtedly had the time of their lives in Paris at the Conference. They were guests at the Hotel Petrograd, the Y. W. C. A. Hostess House; for these women came from factories where Y. W. C. A. has its Foyer des Alliées, a part of



MISS HOPE BUTLER IN HER POILU HELMET

the "Y" work in France, a most important part of the American work when the future is considered. They were taken on sight-seeing tours about the city of Paris, which they had seen before only in their dreams. Part of the reality of the dream was the garden party in the beautiful, spacious gardens of the Presidential Palace where these munitionettes clasped hands with President and Madame Poincaré, successors to Bourbon kings and queens.

To France, perhaps to the rest of us, symbols have immense meaning. If you see clearly that picture, the President of France, and Madame, his wife, receiving as guests, as equals, the munition women of Lyon and Bourges, Roanne and St. Etienne, women whose hands have fashioned the obus of the terrible 75's and the marvelous 210's, women who have helped to make a democratic France—then the significance of this conference of Allied women is before you.

The world is being made democratic and women are a part of that world, sharing in its making, its remaking, sharing in that "New Earth" which Lloyd George saw issuing for the future. Finally women have answered "We" to the admiration-question of

(Continued on page 477)



ON WAR SERVICE
AND CROSS, WOMEN DOCTORS, Y. W. C. A., BRITISH Y. M. C. A.
PRESENT ROSE AND REMAINED STANDING TO THE END OF

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Novels of the War

SOME war novels are simply good stories like William J. Locke's "*The Rough Road*." (John Lane Co., New York.) Mr. Locke has deviated from past plots in this book, although vagabondish instincts are rampant in Patrick McPhaill and latent in "Doggie."

Doggie, or James Marmaduke Trevor, is a different sort of Englishman altogether. One had forgotten of late that there were ever any such, but they must have been as thick as blueberries before the war—effete lovers of *art nouveau*, timid follows of Italian futurists, and of the editors of *Blast*.

Not that Marmaduke would have stood up to Ezra Pound and the crudities of vorticism.

He was too ladylike. He lived in an ivory and peacock boudoir, where he stifled the perfectly good manliness of a sturdy Briton and collected china dogs, whence his name. It is the slowly evolving manliness inherent in Doggie which gives Mr. Locke's readers some pleasant half hours. There is nothing forced or too brain-fagging about "*The Rough Road*." It is one of Mr. Locke's "best of all possible sellers for a best of all possible reading public."

ANOTHER thought is coming to the reader of Mrs. Humphrey Ward's "*Elizabeth's Campaign*" (Dodd, Mead & Co.) and it is a humorous thought to those who remember Mrs. Ward's fulminations against the feminists. Such a short time ago she wrote a scolding novel on purpose to shoot up the militant suffragists and prove to the world that a real woman, a "womanly" woman, could look for no higher pursuit in life than ameliorating the physical conditions of British cottagers under the guidance of a well chosen husband of her own proper class. Just for the moment, Mrs. Ward had forgotten her own Marcella.

Now that she is out from under the necessity to bolster up the anti-suffrage cause, a necessity hateful to the creator of Mrs. Ward's earlier heroines, she has come into her own again.

One had recently come to think, not without reason, that Mrs. Ward's prolific talents were running to the dregs. But that was to discount the inhibiting power of a false doctrine. In her newest creation Mrs. Ward is free to let a woman be herself, and Elizabeth's self made most of the men in her neighborhood sit up and take notice. Most of all, it pricked her employer into doing what he hated. He was Squire Mannering—of course, a squire. It will be as easy for the Kaiser to sit in a back pew as for Mrs. Ward to get past the squiring point of view. Yet both will do it.

Squire Mannering was not a pacifist, nor yet a conscientious objector; he was just a selfish dilettante, loving Tanagra statuettes and Greek prose, even as Doggie loved ivory and peacock

rooms and little clay dogs. Both of them resented the war.

And Elizabeth, who knew Greek—not always flawlessly—that would have been to trample too fiercely on her male superior—but just perfectly enough to be indispensable, was the one who made the Squire over into something almost human. Elizabeth was a managing woman—no getting around that—"meggerful," as Sentimental Tommy would say.

She could keep books, she was an expert in forestry. She ran the estate and the big house, all with one hand tied behind her back, and as a little side issue to getting out Greek catalogues. All told, Elizabeth is as advanced a feminist as one need know. And Mrs. Ward, exulting in her, has shot loose from her misfit anti-suffrage comments and once more stirred her readers' admiration.

ANOTHER Allied novelist speaks from Italy, but not of Italy. It is Belgium which has written its indelible mark on the soul of the Italian poetess, Annie Vivanti Chartres. *The Outrage* (Alfred A. Knopf) is a sympathetic story of the first brutal onrush of the Germans into Liege and the small surrounding towns. While it adds no new incident to the piled up horrors perpetrated by the Germans, it skillfully presents a problem. The

NEWSY NOTES

What Is the German Nation Dying For?

This is the book of the hour. Karl Ludwig Krause is a well known German statesman and author, and now that we know that the German nation is dying, he tells us exactly what we want to know about it. He foresaw clearly that what is happening at the present time—the crumbling of Prussian Junkerdom—was bound to happen. It is as though this book were directly answering the questions we are now all so eagerly asking. Here are some of the chapter headings: German Barbarians; Why the Germans Are Disliked; The Prussian Spirit; Asinities; Bluff; and The Crash. \$1.50.

The Prestons

Even in these vital days of war and reconstruction, a really fine and significant novel commands attention. In her new story of the everyday life of an average American family, as told by a typical American mother, Mary Heaton Vorse has given us a highly humorous book, yet with the deeply significant background of human psychology with which Mrs. Vorse's many readers have become so familiar. \$1.50.

Are You a Stagnuck?

We, Boni & Liveright, publishers of good books at 110 West 40th Street, N. Y. C., have been asked to define the word that has been used in many of our advertisements of the famous Modern Library. (The Modern Library, by the way, now includes sixty-six titles at 70c a volume.) In our opinion, a "stagnuck" is a person who thinks Gorky a brand of caviar; Balzac the name of a mining stock; Ellen Key the author of "*The Star Spangled Banner*"; John Macy the proprietor of a department store; "*The Way of All Flesh*" a sex book. What definitions have you to suggest? Don't be a stagnuck—read good books—buy them at your book-dealer's or send to us for a new and comprehensive catalog that you will be interested in.

THE LITTLE GRAND-MOTHER of the RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

Life and Letters of Catherine Breshkovsky, Compiled by Alice Stone Blackwell

Fifth Edition

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Price \$2.25

author uses a scene of sweet girlish happiness as her backdrop. Against this the black misery of ruined lives stands out sharply. The problem is that of maternity. Two reactions to enforced brutal maternity are introduced, one the shamed despair of a happily married woman, already a mother, and the other the first response to motherhood of a young girl. The latter feels nothing but the sacred obligation to the life she has to bring into the world, however it came into being. For the sake of the child, she endures all the ostracism and scorn and cruelty poured upon her by those to whom her motherhood is only a badge of barbarian insult.

Both points of view seem possible. Senora Chartres has presented them with singular impartiality and delicacy. The reader's heart is equally stirred by each woman's agony.

If the denouement seems melodramatic, who can say where reality and melodrama part company in these days of poignant distress?

NOW that Louisiana is in the thick of a campaign for votes for women, there is an unusual importance attached to George Cable's *Lovers of Louisiana* (Charles Scribner's Sons).

All those to whom Louisiana—and by this one means New Orleans—has stood as a queen among American States, are typified by Mr. Cable. They pass by in symbolic pageantry, elements old and new in the making of the Mississippi delta civilization.

Here is the old haughty Creole, strict in his conventions, partisan in his point of view. And here is the kind of Southerner the Creole calls an "American," one who is academically aroused to new points of view, but is still inactive.

Here also is the educated Negro in his tragic position. All of this gains in poignancy by its place in the limelight of the world's struggle for democracy, and the struggle for a better South.

It is a book with a big vision. The peculiar grace with which Mr. Cable always deals with the Creole is here.

THE story of the youngest soldier in the British Army is Tommy Kehoe's *The Fighting Mascot* (Dodd, Mead and Co., New York). It is told for other boys in Tommy's own words, but put together, as its hero explains, by a real "writing man who knew what part to put first." The writing man, Mr. E. L. Bacon, has adhered to the autobiographical "I" and has tried to give the story much as Tommy told it from Liberty Loan rostrums and on Red Cross drive platforms in this country.

For Tommy, who entered the army at fifteen as a bugler in the Fifth King's Liverpool Regiment, is now a discharged wounded veteran, having been in active service in the front trenches. Tommy was a bad bugler, so hopelessly unable to get the calls right that his mates said his "best bet" for killing a Boche would be to bugle him to death. For this reason the fifteen-year-old lad was made a regular soldier whose pal was a housebreaker under surveillance of Scotland Yard. Oddly enough, housebreaker though he was, he was a good pal to Tommy Kehoe and, as a British soldier, one of the very best.

DOUBTLESS there are women, and men too, who like to get into the center of the stage even in war time. A good picture of this type of woman is shown in E. M. Delafield's *The War Workers* (Alfred A. Knopf, N. Y.). Here Miss Vivian is the kind of leader who wants to be everything in her organization from office boy to president, and also wants a finger in every pie.

It is as the "wonderful Miss Vivian" that she maintains prestige. She is ostensibly, but not actually overworked, and is always a picturesque martyr to her understudies.

There is a false value in the presentation of this heroine by Mrs. Delafield—the daughter of Mrs. Henry de la Pasture. She makes Vivian's defection from duty to be her refusal to go home and stay with her sick father, when she was not really needed as a sick nurse. "No, the war demands are first," said Miss Vivian, and justly, if she were to be of value. If she had been a son serving the country this allegiance to England first would have been her chief glory.

It is the old question of the value of women's work over again. Mrs. Delafield's book discredits Miss Vivian's contribution to the country. If she had made her story turn on the personal weaknesses of her heroine, her point would have been better taken.

DISTINGUISHED as the first real American war novel is Arthur Train's *The Earthquake* (Charles Scribner's Sons). This was reviewed at length in the *Woman Citizen* of May 4, 1918.

What a woman did for the war in England

MRS. HUMPHRY WARD'S

New novel

Elizabeth's Campaign

This is a story of English life at a supremely critical moment in the war—scarcely six months ago—in which a very efficient and lovable young woman secretary wins over a recalcitrant unpatriotic Englishman to a realization of England's need for every individual's help in the Great Cause. It contains a most interesting picture of the modern young woman, and is a fine, clean, entertaining story\$1.50

Other new books of interest to women

America in France

By MAJOR FREDERICK PALMER

Major Palmer, our leading war-correspondent, the man who wrote "My Year of the Great War," "My Second Year of the War," has been on Pershing's staff since the beginning—at the very center of American activities at the front. He has sent us the book for Americans about our boys over there. It is so up-to-date that it includes the fighting in the Argonne, and is unique in containing an account of what each division has been doing—the 42nd (Rainbow), the 26th (New England) and so on down the list.\$1.60

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Outside the War Zone in Fiction

MYSTERY seems to be the only great thriller outside of war—oh yes, and love. Yet even love must travel now in khaki and with a military password. But a mystery tale holds one's attention at all times.

Even at that there is a bit of war in Dr. Clifford Smyth's *The Gilded Man* (Boni and Liveright), but it is a funny little war, like a stage battle, and all about the possession of the Republic of Panama by the Yankees.

The story just digresses into this brief episode in order to set the scenes for what Gertrude Atherton calls "the most breathless yarn I ever read." It is all about the philosopher's stone and cave dwellers and radium and abnormal psychology. There never were so many thrills in one novel before.

Richard Le Gallienne in a preface swears that Dr. Smyth must have seen this El Dorado he paints, else he could never have made his readers see it so clearly.

THE folk quality of Willa Sibert Cather's stories marks them as of an Americanism all their own. This is an undeniable element with an irresistible charm. It is strongly present in "O Pioneers." It is again present in *My Antonia* (Houghton, Mifflin Co.). This is a story of Nebraska prairies, and Miss Cather senses them. She carries their atmosphere into her book and creates in her reader the mood corresponding to it. That is to say, Miss Cather is a real artist.

Her peasants transplanted into Nebraska are not just homesick, misfit foreigners. They are Austrians, Scandinavians, what not, who are weaving a strong folk fiber into middle western United States. The East is insensible to it. The Far West indifferent. But some interpretation of its genuineness and its positive value is glimpsed in Meredith Nicholson's *Valley of Democracy*.

What Miss Cather is contributing to the composite American life has been too little understood and appreciated.

THERE may be a languid interest still extant over the facts and personalities in Percy Bysshe Shelley's marital infelicities, but in view of the vivid interest in the war and the political and industrial freedom of women,

Mr. Alexander Harvey's luxurious edition of *Shelley's Elopement* (Alfred A. Knopf) is apt to excite but a tepid flame. As some one has said, Shelley's misdemeanors are not a "live issue" just now.

Mr. Harvey has portrayed the four women who suffered through the poet's misconduct with so little zeal for any of the four that the reader's heart scarcely goes out to the unfortunate quartet.

Some interest is bound to stir over the fact that two of Mary Wollstonecraft's daughters were among those whose lives were wrecked by Shelley. It will be remembered that Mary Wollstonecraft wrote "A Vindication of the Rights of Women" when the popular mind was about as ripe for a discussion of political freedom for women as it was for a forecast of Marconi's wireless telegraphy.

The publishers of Mr. Harvey's novel have made use of a pretty trick in using Shelley's "I weep for Adonis" as a marginal accompaniment to the whole story.

FRENCH war novels have been almost nonexistent, France being too preoccupied now for that subtle accuracy of style and perfection of workmanship which are of her very self. French novelists, like Henri Bordeaux, have been editing the amazing letters of her dead soldiers or pamphleteering to win the war.

Nevertheless, the tragic ferocity of Henri Barbusse's "*Le Feu*," a dramatic French picture such as no novelist could invent, has been widely known in all allied lands. Now his *Inferno* (Boni and Liveright) comes to hand.

This is a story as terrible as its name. Its curious conception is that of a man who sees through a crevice in a wall incidents of birth and death and sin and love. Their futility makes all life seem a hell of doubt and satiety to him.

Yet one feels somehow that the writer is groping for a solution and sees dimly "some divine far off event" which dignifies the sordidness he portrays.

The former story, "*Under Fire*," was a somber picture of life in the trenches. This one is no less somber, but it is of the universal tragedy of human affairs rather than of war.

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BARSE & HOPKINS

New York

WHATEVER the British equivalent of a flivver, that it is in which the hero of H. B. Creswell's *Thomas* (Robert McBride Co.) started on his restless travels to escape matrimony. Thomas camouflaged his car under the name of Susan, but what's in a name? Gasoline will smell the same if called petrol or essence. And "Susan" stalled herself and hurled her victim out before unfriendly doors just as if she had been called "Lizzie."

Of course, Thomas did not escape matrimony. It lay in wait for him, not by the wayside, but at his own door. He really didn't want to escape. And fear was just another name for longing. One can laugh with and at Thomas, and in these laughless war days that's something.

AGAINST a background of an old Virginia garden, with its winding paths and roses, Amelie Rives, Princess Troubetskoy, has woven a charming web of love and mystery in her new novel, *"The Ghost Garden"* (Frederick A. Stokes Company). "I can think of no more horrible thing than a universe without mystery," one of the characters is made to say. Evidently he reflects the opinion of the author, who has filled her story with baffling mystery and ghostly thrills, that do not terrify but sustain interest throughout the story.

"The Ghost Garden" presents the eternal triangle in a new form, with the third angle in the spirit world.

A REAL romance, and one which holds attention from cover to cover, without once mentioning the war is Louis Dodge's *The Runaway Woman* (Charles Scribner's Sons, N. Y.)

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National Woman Suffrage Publishing Company, Inc.

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The plot is entirely original and in spite of the unconventional surroundings of her life, the heroine is a crystalline clear and honest soul with standards of her own.

The incidents are clever and full of human interest. The real key to the story lies in the fact that Susan Herkimer was never really running away from her duty, but from sordidness—from "light-housekeeping in a single room" with all this implied.

A BIT of the war creeps into the last part of Allan Updegraff's *Strayed Revellers* (Henry Holt and Co.), thus showing that even Greenwich Village has to reckon with something outside its own preoccupation with revising the Ten Commandments.

Its publishers call this an "ultra modern love story" but it is really not so different. There is much conversation and little plot. The conversation is quite up to date. The plot has been going on since Adam and Eve.

A NOVEL of harsh adventure is Raymond McFarland's *Skipper John of the Nimbus* (The Macmillan Company). It belongs to the racy tales of the sea and the almost superhuman courage of men. It is a book for boys.

A PICTURE of Scotch hills and London worldliness just before the outbreak of the war is given in *Minniglen* (D. Appleton & Co.), by Agnes and Egerton Castle. To Anna Joscelyn, an English society girl, wearied of gossip and restrictions, Allan McClurg, the Laird of Minniglen, was as refreshing as the untarnished Scotch landscape they both loved. The affair of these two makes a simple, pretty, love story, sentimental but wholesome. Later in the book one sees glimpses of suffragists and the war.

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A CHILD'S story by so distinguished a writer as W. H. Hudson is bound to be something more than just that. "A Little Boy Lost" (Alfred A. Knopf, see illustration on page 455) has that subtle commingling of whigsicalities, symbolism and satire one expects to find.

For Those Who Read Spanish

THOSE who read Spanish may like to be told of the Borzoi Spanish texts which the Alfred A. Knopf Publishing Company is putting forth. It is opening to North Americans many works of constantly increasing interest from Spanish speaking South America as well as from Spain itself. Some Spanish novelists, never known to the United States before, are introduced in English versions.

El Gran Galeoto, by Jose Echegaray, is among the most recent of the Borzoi publications. It is a play in the original Spanish, and is called "the greatest and most famous play by Spain's modern master dramatist."

Books of Travel

TRAVELING—the forgotten art of a civilized century thrusts itself into the book world of today with an apologetic blush.

But the comrade authors of *Camps and Trails in China* (Appleton & Co.) have no great reason to blush for their purposes, since they were sent on a scientific expedition by the American Museum of Natural History in 1916. This partnership in scientific investigation, in roughing it and in authorship was that of Roy Chapman Andrews and his wife, Yvette Borup Andrews. Their line of march lay through Fukien Province in China, Yün-nan, a far southwestern province, and on to the borders of Thibet. A part of the way was through unmapped country, and most of the trip was in remote places and lived under canvas. It is a history of thrilling hours in the Snow Mountains, some of the time encamped in the clouds.

The kind of "specimens" wanted by the

Museum ranged from "blue tigers" to small mammals and camera records.

The chapters written by Mrs. Andrews show her just as good a sport as the men of the party, a patient helper in all the purposes of the expedition, a keen observer and an excellent recorder of her observations. Her glimpses into the woman's side of that remote desert life are worth getting.



BOOKS FOR THINKING PEOPLE

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MR. WILLIAM BEEBE has the note of apology, or perhaps of explanation in his "Jungle Peace" (Henry Holt & Co.). As Mr. Beebe is a perfectly good aviator as well as the curator of birds at the New York Zoological Park, he finds natural kinship with his bird brothers of the jungle. By way of a rest and in a searching passion for hoatzins, Mr. Beebe made a long tour in British Guiana. Most of the chapters which describe his experiences were published in the *Atlantic Monthly*. It is probable that few North Americans would know an hoatzin from a humming bird, but after reading Mr. Beebe's description of his quest and its results, hoatzins will seem as familiar friends as Plymouth Rock chickens.

This author has that quality, indispensable to a writer on the fauna of distant countries, of bringing his readers into touch with the subject. Every thrill of vicarious fireside participation in exploring dangerous jungles is enjoyed by the readers of this delightful book.

The Woman Movement in Foreign Lands

IN a very small book, written for a very special purpose, one gets a glimpse of the women in Japan. This is Ruth Emerson's *Japan Today* (Y. W. C. A. Press.) Its special purpose is to tell of the work done in Japanese cities by the Young Women's Christian Asso-

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ciation. But it is not possible to tell what is happening in the woman movement from one angle without throwing light on all. The importance of women has flamed up in Japan as elsewhere. The woman question is the Japanese question, says one statesman, and Count Okuma adds: "The society of Japan is dis-

figured by abuses beyond any simple remedy. The only effective medicine is to be found in a radical reform of the ideals of family life and this can only be effected by an improvement in the status of women."

Miss Emerson finds that the cause of the low state of women in Japan is due to a false system of education and not to definite oppression, like foot binding in China, or incarceration in harems as in India and Turkey.

And there are glimpses everywhere of a new view of women's life at present among Japanese men. Mr. Fukuzawa has written a "New Greater Learning for Women," in which he starts out with the proposition that women are equal with men and should hold equal position and influence. He even advocates a single moral standard, ideas so revolutionary that men have been burned at the stake for less. Women's clubs are springing up. Women physicians, newspaper women, and women in every walk in life, are transfiguring Japan.

For Your Convenience

BOOKS that show the reader how to do things have their own place. Do you want to run a club? Here is every possible advice to help you in Helen J. Ferris's *Girls' Clubs* (E. P. Dutton Co.). This is a manual for workers with a preface by Jane Deeter Rippin of the Commission on Training Camp Activities.

The Valley of Democracy

"PROVINCIALISM" is the pet jeer with which, in moments of family disagreement, any one part of the United States is apt to greet any other part. No section takes the word as anything but a rhetorical pre-election brick-bat—which always turns out to be only a camouflaged cotton-bat. Yet each part of the Union has its moments of exasperation in which it turns upon the rest and says in effect: "I know that you mean to dissemble your love, but why need you kick me down stairs?"

Mr. Meredith Nicholson has now arrived at his moment of exasperation. He rises out of the state of Indiana to tell the East and the West that there is really only one spot which is never provincial and never was and that is the northern part of the Mississippi Valley. Everywhere from "bleeding Kansas" to Minnesota lies the real land of the free. As for New York city any genuine self-respecting American from Ohio, Indiana or Kansas would say: "Ten days of New York, and it's me for my home town. This expresses a very genuine feeling in the provinces." Mr. Meredith says provinces here with biting sarcasm, implying that this is what Middle Western states are in the minds of New Yorkers, never in their own; for "provincial" is the one unanimous, characterizing phrase flung at New York all the way from Cleveland to the Pacific Coast.

Mr. Meredith borrowed the excellent title of his book, *The Valley of Democracy* (Charles

Scribner's Sons) from Dr. John Finley's "The French in the Heart of America." It must be owned that he has made out a grand case for his valley and for his claim that here is the throbbing American heart. There are people along the Atlantic seaboard, he says, but there are "folks" back home in the Middle West. Which is to say that there is alert friendliness and a community spirit there. The good luck and success of each "favorite son" of the state or the town, is a matter of pride to all.

BIG things have started from this valley of democratic ideals. Big plans are nurtured there.

It is the part of the country which has initiated legislation, tried out theories of government, sponsored progress. It is the land of orators, the place where a good talker is still prized and famed for miles around. And these good talkers are as apt to be women as men, Mr. Nicholson asserts, women who know what is what in political movements and whose prognostications are worth heeding.

There is no doubt, no doubt at all but that the writer has made out a good case, although the East will be the first to confess it, and will thrill with pride at every attainment of its neighbors in the great valley. For it was the East that sent out pioneers to make a new and greater America, and the East is glad to claim these vigorous descendants on the plains and the prairies as "home folks."

The Maison Commune

"COME with me now to the common house, the *maison commune*," said President Poincaré, of France, "and tell me, first, if you know a more beautiful name than this! The common house! What ideas the familiar term awakens! There is in the village a house that belongs to no one in particular, that is open to the poor as to the rich; that is, so to speak, the domestic center, the home of the village itself."

There are 36,225 of these *maisons communes* in France, centers of the towns' interests. And they have suggested to Mr. Henry E. Jackson a type of community center to be worked out in the United States.

Mr. Jackson represents the United States Board of Education in a joint campaign now being pushed by the Council of National Defense and the Federal Department of Education to organize local communities as a means of national defense.

In his book *The Community Center* (The Macmillan Co.) Mr. Jackson offers the first fruits of a survey to this end.

It is a part of his outlined program to utilize the school house in America as a working basis for common interests except in places where it will be feasible to build a real community house of the French type.

In some American villages these common houses are already under way. They are in the form of enlarged neighborhood clubs where lectures of all sorts may be heard—even preaching in some cases. Here is the town library, when no separate building exists for that purpose. And here is also the recreational center for dancing, dramatics, athletics.

Some of Mr. Jackson's ten commandments for a successful community center will appeal to suffragists as familiar to their own campaigns. The first requisite for community action must be a guaranty of "freedom of thought and freedom in its expression."

"It must aim at unity, not uniformity."

"It must be organized democratically, with the right to learn by making mistakes."

"It must be non-partisan, non-sectarian and non-exclusive both in purpose and practice."

"Progress is possible only where there is mental hospitality to new ideas."

Principles and conclusions these that have long been a part of the suffragist's plans.

SPECIFIC directions for working out such a community center as is desired by the Government through its joint committee of the Council of National Defense, the United States Bureau of Education and the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense, are given in Ida Clyde Clarke's *The Little Democracy* (D. Appleton & Co., N. Y.).

Mrs. Clarke's book is in reality a worker's model. It is prefaced and sanctioned by Commissioner of Education, Philander P. Claxton.

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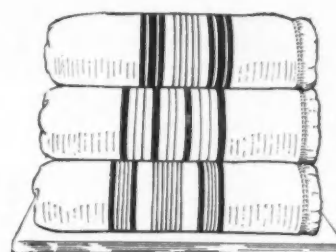


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We have also an excellent selection of extra long Blankets and Crib Blankets.

Christmas Shopping

We respectfully suggest that in so far as possible you act on the Government's request that you do your Christmas shopping during November

What Makes a Poor Mother

"IN modern life," says the author of *Rural Problems of To-day* (Association Press), "the woman drudge makes a poor mother. The fact that she is less likely to rebel than her urban sister does not remove the dangers of the situation."

The author, Dr. Ernest R. Gross, begins his investigation of rural problems at their source—with "the family in our country life." "One fault with some country homes stands out on the surface," he finds. "The wife is too much a drudge, her life too narrow and too hard. This kind of woman may be little influenced by new thought, and may think her situation as natural for her as it was for her mother. Whatever her personal attitude, however, from the very nature of things she is unable to make a significant moral contribution through her family duties."

Some of the claims that women do not want to vote might be analyzed under Dr. Gross's microscope to see if women who do not want to better their political situation may not be found amongst those who have little chance to know of any other world than their own hard treadmill.

"Sex has too large a place," he says, "in the construction of the rural family." In other words, the earlier marriages are more likely to

be influenced by sex interests—using the term in a narrow sense—than are the later marriages.

Behold here, from an unexpected source, two anti-suffrage bogies tackled. That glorious ideal of uninterrupted monotony for woman in which she is always engrossed in hard household tasks is little less than a boomerang policy. It returns upon itself and prevents a woman from being a good mother. Neither is the young, unpremeditated marriage the best for the morals of the community. Dr. Gross assures his readers that in communities where the narrowest marital creeds are outspoken, he has seen the loosest marital relations accepted, creed and conduct being little connected with each other. What this very good book seeks to advocate is a more developed community spirit in rural neighborhoods in which every mother as well as every father shall participate.

SMITH COLLEGE graduates everywhere will prick up their ears when they hear the names of the joint authors of "*Over Periscope Pond*" (Houghton, Mifflin Co.). The letters of Esther Sayles Root and Marjorie Crocker, just as they were written for home consumption from Paris, where the two girls were helpers in the Vestiaires of Dr. and Mrs. Shurtleff, make extremely good reading. Irrepressible joie de vivre, that possession of youth, so fill the pages that it is fair to call this "a joyous war book."

Our Fifth Avenue

NOW that Fifth Avenue has become in effect, if not in name, the "Avenue of the Allies," it is a good time to cast one's eyes over its historic past. And what a past! One's mind travels back to the Dewey celebration crashing out the first self-conscious note of an imperialistic America.

Arthur Bartlett Maurice's *Fifth Avenue* (Dodd Mead and Co.)—see p. 456 for illustration—emphasizes this impression of the progress of ideals over its asphalted pavement, and Allan G. Cram's drawings make much of dramatic moments on the Avenue.

Mr. Maurice's thoughts linger affectionately over famous hostelrys and pompous clubs and sumptuous homes, but nothing obscures the significance of the human pageant which has been taking place there for fifty years.

Just as all the sighs and tears and pride and pomp of wars are written over Fifth Avenue, so is the history of the last lap—the dramatic finish—of the votes-for-women movement. It is also the Avenue of the Suffrage Allies. There marched the first little group of men brave for women's enfranchisement, and there swept the final white and gold and blue of the greatest of all suffrage parades. Up that street also went the 1,020,000 signatures that gave the final quietus to the claim that women don't want the vote.

A Psychic View of the War

MUCH study of psychic incidents has been a natural result of the war. Some one in speaking of England and France said recently that war and death are the only things in which Europe is greatly interested.

Of all the marvelous tales of hallucinations and visions reported since the war began, some few have been found worthy of investigation.

Hereward Carrington's *Psychical Phenomena and the War* (Dodd, Mead and Co.) is much more than an assemblage of incidents for the Society for Psychical Research, although it seems to be that also.

The Journal of a Country Woman

"IN the country," writes Charles W. Eliot, "it is quite possible that a permanent family should have a permanent dwelling."

It was in part as a seeker after such permanence that Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers listened to the little voices within which are forever calling women back to the land, and hied her to the palisaded shores of New Jersey and so on to an old farm which had belonged to her forefathers.

In the *Journal of a Country Woman* (The Abingdon Press, N. Y.) Mrs. Rogers has taken her reader into some of the joys of beginning all over again on the old soil with the new spirit of a modern, highly specialized woman. For Mrs. Rogers is firmly convinced that woman turns naturally to farm life, and is physically able to carry on agricultural work. She is more convinced of it than ever now that she is one of the leading spirits in the Woman's Land Army of America.

Her journal was written several years ago, when the world was still a calm place in which to live. There is therefore in her pleasant pages a humorous leisurely view of life and books and sunsets. It is pleasant to remember that the world was once like that, and may some time be again.

With a Queen's Preface

THE first chapter of *Roumania Yesterday and Today* (John Lane Co.) is written by Queen Marie, a royal personage who, like Albert of Belgium, is admired for her great personal excellencies.

The author is Mrs. Will Gordon, F. R. G. S., who has previously published a book about the Balkan women. Doubtless kindred Scotch sympathies have joined these two authors since Queen Marie is the daughter of the Duke of Edinburgh.

Mrs. Gordon's object has been to awaken general popular interest in the country whose welfare she has espoused.

Her book is made more vivid by beautiful photographic illustrations.

Its first part is a painstaking survey of the psychological reactions of war upon the men who partake in it. It runs parallel with Dr. Crile's "Mechanistic View of War and Peace," which seems to have largely determined some of Dr. Carrington's theories. It analyzes German psychology and shows how and why it differs from that of the Allies.

But it goes further and makes an honest effort to investigate what there is in the reported cases of psychic phenomena, such as apparitions of dying soldiers, premonitions and an increasing interest in life after death.

Not Dead

"WALKING through trees to cool my heat and pain,

I know that David's with me here again.
All that is simple, happy, strong, he is.
Caressingly I stroke
Rough bark of the friendly oak.
A brook goes bubbling by: the voice is his.
Turf burns with pleasant smoke;
I laugh at chaffinch and at primroses.
All that is simple, happy, strong, he is.
Over the whole wood in a little while
Breaks his slow smile."

—Fairies and Fusiliers.

Poems by Robert Graves (Alfred A. Knopf).

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Children's Books

ALTHOUGH a leader in the Buffalo City division of the New York State Woman Suffrage Party, Mrs. Jane D. Abbott has found time to write a delightful child's story, *Keineth* (J. B. Lippincott Co.) This is a tale of the great war, of the courage of Keineth, whose father went on a Government mission, of the gracious courtesy of the President of the United States to one small brave little maiden.

Among other children's books, martial, historic or legendary, is Dorothy Brook's *Stories of the Red Children* (Educational Publishing Co., N. Y.), a large print reader for very little ones and all about the Indians of North America.

Another primer-reader is *The Story of Hiawatha*, an edition of the Indian folk-tales, revised and abridged for young readers.

This, and Vol. 1 of *The Stories of Our Country* by S. E. Daves, are also publications of the Educational Publishing Co., N. Y., and are meant to teach literature and history by means of the story form.

Nellie M. Leonard's *Limp-Toes' Attic Home* (Thomas Y. Crowell Co., N. Y.) is the amazing tale of the Graymouse family, a very interesting circle indeed with many relatives of an extraordinary chattiness.

For older young people *Georgina's Service Stars* by Annie Fellows Johnston (Britton Publishing Co., N. Y.) and *Little Tales of Common Things* (Thomas Y. Crowell Co.) are to be commended. The former is, of course, a girl's war book, and the latter carries a lot of information neatly packed away in small stories about such things as Spools of Cotton, Snowflakes, and "Just Beans."

The Balance of Power

(Continued from page 455)

party's policies, second through advertising in the papers, and third through speakers at meetings. The women will co-operate with each party by sending out party literature and by getting audiences of women for the various speakers, everything to be placed on a strictly non-partisan basis.

The Democratic party accepted the suffragists' proposal immediately, but thus far the Republican party has not accepted. Progressive members of the party, who at present are not in the saddle, are said to be awake to what this offer from the suffragists means, but so far those in power are holding back. The Connecticut suffragists point out that there is danger of the Republicans forcing the women to hear only Democratic speeches and read Democratic literature—the result of this being obvious. Hartford and New Haven already have strong women's Democratic clubs.

Some of the points upon which the suffragists

are laying stress is that the parties state their stand on legislation which effects women, such as laws governing industry, hours of labor, and various safeguards for women.

"I believe the Connecticut legislature will be called upon to ratify the Federal Amendment

this coming session," said Miss Ludington, "and if so I have no doubt but that it will be ratified. Then almost immediately the women will be confronted with the problem of choosing a political party. Our campaign anticipates this time."

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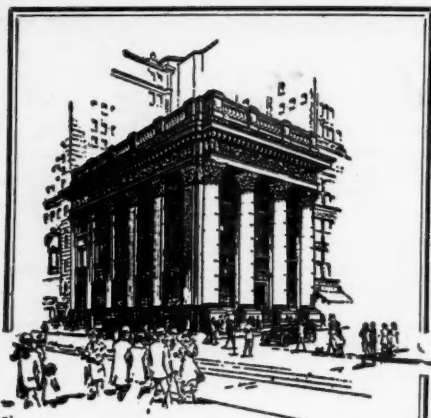


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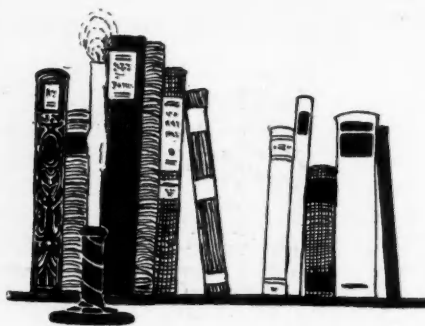
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Short Stories

A FILLIP to the short story seems to have been given of late to judge from the oncoming rush of "collections" on the book tables. Dorothy Canfield's *Home Fires in France* (Henry Holt) is one which does not go afiel into the unreal for any of its material. This collection of short stories vignettes some of the most distressing incidents in the war zone, all the more distressing because they are so commonplace and so unrelieved by heroics. They are for the most part sketches of accustomed misery of the hopelessly maimed and blinded, the stupor of sorrow, the stoic patience of those who have lost all. "The Permissionaire" shows the peasant will-to-live-on where his forebears lived. It shows him rooted in the trees and vegetables, cut and bleeding when their roots are severed, yet stolidly replanting as soon as the enemy guns have stopped.

One story in Florence Guertin Tuttle's series, *Give My Love to Marie* (The Abingdon Press) has a plot of singular originality. It is the story of an odd kind of heroism with the mystery as to which one of two brothers, "Gentlemen Unafraid," was a real hero and which a maniac, sustained to the end. The story offers as pretty a psychological knot as one would wish to unravel.

In the mechanics of short story writing Ambrose Bierce has shown himself a master. The title, *In the Midst of Life* (Boni and Live-right), is suggestive of the suspended remainder of the sentence. "We are in death" is indeed the subject of this whole group of stories, and gruesome, fantastic death at that. They are mostly about soldiers—but soldiers of the Civil War, not of the Great World War. It is not too much to say that de Maupassant himself could scarcely have bettered the sharp, dramatic technique of "A Horseman in the Sky."

Realism of the sort that suggests magenta worsted mats under the light of an unshaded kerosene lamp marks Theodore Dreiser's *Free and Other Stories* (Boni and Live-right).

The war doesn't seem to have occurred to Mr. Dreiser. He is still messing around with the dull little sex problems of dull little people.

One story, "Old Roguam and His Theresa," comes near to having a crisp O. Henry touch.

Some Women

AMONG the women who deserve to be held in remembrance by their sisters, is Frances C. Gage, who has laid down her life in Turkey since the war began. Miss Gage was a Y. W. C. A. worker in Marsovan. She was one of two American women who took their lives in their hands in order to rescue a train of captive Armenian girls carried off by Turkish soldiers. Fifty of the sixty-two were rescued by the daring and superhuman perseverance of the two American women. In the story of her life briefly written by Elizabeth Wilson, *The Road Ahead* (The Woman's Press), there are many incidents which show Miss Gage as a path breaker in the woman movement. A feminist? Yes, of the old-fashioned pioneer sort, like Frances Willard and Susan B. Anthony, women who pushed the world along until it has become almost safe for women.

When she was working on the Pacific Coast she found that a steamboat line upon which some of the girls under her care had to ride was not safe for women traveling alone. She went to the headquarters of the steamboat company and told the president: "Your boats aren't safe for my girls to ride on." "I know it," said the president. "Tell them not to use them. I know what they're like." But this was a half measure Miss Gage would not brook. She told the steamboat company so. "You've got to make your boats safe for my girls," said she. And the company did.

SINCE the days of Mary Antin's "Promised Land," no book has been written which so completely bares the soul of an immigrant girl as Elizabeth Hasanowitz's *One of Them* (Houghton, Mifflin Co.). Miss Hasanowitz is a Russian Jewess, the daughter of a teacher in the Hebrew Schools of Russia, a land where even education had to be snatched secretly as if one were a thief. She made up her mind to run away to America and look for freedom.

She found America but she did not find freedom. She made a wearied round of the places where unskilled labor is bought at the price of youth, fresh air, health and decency.

The publishers have subtitled Miss Hasanowitz's book—"A Passionate Autobiography," and from cover to cover, it is that, a fierce protest against conditions in knitting factories where the lungs are filled with dust from the wool; in the garment trades where workers are sweated in dark, unsanitary, unsafe lofts and cellars.

Miss Hasanowitz awoke to the fact that organization was lacking in the groups of women workers among whom she was thrown. Therefore she plunged into a losing fight to unionize women workers. She beat and stormed with helpless little hands upon an unimpressionable mass. Her fellow toilers were too timid or too

undisciplined to stand by her in her efforts.

After four years this young girl had tried out forty jobs. She was exhausted, impoverished, under-nourished, discouraged. Her efforts to organize her comrades had antagonized her employers to the point of brutality so that she gained a new foothold only to lose it. Conditions in shops compelled her to protest and every protest aroused fresh hostility through which she lost her place. After four years of America, "What did I find?" she asked.

"In Russia I had time, but no freedom; here I had freedom but no opportunity to enjoy it. Where was there time for the free schools, for more knowledge; where was there time for the wonderful libraries, for the luxurious museums? At the expense of our sleep we went to the library, at the expense of a few dinners we went to opera, at the expense of a necessary walk we read a book. We worked, worked and our profits went into the hands of others."

This is indeed a tragic record of young girlhood seeking justice for herself and her mates.

A BOOK of rare interest is Rose Cohen's *Out of the Shadow* (George H. Doran Co.). It is not just a story of the hard industrial struggle of an immigrant Jewish family. It has quality, the interpretative quality which is found in the best fiction. It is that rare thing in autobiography, a real human document, not a mere record of outward events. It relates events, incorporates them into the life of the writer, but with an objective point of view.

Hardships, sickness, under pay and broken bodies are collective griefs to Rose Cohen, to whom life is bigger than her own section of it. There is also nobility and great dignity in the simple and beautiful story told by this Russian girl who lived in Cherry Street when Jews were baited there.

For the Woman in the Home

TWO of J. B. Lippincott's Home Manuals are of immediate value to the housewifely woman. Edited by Benjamin Andrews, Ph.D., of Teachers' College, they set authoritative standards, not to be lightly brushed aside.

The Business of the Household (J. B. Lippincott, Philadelphia) by C. W. Taber covers every phase of household economics, of woman's duty as spender and administrator. Its object is to show the housewife how to spend the family income, what she has a right to get for her money. A chapter is devoted to the budget system.

Jean Broadhurst's *Home and Community Hygiene* (J. B. Lippincott, Philadelphia), covers the problems of household care of food, of proper ventilation, home care of the sick. It relates all of this to the community's activi-



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ties along the same lines, thus helping the woman in the home to see herself also as the woman in the community.

Two other books, welcome to the mistress of a household, are Caroline Reed Wadham's two books of "simple directions" (Longmans,

Green & Co.). *Simple Directions for the Child's Nurse* has a preface by the child specialist, Dr. Henry Dwight Chapin, vouching for its value. *Simple Directions for the Waitress* is meant to help out the inexperienced. Both present definite instructions in a nutshell.

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JOHN P. TOLSON

Women's in the

ON every hand women's part in the war is staring a surprised world in the face.

If it is not surprising women themselves, it is because to them it seems simple and natural that they should do whatever there is to be done. Roughly speaking this point of view makes the line of cleavage between what men are saying of women's new place in the world and what women are writing about themselves.

Yet this scarcely covers the point, because the most significant part of the present situation is the fact that women workers are too pre-occupied with pressing needs to be self-conscious about their own share in them.

TAKE, for example, that remarkable tribute to the courageous devotion of the women of a whole nation, Charlotte Kellogg's *Women of Belgium* (Funk & Wagnalls Co., New York.) Its keynote is the unconsciousness of heroism, on the part of women who have given every daylight hour for four years to community helpfulness.

If there was ever a gracious communism put into practice it has been in Belgium where the hunger and destitution have been the concern of all.

Being a book written by a woman, and a wonderfully understanding woman at that, one who was an eye-witness of what she tells—the only woman officially appointed on Mr. Hoover's Belgian Relief Commission, much less attention is given by Mrs. Kellogg to hardships and sacrifices than to achievements. The miracle of feeding the 5,000 has been repeated more than five thousand times in Belgium since 1914, and the gaiety of the women, the way they have kept the home flowers blooming through horror and bloodshed is wonderful. Mrs. Kellogg has made the world see how miraculous it is.

IN the *Letters of Thomasina Atkins*, "private W. A. A. C. on active service," one sees the blithe story of the girl who goes out to do her bit, and does it without a grumble, or, being very British, as Thomasina herself would say, "without grousing."

The particular Miss Atkins of the letters was an actress in her own right before she became a merry, genial-spirited W. A. A. C., attached to British Army headquarters in France.

"The man whose desk I occupy is now in the trenches doing the same stunt. So you see there is no mistake about my taking a man's



MRS. HARRIOT STANTON BLATCH, AUTHOR OF
"MOBILIZING WOMAN POWER"

place; I even know his name, and am progressing fairly well with his job. When I think of this, I begin to laugh at the bare idea of a commission. As an officer of the W. A. A. C. I should certainly be a little more comfortable, but I should not be doing a man's work, only looking after the girls who did."

This is the spirit of the Woman's Auxiliary Army Corps in a nutshell—their full consecration to the task in hand. It is that which puts pep into their marching chorus:

"We are the Women's Army—
The W. A. A. C.,
We cannot shoot, we cannot fight—
What earthly use are we?
But when we March to Potsdam,
The Kaiser he will say,
Hoch! Hoch! Mein Gott,
What a jolly fine lot
Are the W. A. A. C."

The time will come no doubt when such debonair little accounts as this of the work of women in the Allied Armies will be historical documents of real value.

ANOTHER human document, unconscious witness of the war's progress is a series of letters of an American Army Chief Nurse in British hospital in France. *Finding Themselves*, by Julia C. Stimson (The Macmillan Co., New York) tells the story of the first group of women ever called out for duty with the United States Army. Miss Stimson, formally Superintendent of Barnes Hospital, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri, was sent to take over one of the base hospitals in France.

How these American nurses "found themselves" under fire of service, is the book's actual message. "I cannot imagine what kind of change is going to take place in our minds before we get home," she writes. "Human life seems so insignificant, no one here thinks in numbers less than 50 or 100. One's mind is torn

Share War

between extremes of feeling, for when a nurse takes the pulse of a wounded, sleeping man, and he wakes just enough to say 'mother,' she goes to pieces in her heart just as though he weren't one of the hundreds."

When nurse Stimson was ordered up to Paris by Major Grayson Murphy to become chief nurse, the way she "took" her new honors was to wonder how she could leave her "children" as she called them—the nurses who had stood by her through fatigue, exhaustion, hardships. "I cannot seem to bear it," she says, absolutely forgetful of her own advancement. Her's was the same spirit as that of a soldier she describes, who came up before the Major for final inspection before leaving the convalescent camp. "How did you get this, Jock," the Major asked pointing to his Distinguished Service Medal ribbon. "Oh, that sir," said Jock. "There were a few occurrences, Sir."

And he went his way, with his right leg amputated, his right hand badly wounded, his left foot with a hole right through it.

ON May 4 and June 8, 1918, the *Woman Citizen* told some of the story of the work being done for the children of France by the American Red Cross.

The story of June 8, under the caption, "If Your Children Were Gassed," was written by June Richardson Lucas, who has put into a book *The Children of France and the Red Cross* (Frederick A. Stokes, New York), all the wonderful story of service and kindness for which the work of the Children's Bureau of the Department of Civil Affairs, stands. As chief of this Bureau, is her husband, Dr. Wm. Palmer Lucas, of the University of California.

Mrs. Lucas accompanied her husband to France and worked there ten months organizing and establishing work for French children.

AMONG other books about women in the war, received by the editors and previously reviewed in the *Woman Citizen*, June 29, are: "Women Wanted," by Mabel Potter Daggett (George H. Doran Co.); "Mobilizing Woman Power," Harriot Stanton Blatch (The Woman's Press, New York), and "Women of the War," by Lady McLaren (George H. Doran Co., New York).

All three of these books may also be ordered from the National Woman Suffrage Publishing Committee, 171 Madison avenue.

The Alliées in Paris

(Continued from page 463)

Solomon, quoted by Mrs. Alfred Lyttelton: "Who is this that looketh forth as the morn, clear as the moon, fair as the sun, terrible as an Army with banners?"

The Mass Meeting—the Congress—was finished. These women went forth into a great moon-washed world—mystic, beautiful—these quiet nights of Paris *en bleu*—blue night sky above, blue shaded street lights at infrequent intervals. The Champs-Elysees became veritable Elysian fields through which two thousand women scattered to the four corners of Paris, to the four corners of the world. The moonlight filtered through the trees on to a group of French girls who had sung in the large women's chorus, who were now going back to their homes, certain of the alliance of women, certain of a larger alliance, as they went on humming the old battle-hymn in a new interpretation—"Glory, Glory, Hallelujah, Our God Is Marching On."

About Hope Butler

THERE are so many great convocations of women that one finds oneself asking why should the Allied Congress of Women in Paris last August be more significant than other congresses of women. Yet it was more significant. It was a thing which awed and uplifted young and old.

If one doubts this let her listen to the accounts of it given by young women correspondents of the *Woman Citizen* who were there in person. Take, for example, the story by Miss Hope Butler, who was in Paris in August as courier for the British delegation at the Congress. She saw so splendid a spirit in these British women representing various forms of war work that she wants to pass it on to all women everywhere.

In the delegation under her charge, were, among others, the women speakers at the convention: Hon. Mrs. Alfred Lyttelton, representing the British Women's Land Army, Dame Katherine Furze of the W. R. E. N., the Duchess of Atholl of the British Red Cross, and Mrs. Oliver Strachey of the British Women's labor movement.

"English women have taken the war so much more seriously than have the women of other countries." Said Miss Butler: "All the rest of us have gone in as individuals. The women of Great Britain are a collective force, absolutely self-forgetful."

Miss Butler is one of the American women who ought to know this quality when she sees it. She has done some self-forgetting on her own, about which she is quite inarticulate. She makes nothing at all of driving a war ambulance in Serbia. She speaks of little things like hunger and cold and dirt and misery, while she was billeted among French poilus in 1916, as if they were incidents of a garden party. Dirt she did mind and wears the ineffaceable signs of her capitulation to it in her soft dark brush of bobbed hair. "One couldn't keep one's hair clean, getting under cars to mend them, sleeping in garages, on planks anywhere, so I cut mine off," she explained. One might have thought she did it for its becomingness, it fits so well a

frank unconscious boyish quality she has. She perched lightly on this fact to explain her brown badge of courage, and then passed on to more important matters, such as the work there is for women to do now.

HOPE BUTLER and Dr. Marguerite S. Cockett originated the first American Ambulance Unit driven by women in the French Army. This was some time before America went into the war, and Miss Butler who knows France and the French, and couldn't sit over here in America eating her heart out when there was so much to do in France, offered her services as ambulance driver. American and British women were driving but as yet no French women, and the French Army believed that their own women might be led up to it.

The two American girls and two British women offered to take out a woman's ambulance unit, and were appointed to the 20th Army Corps of the French Army. They were to all intents and purposes poilus. They were fed and billeted with the army, lived in a caserne and wore the French uniform.

Afterwards French women joined their unit. They drove ambulances at Amiens, and at St. Quentin, and were on duty through long stretches of unbroken toil. They endured hardships as good soldiers, and were later sent into Serbia to drive an ambulance there.

When our boys began to come over to France the American girls thought their place was in the Army of the U. S. A., and asked to be transferred. They are both members of the Y. M. C. A. American Expeditionary Forces.

Miss Butler is one of the people who, having gone to the war, has seen a great vision and is dead in earnest about it. Part of her vision is the oneness of humanity. Part of it is the need that women should leave themselves, their sex-haunted, custom-haunted, self-haunted lives, and go forth together to save the world.

"This is what French women got out of the Allied Congress," said Miss Butler. They had never worked in groups before, and the Congress was an illuminating experience of what it means to women to be bound together for a common purpose.

"There were 102 different women's societies for war service in France, gathered there, and one of the most thrilling experience was hearing the aged Madame Emile Boutroux, one of the leading feminists of France, exult in the occasion which is aligning French women with the women of the rest of the world. French women realized that day, perhaps for the first time, the power of women. No one expressed this more clearly than the Hon. Mrs. Lyttelton, who spoke at the mass meeting after M. Pichon. Like a polite gentleman, he praised women for their wonderful war service. But Mrs. Lyttelton would not leave it at that. She turned the mood of the meeting into one of purposefulness. Women may have done much was her cry, but they purpose to do more. This is where she left the Congress, taut and resolute and ready to carry on. She first read a message from President Wilson, and then outlined the great purpose of the women war workers, that of establishing a greater sympathy and an ever stronger union between all Allied women."

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What Is the German Nation Dying for?

THIS is the question unbelievably well put by Karl Ludwig Krause, a Bavarian. It was not asked in Germany, one may be sure, or Mr. Krause would be in prison, not at large in Switzerland.

A good part of *What is the German Nation Dying For?* (Boni and Liveright) was written in Germany, but was published and given to the world from Switzerland to which the author carried himself and his burning hatred of Prussianism.

Mr. Krause has qualities unexpected in a modern German, among them scathing satire, and a passion for human liberty.

This he himself owns is an idea scant of life in Germany. He says also that the faint flair given to the ideals of democracy in Germany in 1848 are scarcely alive now either in the Government or in the people, for he does not spare the German people. In sharp, crisp words he says that France had long ago fought out the battle for political freedom for all Europeans, and that the real Alsace-Lorraine question lies far deeper than territorial ownership. By mere rights of possession there is not so much to be said for France's control of Alsace-Lorraine, since this was German soil before it was French. But it is a case of spiritual affinity. Together the French and the Alsations developed a conception of freedom, and nothing will ever drive the spirit of the Alsations back into any kinship with a nation that enslaves human souls as does Germany.

This is all one with Mr. Krause's penetrative appreciation of the debt of the German people to England. Let the German Government "strafe" England, says he. They have cause. But England's espousal of the Belgians means an ultimate overthrow of all those obstacles to a genuine democracy which are now blocking



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the progress of the Germans. Let the Teutonic people bless England, not curse her, he passionately protests.

Strange and thrilling words these from a Bavarian writer. But all of this book is strangely arresting, and pregnant with hope for a new Europe and a new world.

INTO a world thoroughly "fed up" on war tactics and the military machine, comes Will Irwin's *A Reporter at Armageddon* (D. Appleton & Co., N. Y.), with a pleasant tingle of freshness. It differs from other war books, not so much in material as in treatment. Mr. Irwin has the eye to see little bits of things as well as the big things which are the only ones that, in their zeal for war issues, most writers have noted. "Nothing human is foreign" to this reporter, however. What the war has done to women's clothes and to candy shops he stops to mention.

And with this is a splendidly inclusive survey of the whole war front. Mr. Irwin landed in neutral Spain and pictures war's reactions there. He followed all along the front to Belgium and into the recovered portions of Alsace.

The wonderful work of the Alpini along the Italian border is one of the things over which he has much personal enthusiasm. This is a very comprehensive survey, thoroughly human and sympathetic.

JUST such a book as you need if you are not already well stocked with pre-war information is Professor Oliver Perry Chitwood's *Immediate Causes of the Great War* (Thomas Y. Crowell Co., N. Y.).

This is an especially good book for busy people because it is brief. After a brief summary of indirect, contributing causes, the account is picked up at the assassination of Frances Ferdinand and carried along to the final break with America.

This book furnishes a good elbow friend for those who have to refer frequently in writing or in speech to the incidents of the war.

Dr. Chitwood is a Professor of European History in West Virginia University.

SOMETHING of what Ian Hay's *First Hundred Thousand* conveyed to the people of Great Britain by way of visualizing their new national army has been done for America in *Our First Half Million* (The H. K. Fly Co.).

It is written by a very well ambushed author, "Captain X" 3 Field Artillery. It is the story of the making of our National Army. It shows what cantonment life is like, what the boys learn in army life, how they work and how they play, and, not least, how they sing.

It is plentifully illustrated with good photographs which will bring the soldiers life nearer those who have no chance to see one of the great army camps at work.

SOMETHING less than a whim of fiction but more humanly touching than a war record is *Fields and Battle Fields* (Robert McBride Co.). It is written by No. 31540, a sergeant in the Medical Corps.

Like Mrs. Canfield's book, these pages are more touching and dramatic than any make-believe stories could be.

BECAUSE he knows both America and England so well, Lieutenant Coningsby Dawson was withdrawn from active fighting long enough to write *Out to Win* (John Lane Co., N. Y.). It is written in the spirit of fellowship between the Anglo-Saxon peoples, and in the effort to make that fellowship as strong among non-combatants as it is between those in the active forces of the Army in the field. A large part of the book is given to the story of the "War of Compassion," the devoted services of all nations for the refugees and the wounded. In this service of mercy all have worked like brothers.

FOR those who want to know military technique, a tiny booklet has been published, one of the Harvey Military Series. *Our Army in a Nutshell* (George U. Harvey, N. Y.) is big enough to go in a coat pocket, a knitting or hand bag. It is a civilian's military hand book and tells all about military laws, conscription, Army organization and insignia. Almost any one with relatives at the front would like to own one of these useful books.

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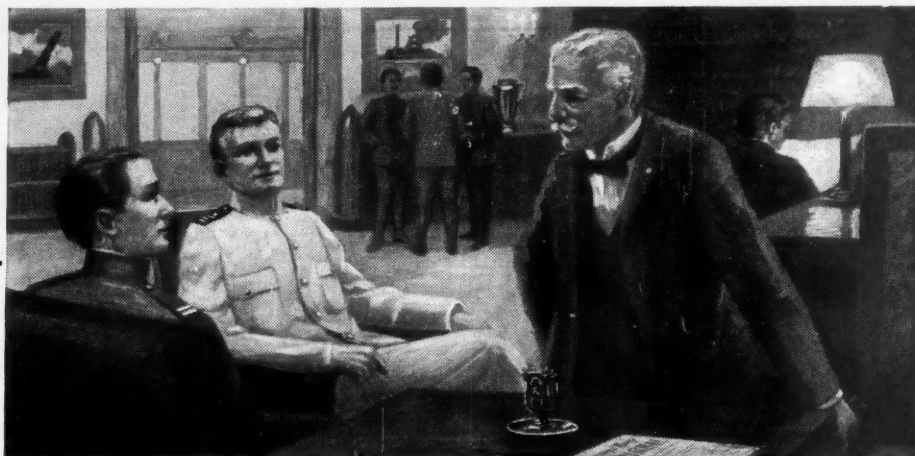
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The Last Word About the War

And How Colonel Sibley Was Helped to Write It

SCENE: (Army and Navy Club, New York, where Commander Ellsworth, U. S. N., and Captain Trowbridge, U. S. A., are having a conference and an after-dinner cigar in the Club Library and are joined by Colonel Sibley, U. S. A., retired)

The Colonel: Well, comrades, I win!

The Commander: Been fighting again, Colonel? Who says you're retired?

Colonel: I was retired, but now I'm in action again or soon will be, and this time with the pen instead of the sword.

Captain: How's that?

Colonel (Drawing closer to the table and glancing around): Well, comrades, I don't mind telling you in confidence that I just signed up with the Editor-in-Chief of a big magazine (name censored for the present) to write a series of articles on the Great War.

Commander: Tell us about it.

Colonel: Well, it's going to be a long campaign. The Editor, whom I have just left, wants an extended series of articles, to begin with an exhaustive survey of the causes which led up to the War.

Captain: The causes? All of them? Well, you've sure got your work laid out for you.

Commander: I should say you had.

Colonel: The Editor feels that way

himself. He's now concerned chiefly about what has happened up-to-date and the authority upon which my statements will be based. The Editor's a big gun in the business, you know, and his rivals will be getting his range if he exposes himself. He wants to secure a strategic position so that he can't be successfully attacked on anything he prints.

Captain: Well, what did you suggest?

Colonel: I'll tell you. While he was talking I was thinking and I finally told him that what he wanted as a reserve-force was some late general reference work of recognized reliability that he could fall back on. "That's it," he said, and then asked: "Which one?"

Commander (Turning his head and glancing at a set of The New International Encyclopaedia in its special case): I'll bet I can tell which one you named.

Captain (Glancing at the set): Ours, of course.

Colonel: You're both good guessers. Of course I named The New

International and the Editor nodded his head and said: "That's the very work I had in mind, not only as an authority on the causes of the War and what has already happened, but when peace comes I hear the publishers are to bring the war-volume down to date at once and are to send it to all subscribers in exchange for the war-volume now in their possession so they'll know the last word about the conflict."

Commander: Well, that settled it, I suppose.

Colonel: Yes, I told the Editor that the selection of The New International as our authority simplified the problem and he added that it not only simplified the articles, but solidified them and made them so authoritative that he would be able to follow out with safety his plan to publish the series of articles in book form.

W.C.
914

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NOV 18

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The Woman Citizen

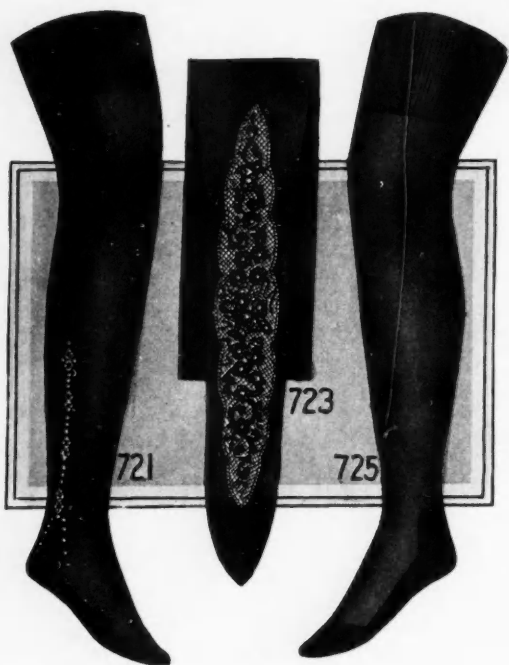
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Entered as second class matter, June 13, 1917, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

THE WOMAN CITIZEN

Founded June 2, 1917

Published every Saturday by

The WOMAN CITIZEN CORPORATION
at 171 Madison Avenue, New York

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VOL. III NOVEMBER 9, 1918 No. 24

PUBLISHED by the Woman Citizen Corporation, in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

The directors of the Corporation are Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, and Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore.

Alice Stone Blackwell is a special contributing editor.

Rose Young is the editor-in-chief.

Mary Ogden White, Mary Sumner Boyd, and Rose Lawless Geyer are associate editors.

Our

"CONGRATULATIONS on your very fine paper! I would as soon think of doing without it as of doing without shoes—both help one to keep going," writes Miss Mary H. Bohn of Lynn Haven, Florida.

Further appreciation of the part the *Woman Citizen* is playing in keeping the suffrage fires burning comes to us in a note from Mrs. Wolstan Dixey of Philadelphia, who writes, "The *Woman Citizen* is the most cherished periodical that comes into our home and the only magazine newspaper the Salvation Army doesn't eventually get."

"I am intensely interested in woman suffrage," writes Winifred G. Lipscombe of Seattle, "and I have read a good many of your articles from which I have derived great benefit."

Now that the elections are over suffragists will again turn their undivided attention to the Senate where the Federal Suffrage Amendment will be called up again within the near future.

"I was greatly interested in the October 5th issue especially in the record of votes cast for and against the Suffrage Amendment," writes Alice Lloyd, chairman of Food Conservation for Mason County, Kentucky. "There is not the slightest danger that the women of the county will ever forget the record made by the Senate at the last vote."

In a letter from Mrs. James B. Ezzell of Newsum Station, Tennessee, we read, "If it were a choice between the *Woman Citizen* and a bread ticket, I fear the bread ticket would lose."

The coming weeks will bring important developments in the suffrage world. The *Woman Citizen* will continue to keep you fully informed of the progress of the liveliest political issue of the day.

ROSE LAWLESS GEYER,
Nat'l Circulation Chrm.

SUBSCRIBERS TAKE NOTICE!

If your copy of the *Woman Citizen* is late in reaching you, make due allowance for the continued congestion in the postal service, but be sure to notify us if due allowance fails to account for any trouble you may be having.

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Relative Position of State Leagues in the *Woman Citizen's* Circulation Contest:

October 26th

- 1 Iowa
- 2 South Dakota
- 3 Georgia
- 4 Indiana
- 5 Michigan
- 6 Minnesota
- 7 New Jersey
- 8 Wisconsin
- 9 Massachusetts
- 10 New York
- 11 Ohio
- 12 Virginia
- 13 New Hampshire
- 14 Alabama
- 15 Missouri
- 16 Texas
- 17 Maryland
- 18 Pennsylvania
- 19 Maine
- 20 Louisiana
- 21 West Virginia—Connecticut—Kentucky
- 22 South Carolina—Tennessee
- 23 Arkansas
- 24 Washington, D. C.—North Dakota
- 25 Rhode Island—Illinois
- 26 Nebraska—Oklahoma
- 27 Washington—Mississippi
- 28 Kansas
- 29 North Carolina
- 30 Vermont

November 2nd

1. Iowa
2. South Dakota
3. Georgia
4. Indiana
5. Michigan
6. Minnesota
7. New Jersey
8. Wisconsin
9. Massachusetts
10. New York
11. Virginia
12. Ohio
13. New Hampshire
14. Alabama
15. Missouri
16. Maryland
17. Texas
18. Pennsylvania
19. Maine
20. Kentucky
21. Louisiana
22. West Virginia, Connecticut
23. Tennessee
24. South Carolina
25. Arkansas
26. Washington, D. C., North Dakota
27. Rhode Island, Illinois
28. Nebraska, Oklahoma
29. Washington, Mississippi
30. Kansas
31. North Carolina
32. Vermont

Story

Circulation Contest

1. A pledge will constitute an entry.
2. No entries will be accepted after December 1, 1918.
3. Contest closes January 1, 1919.
4. In case of a tie for any one premium, the prize will be awarded to each qualifying contestant.
5. Only actual paid subscriptions will be counted in the awarding of premiums.

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To the State Association that sends in the highest number over 200 (paid new subscribers). The net price per subscription to the State Association is .70, the .30 to go into the state, county or local treasury, as may be decided by arrangement between the state and its branches.

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To the Local Club that sends in the highest number over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the County Association into the State Association, and thence to the *Woman Citizen*.

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The Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

A Journal of Democracy

November 9, 1918

"We shall fight for things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

Tuesday's Election

IT is still difficult at this hour, Wednesday noon, to get authoritative returns from the various states in which suffrage was involved in Tuesday's voting, either as a direct issue, in the form of a constitutional amendment, or indirectly through the choice of the personnel of the United States Senate and Lower House.

The indications are, however, that the day scored more victories for suffrage than were ever before crowded into any one election day. Suffrage has carried Michigan by a substantial majority and South Dakota has likewise been made safe for democracy by the passage of "Amendment E," the citizenship measure which aimed to enfranchise South Dakota women at the same time that it disfranchised South Dakota's foreigners who have hitherto been voting on a six months' residence. Returns from Oklahoma are too incomplete to furnish a basis for conclusion at this hour. The fact that the silent vote early promised to be small gave encouragement to the Oklahoma campaigners who have had to campaign not merely for a majority of the votes cast in the suffrage amendment, but for a majority of all votes cast.

The addition of two states to the full suffrage list, with Oklahoma as a possible third, would be in itself a pretty good record for one election day, but along with this score come results in the congressional elections that are exceedingly heartening. Summed up in brief, the prospects are good that the Federal Suffrage Amendment will go to the Senate in the short term with the two votes added that have been missing from its complement so far in the 65th Congress. If it should be handed on to the 66th Congress, all elements of doubt as to its fate have been resolved by Tuesday's decisions at the polls. The House will be more strongly pro-amendment than it was when it cast the two-thirds majority vote on January 10, while the Senate of the 66th Congress shows a safe pro-amendment margin.

A complete review of the election will be made in next week's issue.

Women and Peace

It would seem from the outlook that an armistice will be declared with Germany soon. It may be safely assumed that the terms of that armistice will preclude the possibility of Germany's re-entrance into war and that the appointment of a peace commission will shortly be in order.

It is not only desirable, it is inherently necessary that the personnel of that commission should include women in adequate representation.

We are not unaware that this will be to break established precedent. No woman has ever sat with a peace commission

by the appointment of her government before this date.

But we are also not unaware that this is the age and this the hour when established precedent has lost its strangle hold and custom has lost its throttling power.

There have been wars before this, but never a war which has been so much in partnership between men and women all the world around. Men have given their lives on the battle field and women have given their lives succoring these men. Women have not in this war as in former wars served merely as inspirers of men, but have performed the actual war service, as well on the battle line as in the war industries.

Men have paid the price of this war. And women have paid it. And always there has been in the consciousness of women the realization that they have had to pay without ever having had a voice in the making of the governments that make and unmake war. Always there has been the realization that this war has been, in all its ferocity and atrocity, a man-made war imposed, or accepted, by men-made governments.

The deep-lying fundamental outrage to the woman nature because of the terrible destruction of human life has been augmented by the outrage to her human nature in having been denied direct representation in governments that command her allegiance.

It is an historic fact that the agreements worked out from the negotiations that have closed every former European war have been fertilizing agents for the seeds of the next war. The world has talked long and mightily of this war, during four years of heroic anguish, as a war to end war. It will and can be that only as the conserving and constructive elements of life and civilization are allowed due place in the forthcoming peace scheme. Men are not without recognition of those elements, but they are elements that speak more insistently through women. Women seem to possess, as well, an understanding of the psychology of human nature that dowers them with a distinct power of contribution to the peace table.

So strongly do these considerations weigh with the National American Woman Suffrage Association that that organization has already issued an appeal, through its president, calling on the heads of all national women's organizations to urge that women be appointed to the commission. Some method of joint procedure will be determined upon later.

It is part of the plan that women candidates who may be proposed shall be women who can be relied on to uphold free representative institutions, based upon the will of all the people, in every land in which independent autonomy is established. It will also be urged that nations which are signatories to the final peace agreements shall enter into a compact to further representative institutions in their own countries, these institutions not to be based upon the will of a privileged few, but upon the universal will of the people, men and women alike.

About Being Contaminated

SCUTTling darkly through our minds were the black and ugly things that have been said and written about the contamination of the polls as we started out on Tuesday of this blessed week to make an inspection of the city's polling places. We were scared. We admit it. We were to face the thugs, thieves, drunkards and gun men who run New York's polling places, according to current anti-suffrage belief.

But we felt that it had to be done. We felt that our readers expected of us a first-hand, life-size, honest-to-goodness account of New York women's adventures as they grappled with the ballot box for the first time in song or story.

Wherefore, with one of our little hands in that of Mrs. Catt and the other in that of Mary Garrett Hay and the third in that of Mrs. Percy V. Pennybacker, we went first to a large and upright-looking building on Thirteenth street.

"The Julia Richman High School," said Miss Hay, who, as Big Boss of the City, was introducing us to the outstanding features of the landscape.

Inside we found ourselves in a large auditorium, where there were two long tables, around which men and women were seated before wide-paged books. In one corner were some canvass booths and in another there was a baby named James. Mrs. Catt stopped beside the baby, proving anew her possession of that unerring capacity to seize the main issue which has made her more or less noteworthy.

The fact that people were meandering about the room in a rather neighborly way would have gone far to reassure us had we not seen at the moment that horror of horrors, a policeman, uniform and all. It took all the strength of our will to still our fluttering heart with the recollection that after all one does see policemen on street corners daily.

"How are the women voting?" asked Miss Hay. Having been chairman of the Resolutions Committee of a Republican State Convention, Miss Hay is not afraid of anything.

"Byewtifully," came the answer, "about fifty-fifty alongside of the men."

Back on the street we looked at one another surreptitiously to see who had coarsened, hardened, cheapened, blackened under the critical experience. "But it's because it was a school," we told ourselves, not daring to take the evidence at its full reassuring value. "Wait until we get to the barber shop places and the pool parlor places and that sea food place and the vegetable place where we have to go."

It was at 77 Chrystie street that we struck the first of the pool parlor places. The signs on the windows were Greek—or maybe Yiddish—but the portraits on the wall were certainly those of the King and Queen of Greece. It was the place of all places to get contaminated if contamination was what you were out for. It had been the polling place of that election district for 28 years. It ought by rights to have reeked with accumulated contamination. Men and women came in and were identified and went into the little booths and came out and handed over their ballots to a man who put them in a box. It was so simple and so orderly that we had to remind ourselves that as likely as not they were repeaters or something.

It was at the first of the barber shop places in Ludlow street that we found ourselves in a densely Socialist stronghold. "The women must be voting heavily here," we told ourselves. "The antis say that only the Socialist women are going to vote anyway."

There was no mistaking the Socialistic significance of the neighborhood. On the sidewalk little children hopped around us like

sparrows and said, "Are you Socialists or Dimmycrats—Socialists or Dimmycrats?"

"Which are you?" we parried, trying to get between them and Miss Hay's Whitman button.

"Oh, we are Socialists—we are going to lick the Dimmycrats, too." Little brown-eyed, white-faced children they were.

"How about the women, are they voting fifty-fifty?" asked Miss Hay of the chairman of the Board of Elections inside.

"No, oh no. Only a third as many women as men registered. They are showing up to vote in about that proportion."

We tried to get Miss Hay to say that the City Party would make a special effort to get out the women of that district next year. But she wouldn't.

We went down to a glasscutter's place on Jackson street and we went through Lillian Wald's Henry street to a public school and we went to a vegetable shop on Fifth street, to a tailor shop on Avenue B and to a sea food place on First avenue, and everywhere we went we found the same orderliness, the same every day sort of human nature, reacting comfortably and easily to the occasion. In the vegetable shop, the centre of a thickly Yiddish district, a woman edged past us panting a little. She had almost no teeth, although she was a young woman, but she had big, shiny eyes. "I got a little excited," she whispered breathlessly, in a rich strongly accented voice, "but I did it."

Everywhere there were women serving on the board of elections, sometimes as many as four or five, sometimes only two. Everywhere women were treated with decorum. The polling places showed a notable improvement over last year—and last year had improved over 1915, the year that New York women first became actively interested in New York's polling places. Men and women, too at nearly all the stopping places along our route commented on the need of using the schools for polling places. That such use will soon be universal was the apparently universal conviction.

Well, why not? It will be another instance of the antis' ability to misread life and effort, but after our morning's experience we had come to see that the antis are so wrong already that one more evidence won't matter.

What the Head Lines Told

HERE are some high lights on Tuesday's elections in New York City, taken at random from the head lines of Wednesday morning's papers:

"Quietest election in city in years."—*World*.

"Betting smallest city has known."—*World*.

"Women voters credit to the city."—*World*.

"Women watched as big factors and women voted early."—*World*.

"Woman of 92 at polls."—*World*.

"Woman casts vote five seconds after polls are opened."—*Tribune*.

"Million happy women vote in state; 90 per cent of registration out."—*Tribune*.

"Women show eagerness to vote; suffrage leaders are pleased."—*Herald*.

"Record vote in New York city polled easily."—*Herald*.

"Women cast votes here like veterans."—*Sun*.

"Women's vote as heavy as their registration; 95 to 98 per cent vote."—*Call*.

"Women cast votes as readily as men."—*Times*.

"Easy day for the police."—*Times*.

What the N. A. W. S. A. Has Done

Half a Century of Work

THE women of this generation can scarcely measure the difference between their status and that of their grandmothers. Seventy years ago the first convention of women was held in this country to demand educational, civil and political freedom. It is a milestone from which to measure the distance women have traveled since that day.

Women of today can hardly realize that at that time no married woman had the right to possess her own property. All a woman possessed before marriage and all that she received afterward passed into the custody and control of her husband. Though a woman might have inherited a large estate, the law denied her the right to make a will, and her husband alone could dispose of it. It was a common thing for husbands who

had received large properties from the families of their wives to make wills leaving the wife only her "dower" of a life use of one-third of that property. Not infrequently a wife might be left considerably more than this under the provision that she should not marry again.

Only half-a-dozen poorly paid occupations were open to women, and the wife was denied by law the right to collect her own wages, when she was permitted to earn any. She belonged to her husband, and therefore her labor and its income belonged to him. She could not go into business without his consent; she could not make a contract; she could not sue in the courts or be sued; she occupied practically the same legal status as a slave. The father was sole guardian of the children, and in case of divorce they were given to him.

No colleges (except Oberlin) and no high schools admitted women. The discrimination against women in every department of life in the days of our grandmothers is almost incomprehensible.

It was to break down this iron wall of law and custom that the movement for woman suffrage came into existence, and in 1869 it took the organized form of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, which to this day remains the oldest and the largest suffrage association in the entire world. The National American Woman Suffrage Association has fought this battle for half a century, and as a result the unjust and cruel laws have been changed, and women of today enjoy educational, legal and civil privileges for which other women have given their lives and their fortunes. All the way along, the National American Woman Suffrage Association has demanded the vote as the right protective of all other rights. No woman in the United States has a vote today; no woman has a right to her property and her wage; no woman has a right to her children; no woman has a right to a high school and a college education; no woman has a right to enter the professions, who does not owe that right to the self-sacrificing work of three generations of women who have constituted the working force of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and its auxiliaries in all the states of the Union.

This association not only has secured the emancipation of women in our own country, but it has inspired the same movements in other countries. It called together the suffrage workers of the world in 1902 and organized an International Woman Suffrage Alliance. Only eight countries then had suffrage associa-

"We are all deeply distressed by the failure to get the necessary 2/3 majority in the Senate. Truly the task of the United States suffragists is gigantic. I hope no suffragist is letting herself despair. If we had had your conditions we should have failed in the House of Lords. British authorities have always said that the Constitution of the United States is the most conservative on earth. So it is all the more credit to the cause to overcome the gigantic difficulties which it imposes on you."

Excerpt from letter dated October 9, 1918, from Mrs. Henry Fawcett, President of National Union of Women Suffrage Societies in Great Britain, to Mrs. Catt.

tions to respond to the call. Now this International Alliance counts in its membership auxiliaries in twenty-six countries, and eight of these have already extended full suffrage to their women—Great Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Norway, Denmark, Iceland and Finland.

The National American Woman Suffrage Association and other branches of the International Alliance, composing as they do the mass of suffrage workers the world around, have secured their results by constructive education and continued persuasion. They have never resorted to militant or unconstitutional methods, but have made their appeal to logic and justice. They have believed in the reasonableness of the average man; they have believed that men are fundamentally just

and will right the wrong done the womanhood of the world when they understand that thousands of women long for political freedom just as men have longed for it.

The National American Woman Suffrage Association has labored in every state of the Union to secure suffrage by amendment to the state constitution. Many, many years ago it secured the introduction in Congress of an amendment to the national constitution. That amendment has already passed the House and ere long will pass the Senate. It will then go to the forty-eight Legislatures for ratification. The slogan of the National American Woman Suffrage Association is "suffrage for every woman in the country before 1920." Woman suffrage is coming; no one denies it. It is coming because women have carried their plea to every part of the country and every part of the world. No one can answer the arguments made on its behalf. Tradition and prejudice remain to block its progress, but the high, seemingly impregnable, stone wall which surrounded our grandmothers has been worn down, stone by stone, until every woman can look over the top to the freedom beyond.

C. C. C.

What Happened to Suffrage?

THE mystery which shrouded the sudden collapse of the women's suffrage campaign in the senate . . . has by no means cleared with the passing of days. That a powerful if not sinister, influence was swept into the scale against the amendment at the eleventh hour was evident as the vote was taken and became more evident hour by hour.

That Mr. Wilson's personal appeal was ignored was an amazing thing. That the President of the United States should appear before the national congress in an hour of national crisis and, pleading with eloquent sincerity for a measure as a war necessity, find his appeal falling on deaf ears was astounding. It develops a situation which calls for rigid searching investigation.

It is not well for the republic that influences powerful enough to defeat the President and offset the national war spirit should exist unmasked and unknown. No "big business" lobby in the days of high finance ever scored any such victory as this. No partisan plot, secret or open, ever before evidenced such power in congress. The country should know what happened to the suffrage amendment and how it happened.—Detroit Journal.

President Wilson's War Mind

TO understand the war mind of President Wilson, and to learn the lesson it conveys, we must read his

speeches from the beginning of the war as though they formed a continuous whole. Those who have not the full text of the speeches before them will find a good substitute in "The Foreign Policy of Woodrow Wilson," by Messrs. Robinson and West (Macmillan), in which the relevant passages are presented in historical order. Reading them continuously, they present us with a natural, inevitable, and yet very remarkable evolution. I find nothing inconsistent between the earlier and the later sayings of the President, notwithstanding that the former are devoted to the advocacy of peace and the latter to the advocacy of war. On the contrary, the later passages throw back a meaning onto the earlier, which make them doubly significant, while the earlier are like the clear hours of the morning in which the weatherwise may read the portent of a coming storm.

It has been said that whosoever writes the history of the war must write it as a drama; and certainly there has been no more dramatic feature in the whole tragic story than that presented by the movement of Mr. Wilson's mind from position to position in correspondence with the gradual unfolding of the plot. In reading through these speeches one has the feeling familiar to every lover of the Odyssey. There is the same gradual darkening of the atmosphere as events march on to the final catastrophe, the same tightening of expectancy and tension as the gathering storm comes nearer, until at last, when the gloom is deepest, the lightning leaps out and retribution falls on the wrongdoer. If the words are not inadequate to matter of such moment, one may say of the speeches that they have the wholeness of a work of art. The germinating idea of Mr. Wilson's policy is that America, because of her greatness, of her power, of her vast potentialities, is a *servant* among the nations, and not a *master*. It is a noble conception, and peculiarly fitted to inspire a young and mighty people with a vision of its destiny, and so to mark out for it in the centuries that are to come a line of development different from, and I think higher than, any which the older states of the world have so far pursued. Though the idea of greatness in service has been long familiar in other connections, where perhaps it has received more lip service than loyalty, President Wilson is the first statesman to make it operative, or to endeavor to make it operative, as a guiding principle of international politics; and this alone, whether he succeeds or not, assures him a distinct place in history and in the grateful remembrance of mankind. Needless to say, this idea—that the greatest nation must needs be a servant nation—stands out as the polar opposite to the notion of national greatness which prevails with the rulers and apparently with the people of Germany; and a prescient mind, on hearing it first announced by Mr. Wilson in the early stages of the war, might have predicted that a moment would come when the two opposites, driven by a dramatic or moral necessity, would break out into open conflict with one another.

From the very first, the question uppermost in the President's mind has been this: In what way, by what policy, by what action can America best *serve* the nations involved in the struggle, and through them mankind at large? Again and again his public utterances have repeated this, thereby showing its solemn insistence in his private mind; and though he has varied his answers with the change of circumstance, he has never departed from the purpose and spirit of the question. Indeed, he did not wait for the war to disclose his guiding idea.

By PROF. L. P. JACKS, Oxford, England
Editor The Hibbert Journal

ON March 5, 1914, he said, in a message to Congress when the Panama tolls were under discussion: "We are too big, too powerful, too self-respecting a nation to interpret with too strained or refined a reading the words of our own promises just because we have power enough to give us leave to read them as we please"—a sentence which, in its latter clause, anticipates the most hateful aspect of German policy both in the initiation and the conduct of the war, and is almost a prediction of the coming conflict. Again, on April 30, 1915, he said to the members of the Associated Press: "We do not want anything that does not belong to us. Is not a nation in that position free to serve other nations?" And three days after the Lusitania had been sunk he followed with the statement, so much misunderstood at the time: "I am interested in neutrality because there is something so much greater to do than to fight. There is a distinction waiting for this nation which no nation has ever yet had." A year later he sounded the same note. On April 19, 1916, he said: "We cannot forget that we are the responsible spokesmen of the rights of humanity." What this last involved comes out very clearly in the address to Congress on the occasion of America's entry into the war. "We shall fight for the things we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations, and make the world itself free."

IF the reader will take these speeches as a connected whole, or even the few sentences I have quoted, he will have before him the Odyssey of the President's mind. They indicate the successive stages through which he passed in his efforts to find an answer to the question: How can the United States, in the world crisis that has now arisen, most effectually serve mankind? In the earlier stages "neutrality" covered the answer that then seemed most fitting. By remaining neutral the President believed that the United States could render most help not only in hastening the advent of peace, but in giving to peace, whenever it should come, the form most conducive to the just interests of all concerned. He believed—and rightly believed—that impartiality would confer upon America rights and powers as a peacemaker both during the conflict and afterward; and he saw, further, that a peace-making nation was the world's greatest need at the time. Then, through no will of his own, but by the direct action of Germany, the right to be neutral, the power to be impartial, was taken from him. The consequence was that the first form of his answer was necessarily abandoned as no longer applicable to the circumstances, and another had to be sought. Only one was possible. If America was to serve all nations she must make war on the Power which was striving to make all nations serve itself. Thus, by what I again venture to call dramatic necessity, we are carried stage by stage from the moment when the President declared "there is such a thing as a man being too proud to fight" to the last sentence of his speech the other day: "There is therefore but one response possible from us: force, force to the utmost, force without stint or limit, the righteous and triumphant force which shall make right the law of the world, and cast every selfish dominion down into the dust." Thus was Wilson the peacemaker turned into Wilson the war-maker. The "divinity that shapes our ends" is clearly ac-

countable for the transition, and the world may rejoice that it found in the President an instrument amenable to its guidance. He stands out today as the foremost interpreter of the international mind.

The authors of the admirable book to which I have referred have done well to interweave with their narrative the almost synchronous story of the President's dealings with Mexico, for the two things throw light upon one another. If a guarantee were needed for the entire sincerity of Mr. Wilson's professions it could be found in the record of the Mexican transactions. These had given rise to the notion among his European critics, and also, I think, among not a few of his fellow countrymen, that he was an impracticable idealist. We now know that his Mexican policy and his European policy were intimately related. They sprang from the same root, and had the same guiding idea. Judged by the standards which most conquering Powers have applied to their actions, Mr. Wilson would have been fully justified in making war upon Mexico for the purpose of restoring order, if for nothing else. There were many liberal statesmen in other countries who found his attitude hard to understand, and in some instances openly condemned it, and there is little doubt that he would have raised his general reputation as a statesman—at least, for a time—if he had pursued a "stronger" policy. We now know, however, and by the clearest of evidence, that the "impracticable idealism" which kept him out of war with Mexico was identically the same with that which later on brought him into war with Germany. As in the later so in the earlier problem, the question Mr. Wilson set himself to answer was how can the American Republic *help*—how can it best serve the interests of the rich but disordered and miserable country which fate has assigned as its neighbor?

THERE were abundant precedents for intervention to which Mr. Wilson might have appealed without the slightest fear that his credit would suffer. He came to the conclusion, however, that the best service the United States could render to Mexico was to respect her integrity and independence, and leave her to work out her own salvation. To the argument that Mexico was incapable of doing this, and that neither her integrity nor her independence was worthy of respect he consistently turned a deaf ear; nor was he much more attentive to the various commercial interests that were involved.

As one reads the story in the light of later events, one is tempted to believe that some kindly genius was warning the President of the situation he would shortly have to face. For, if he had acted on the lines demanded by his critics, he would not only have tied up a considerable part of the national resources at a time when they were all wanted for a far graver enterprise, but he would have seemed to be acting on the accursed principle which underlies the creed of Germany, and so deprived the Allies of the enormous moral force which the entry of America into the war has conferred on the common cause. Had Mexico been within striking distance of German aggression there is not a doubt she would have been conquered, exploited, and enslaved. We well regret that Mexico is still in the condition of chaos, and may possibly remain so for some time to come. But this is as nothing compared with the fact that President Wilson has clean hands.

I cannot refrain from thinking, however, that the President's experience with Mexico may be in some measure accountable for what I will venture to call a certain limitation of vision in his view of "the smaller and weaker nations"—a limitation he shares with many who have less excuse for displaying it. In his public utterances, especially in those which refer to the League

of Peace, he constantly tends to speak of these small nations as though they were satisfied with their present smallness and nurtured no designs of expansion at the expense of their neighbors—a description which is true of some of them and possibly of Mexico and of other Latin-American states with which the President has been brought into more immediate contact. Whether or no I am right in assigning this as the cause—and perhaps I am totally wrong—there can be no doubt that Mr. Wilson's habit of mind inclines him to think of small states as needing rather protection than restraint.

Again and again we find him referring to the right of small states to develop their own life in their own way, and to the duty of great states to protect them in this right. Unfortunately, however, there are some small states whose outstanding characteristic is the desire to become big ones at the expense of their neighbors, and whose notion of living their own life in their own way takes precisely that form. Small states of this character—and there are several of them—are among the chief troublers of the peace of the world; and it would be difficult for Powers which were once small ones themselves, and have grown great by conquest, to make a rule forbidding the present small Powers from following their own example; and the first attempts to enforce such a rule would certainly lead to some embarrassing reminders, and perhaps to some bitter taunts. But here again the history of the United States has been very different from that of the other great Powers. She would be immune—or almost immune—from the taunts to which the others would be exposed. And this perhaps may also account, in part, for the fact that Mr. Wilson shows a tendency to overlook the difficulty. No doubt the difficulty would be largely overcome if it were the lot of the United States to exercise a dominating influence in the League of Nations. And this we may very well believe to be her destiny. "America," asserted President Wilson in May, 1915, "was created to unite mankind."

THAT the rights of great nations are entitled to respect only when they are translated into corresponding duties to mankind is a principle which the guiding minds of the British Empire are prepared to accept. Our people have long been familiar with "the White Man's Burden," and all that Mr. Wilson has said about America as the uniter of nations is, if I mistake not, only a wider application of the principle which underlies that phrase. He speaks a language we understand, and he will find us ready to join hands with him, and with his countrymen, in united effort to realize his great ideal of international service. It is not enough that an alliance should exist between America and Great Britain. It is essential that it should be guided by a clear and lofty principle of action. This principle Mr. Wilson has supplied, and he has stated it in a form which expresses the best elements of our own political aspirations. The effect has been not only to increase our confidence in the outcome of the war, and to give us a new assurance that we stand upon the rock, but to open out a great prospect of future service to humanity in which America and Great Britain will be joined hand to hand. Only when nations are united on the highest ground can we say that they are united at all. It is to the highest ground that Mr. Wilson has raised our alliance, and so long as we stand there together this alliance will remain indissoluble.

I have spoken of President Wilson's mind as having evolved its present character. It is a war mind evolved from a peace mind, the most dangerous sort of mind for an enemy to encounter. But we should make a mistake if we were to assume that Mr. Wilson's evolution will be arrested at its present stage.

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NURSES WITH THEIR PATIENTS IN THE PARK AT CHATEAU OGNON
MISS JANE MCKEE, WHO WON THE CROIX DE GUERRE, AT LEFT; MISS EASTHAM AT RIGHT

New Soldier Hospital

LATE cables from Mrs. Raymond Brown, General Director in France of the Women's Oversea Hospitals, U. S. A., announce that the French military authorities have asked that the Labouheyre Unit install a 100-bed hospital for the military wounded in conjunction with its work for the repatriates. This will be done at once and will not interfere with the barracks for civilians.

In the meantime, work for the refugees has "grown amazingly," writes Mrs. Brown. "The hospital is now doing a fine work among them. Not only at Labouheyre, but in the neighboring villages and at Mont-de-Marsan there is an increasing number of refugees. At the latter place the weekly dispensary numbers fifty to sixty patients a day.

"Mrs. Leighton has been made visiting nurse. She accompanies the doctor on the dispensary rounds and continues her work in the villages. Among the refugees are many women utterly destitute of clothes either for themselves or for their children. Through Mrs. Leighton, the visiting nurse, we have been able to supply the destitute ones with warm clothing, to lend or give them money to tide them over their first housekeeping supplies, as well as to look after their health.

"There is plenty of work for them in Labouheyre and they soon become self-supporting; but until they draw their first pay they are often penniless.

"The poor refugees are now—October 15—still cooking on a few bricks for a fireplace, they have not learned to use the large portable camp-kitchens and each one prefers to cook for her own family. There are small stoves on the way, and more refugees are coming in with the winter to take advantage of the good climate."

At Chateau Ognon

A FORMER letter from Mrs. Brown told of the work being done by the Military Unit of the Women's Oversea Hospitals, U. S. A.:

"Ognon bears the record for France for the greatest number of operations during the last big drive," it said. "In July it recorded over 3,000 operations (not patients, of whom there were more) in 18 days. Of these more than half were prepared by our equipe, who have the preparation ward under Miss McKee. The Chateau was bombarded by German planes and 18 killed, 12 wounded. For their work Drs. Finley, Sholly and Edwards, also Miss McKee, have received the Croix de Guerre.

"Commandant Verdet-Kleber personally made comment to me that this unit had done splendid work, and spoke especially of their willingness to learn, and to win their way by their work."

Later, on October first, Mrs. Brown wrote that the push of battle was away from Chateau Ognon and towards the Hindenburg line. Naturally this meant that the severely wounded were not coming so fast to Chateau Ognon, and that the greatest need would soon be at some station nearer the front. The military unit of the Women's Oversea Hospital is attached to the staff of the *medecin chef*, Commandant Courvelier, and will move forward with him when he moves, probably to Soisson or Compiègne.

"There are only a few hundred patients left," said Mrs. Brown. "And as the work had grown light our aides were asked to start a canteen for the wounded. The aides went up to Paris and purchased chocolate, cigarettes and jam, which they have sold at cost to the soldiers."

"IT is difficult to keep the military unit of the Women's Oversea Hospital together. So many requests are made by French

One Woman Men Fret

"If there are any more

surgeons who know their work that one doctor and two or three aides should accompany him to a new post. But I have insisted that the unit be kept intact.

"You will be interested to know that the French *Service de Sante* has officially asked for the co-operation of French women doctors in the French military hospitals. They have put a formal notice in the papers about it. This is a wonderful step forward in the professional recognition of French women doctors. The woman



MISS ANNE HALSEY, SPECIALIST IN CHILDREN'S FOODS, WHO IS LAY DIRECTOR OF THE LABOUEYRE UNIT, DR. FORMAD IS MEDICAL DIRECTOR

surgeon and the woman physician have arrived in the minds of the French War Department.

"Commandant Verdet-Kleber has reported to me," says Mrs. Brown, "that Doctor Povitzky, who is still in the laboratory at Le Mans, is relieving four men for service at the front, and that if we have any more bacteriologists like her, please send them over!"

"I hope all will sink personalities and exalt principles, seeking only the best good for woman's enfranchisement, and that surely will come through the union of all the friends of woman's suffrage into one great and grand national association which shall enable them to present a solid front to the enemy."

— S. B. ANTHONY.

Who Set Four Fretto Fight

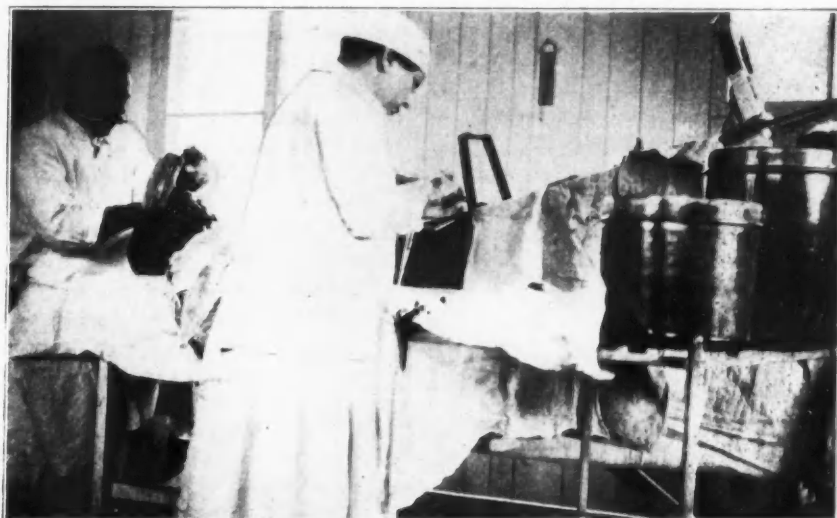
more her, send them over"

Gas Unit at Work

By Anne Hirst Curry

THE first members to come over for the Gas Unit arrived in Paris at what is familiarly known as the psychological moment. The first organized movement for the coordination of Allied science in the treatment of gas cases was started in Paris, and Dr. Lefort and Mrs. Raymond Brown attended the initial opening. This was a decisive step forward in the history of gas treatment.

At this clinique, the necessity for cooperation in the tremendous undertaking was urged, and the fullest support pledged, that all the talent and energy of every one of the Allies be combined in the fight against this horrible monster that is torturing thousands of soldiers in every battle at the front. Merely to be present at the clinique was an honor and an opportunity, and the introduc-



DR. FINLEY OPERATING IN HER FRACTURE WARD



DRS. FINLEY AND SHOLLY RECEIVING THE CROIX DE GUERRE

given a chance to rebuild itself naturally under this preparation, which is applied over the raw surfaces. Dr. Liseur's system of removing scars and preventing contractions was also most instructive. The new war surgery as practised at Auteuil, once the famous race-course—now dotted with tents that form an important base hospital—was particularly fascinating. Here, too, are the mechanical appliances used on the men's limbs to prevent contractions which would otherwise follow. Visits were made to Neuilly—that

tions that followed, during the reception, will be valuable in our work.

Upon their landing in Bordeaux, the doctors and nurses of this Gas Unit went to an American Base Hospital nearby, where Dr. Paul White showed them the method, employing gas masks, now used to test a man's endurance after treatment to determine whether he can again go to the trenches for active service. Dr. White gave a short talk on the modern treatment, and illustrated it by a tour through the wards of the Hospital. Captain Oliver, in charge of the "skin cases"—burns from the gas—was also most gracious, and gave our women every opportunity of observation.

In Paris, the doctors have visited the various hospitals where gas cases are received, and have learned the newest ideas as to treatment of them. Barthe de Sandfort's Ambrine is one of the most satisfactory, it seems—the new skin is

beautifully conducted American hospital just outside of the city, and to Val de Grace. Professor Maurestin's developments in face surgery were of unusual interest.

Our nurses were by no means unoccupied while in Paris, indeed, no! Days they spent in hospitals here, learning what they could in that time of the most approved methods for the care of these gassed patients. They worked side by side with the nurses in these hospitals, observing and aiding, that they might be better able to assist their doctor's work.

In the hospitals where the members of Unit No. 1 were for the past week, they are working in a hospital devoted exclusively to gas cases. Dr. Parisot, who has personally supervised all such work in this section, is gradually becoming

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COMMANDANT COURVELIER, CHIEF SURGEON AT CHATEAU OGNON

Catherine Breshkovsky's Last Word

By Alice Stone Blackwell

WHEN the first rumor came of the death of Catherine Breshkovsky, the beloved "Grandmother of the Russian Revolution," we all hoped it was not true. But it is now confirmed. She passed away on September 14th.

She is said to have died "of malnutrition." Though there is famine in Russia, any number of her friends would undoubtedly have given her food; but probably in her old age, as in her youth in Siberia, she refused to take anything more than the common ration.

A special interest attaches to the last word received from her by any one in America. It was a letter dated May 12, 1918, sent to this country by hand. It bore an American stamp and had been postmarked at Washington, D. C., June 26th. She says:

"How happy I am to be sure this time that this letter will reach you, my Alice, beloved friend! A month ago I wrote you with what joy I received the book you wrote about your old friend, and that I find a great comfort in rehearsing some pages every day, imagining to myself how you worked at it, how you were tired, exhausted, to reassemble all the bits of letters to make the book so excellent.

"I don't know how the two copies I have seen were sent, or to what address. I only know that these two volumes were brought to me by a young boy (an American), who bought them from a Bolshevik for sure, for it is their habit to find out whatever is of any value and to sell it. For my part, I am sure the books were sent to me, but did not reach me. I am so glad and happy to have one in my hands that nothing else does concern me. Everybody who sees and reads the book is glad for my sake, and if you find out an occasion (not by post) to send me two more copies, pray do. I am not willing to part with the copies I have, and they are asking me to have it translated, so I must have one or two more. Only the portrait is too young and too beautiful. I am old and ugly; no teeth, no curls, and walking very slowly, for I have lost the habit of motion. Till this hour I feel imprisoned and deprived of the pleasure of taking fresh air. Otherwise I should remain as strong and fresh as you knew me."

(Madame Breshkovsky was not imprisoned, but after the Bolsheviks took possession of the government she went into hiding.)

She continues:

"My freedom, like that of my best friends, lasted for half a year only, and during this time we were so busy that we never had some minutes to spend for ourselves. No doubt there are destinies that are the fate of some persons from their childhood to their death. I am so well accustomed to such a situation that it would be

difficult for me to believe in the reality of the possibility of enjoying quietly the right to feel quite free forever. Our poor country is only in the first class of the Institute of Political Science. And until we pass into the second, we cannot be sure of the surety of the friends of our own people.

"Now it goes better. Perhaps after many and many efforts we begin to be clever and brave; but till now our progress is not so great as we wish. Yet I hope that our allies will not forsake us, and will aid us as well as they have done all these four years. Now as soon as we are sane (healthy) we can be of use, too; for after this terrible experience the poor peasantry will be ashamed of their foolishness and more prudent in their actions and enterprises. I see how many people are more quiet, more reasonable and hopeful. Nobody will believe in the defeat of the commonwealth forever. On the contrary, after a lesson so cruel and so profound, we expect to see the whole world on a new way of life and prosperity. Only to get the Germans disarmed and pacified!

"It is possible, too, that I am not destined to see realized all my hopes and anxieties, but nevertheless I shall leave the world with my faith in the progress of humanity, of the human soul, as strong as it was during all my life; for neither my reason nor my imagination can believe in the retrogression of a world that was capable of producing individuals like Christ, and all those who have had the strength to sacrifice their own comfort, and even their existence, to the ideal that they chose in their heart and mind. The masses, who have been able to bring forth such lives, must have in them a force, a capacity distilled among them, even if they do not know it, unconsciously. It is an epoch when the people over all the world (the little world of our earth) are crossing the Rubicon (one of them) of history, after which effort a new existence will come into being, and the work of the eugenicists will acquire more intensity and decision. Some months of illness will surely follow the epoch of general disaster, but it will pass soon enough, and again the work.

"I saw Arthur (Bullard) sometimes. Now he is away. Very sorry if he leaves us. For a long time he has known Russia with all its defects, yet he is a faithful friend to us. And now, as we are ashamed of our conduct, it is so good to have one who is not abashed with all the madness he is the witness of.

"If you all (quoted in our letter, Alice) remain as hopeful for us as you have been until lately, I shall thank my destiny and fortify my soul with the idea that we are not left by our friends to the mercy of our enemies."

A letter to Miss Helena S. Dudley, written last January, has been received since the news

of Mme. Breshkovsky's death reached America. It comes like a voice from the other world. She writes:

"Dear Alice, Helena and all my friends in my beloved America: I was much honored to get the benevolent and friendly words of the honorable and excellent President Wilson, as an answer to the cable sent to him.

"I was proud of it; I took it as a comfort, sad as I was over the uncertain position of my country, that is not profiting reasonably by its liberty to create a new life so longingly desired by the true friends of our people. In such a state of distress a token of sincere friendship on the part of a mighty and noble person is a great comfort to the sufferers; and when I express the sentiment of gratitude for the good wishes I read in the response of your excellent President, you must be sure that this gratitude comes from the very bottom of my aching heart."

After some further discussion of the political situation, she says:

"Notwithstanding all I see around, my health does not fail, and I have much to do, and for a long tract of busy days. My heart aches, but my soul is full of hope."

[On November 1, a Petrograd telegram repeated the rumor that Madame Breshkovsky had been shot by the Reds on October 27, on the charge of opposing the Bolshevik régime.

Miss Blackwell's statement, however, conforms to more authentic earlier reports that Catherine Breshkovsky died quietly in her bed. The *New York Call* says that "the Soviet Government gave her a state funeral. Members of the government were in attendance and gave her all the honors her heroic services merited."

For a full account of the wonderful life of Madame Breshkovsky, see Miss Blackwell's *Little Grandmother of the Revolution*.—Ed.]

MANY interesting facts were brought out at the Conference of the Social Morality Committee of the National Women's War Work Council of the Y. W. C. A., held in New York on October 19.

The effect of the war on moral and social conditions affecting women was discussed from many angles, and by many experts. The Conference was fortunate in the presence of several distinguished foreigners, including Madame Avril de Sainte Croix of France, and Miss Picton Turberville of England, besides a large delegation from Canada. Colonel Snow, who is at the head of the U. S. Government's work for the prevention of venereal disease, made an admirable speech, declaring himself in favor of the application of all measures to men and women impartially. All the foreign delegates assured us that in Europe the state regulation of vice in every form had proved a complete sanitary failure. Among the resolutions adopted was one calling for equal treatment of men and women.

Parliamentary Election in Holland

By Martina G. Kramers

OUR readers know that, by a strange inconsistency, Dutch women have got eligibility, but no votes, by the new Constitution. Yet it is the will of the people to have them recognized as citizens; this is evident from the action of no less than nine political parties, who, urged by public opinion and wishing to please electors, have put 23 women on the lists of candidates. The places on the lists given to women show sufficiently that they really meant to have them elected, although in no case a woman occupied the first place, owing to the generally adopted method of putting the names of ex-deputies first.

Dr. Aletta Jacobs, the President of the Netherlands Union Suffrage Association, was third on her list, Mrs. van Balenklaar, our Vice-President, was fourth on hers. Mrs. Tjadin-van der Vlies was second on that of the Christian-Socialists, and the Social-Democrats had put up no less than seven women candidates, of whom Miss Suze Groeneweg had the third place in Rotterdam and Mrs. Carrie Pothuis-Smit the fourth in Amsterdam. The rest of the 23 women occupied different places, but there was no great chance for them, as their parties were either very small or newly formed, or their rank on the list was not a promising one.

The election took place on July 3. This was the first time that our country was to see the effects of proportional representation, manhood suffrage and compulsory voting, three reforms which, each in its measure, has contributed to the result.

To make voting easy for the new electors with the 31 lists that had been presented, the party whips had proclaimed that it was best to put a mark before the first name on the list, so the voters had only to remember the number of their preferred list to make their vote effective for the series of names as proposed by the party. The great majority of the electors followed this advice, but many others gave votes of preference to other candidates than number one of the list, and so nearly 11,000 showed their preference for women candidates, which indeed is not a great number, considering that the total number of votes cast was 1,344,209. The antis lost no occasion of taunting us by saying that evidently less than one among a hundred men in Holland wanted women in the Chamber or women in politics. The suffragists and the press bureau of Rotterdam showed the fallacy of this argument by pointing to the overwhelming majorities that had shown their approval of the parties' action in giving women pretty good chances of being elected as far as their power would go.

The result of the election is an increase of the Roman Catholics and a still greater increase of the Social-Democrats, whereas the Liberals and their various factions have lost much influence. Therefore, it is no wonder that the Social-Democrats are the only group in our Parliament that has a woman member.

The first woman M. P. in the Netherlands is Miss Suze Groeneweg, a teacher of a boarding school in Rotterdam. She is well calculated to bring the needs of the people and of the women



MISS SUZE GROENEWEG, FIRST WOMAN MEMBER OF DUTCH PARLIAMENT

before the legislators of the country. The Woman Suffrage Association sent her hearty congratulations on her election.

The woman candidate who polled most votes was our President, Dr. Aletta Jacobs. Her votes of preference numbered 1919, whilst those of Miss Groeneweg numbered 569.

The W. S. A. will now inaugurate a thorough campaign for civic instruction of its members in order to qualify many women for the Municipality Elections next spring. With various parties in favor of the citizenship of women—as shown by the recent election—we cannot fail to get many women into Town Councils.

Queensland Equal Suffrage Bill

A BILL enabling males and females eighteen years of age or over to vote was read for the first time in the Queensland State Assembly on October 24, according to press reports.

In Denmark

A REVIEW of the work accomplished during the last year by the Suffrage Association of Denmark shows the tremendous advance of the woman movement in that country. At the twenty-fifth annual convention of the Dansk Kvindesamfund, the first meeting held since nine women of their number were elected members of Parliament, Fru Astrid Stampe-Fedderson summarized the work. She stated that the association had obtained a grant from the state of 600 kronen for the purpose of making a comparison of men's and women's wages in different countries, in connection with the solution of problems of reconstruction. The association has also been instrumental in securing state instruction for housewives, which resulted in the appointment of a commission for that purpose. A commission on wages had been established, and a state seminary for women founded, with a woman as principal.

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Correspondence

Here's to the Fifth Loan

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

MAY I thank you and the WOMAN CITIZEN for the cordial co-operation you have given to the Woman's Publicity for the Liberty Loan.

It has been a pleasure to write for the magazine and to ask others to write for it.

I hope we shall be able to co-operate with equal success on the Fifth Loan.

EDITH J. R. ISAACS,
Chief of Woman's Publicity Department.

Nurses Needed

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

I WOULD like to ask your co-operation in the matter of correcting an erroneous statement which recently gained some circulation in the press to the effect that the nursing needs of the Army have been met. This is far from being the case, and it would be of great assistance to the Army Medical Department if you could editorially point out in your magazine, whenever possible, that there is still urgent necessity for thousands of trained women to enter the Army Nurse Corps.

That part of the statement which is proving to be particularly harmful gives assurance "that the nursing needs of the Army have already been met, and that 27,000 nurses have been enrolled by the Red Cross in response to the Surgeon General's request for 25,000 graduate nurses by January 1, 1919."

The real facts in the nursing situation are: Of 25,000 nurses needed by the Army before the first of the year, approximately 16,000 are on the rolls of the Army Nurse Corps. This leaves 9,000 still to be obtained by January 1, 1919. The General Staff estimates that before July 1, 1919, 50,000 nurses in all must be enrolled if the Army Nurse Corps is to continue its successful care of sick and wounded soldiers. It is true that the Red Cross, which is the nurse recruiting agency for the Army, reports a total enrollment of more than 27,000 nurses; this, however, does not represent the number of women available for active service.

I feel that the matter is so important, that under no consideration should a false impression of the Army's need for nurses be allowed to prevail. The thing the Army Medical Department at this time most fears is that nurses, believing that there is no longer an urgent need for them, will cease enrolling and that young women will stop making applications for admittance to the Army School of Nursing. In fact, there has been a drop in the number of inquiries and enrollments in the past few days following the publication of the statement. It is this I especially wish to counteract.

CHARLES RICHARD,
Brigadier General, M. C.,
Acting Surgeon-General, Washington, D. C.

The War Prolongers

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

THERE is a fact that should not be overlooked about those Senators who in this hour of stress refused to help the President by voting for the Woman Suffrage Amendment. The responsibility of helping to prolong this war rests upon their heads. Hourly the Allies are looking for reforms in Germany that will put an end to the need of continued warfare. All will admit that the women of Germany could do much to bring about this change. These Senators have placed themselves on the level with the Germans and Turks in regard to women.

What excuse have they for destroying the example that should be set by this so-called most democratic country and for placing the President in a shameful position in regard to the democracy of this country? He asked for woman

suffrage as a weapon needed to win the war, and these Senators refused to support him, thus showing the enemy that our President lacked the support of the United States Senate. They made themselves responsible for further losses among our brave American boys and for the continued misery of the world. They should be known as the "War Prolongers" of this country.

Washington, D. C. LUCY R. SWANTON.

Incredible, Should Be Impossible

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

SOME time ago *Harvey's War Weekly* delivered itself of the following: "An announcement is made which should be incredible and impossible. It is that something like a million and a half citizens of the United States are to be disfranchised this year. This is not because of any fault of theirs, but rather because of a great virtue. It is not because they are unworthy to exercise the franchise, but because they are, if possible, more worthy of it than their fellows.

"No provision, we are told, has been made or will be made for the casting and canvassing of votes by our soldiers in France and elsewhere on the battle-front. Even in the camps and cantonments here, the soldiers who have not yet gone abroad will be largely, though not entirely disfranchised. But 'over there' disfranchisement will be all but universal. The soldier



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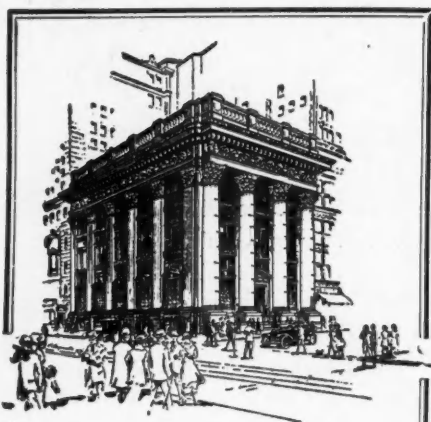
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who voluntarily or in ready response to his country's demand goes abroad to risk and perhaps to give his life for the Republic, is denied the right to participate in the Government of the country for which he is fighting."

Without going into the merits of the case at all, so far as the soldiers are concerned, let us consider another aspect of it. Suppose we announce:

"That something like twenty million citizens (?) of the United States are to be disfranchised this year. This is not because of any fault of theirs. . . . It is not because they are unworthy to exercise the franchise. They have furnished the country with all the soldiers, sailors and marines, not to mention tankers, machine gunners and aviators it possesses. They have raised about a third of all the money forthcoming in the Liberty Loan drives; they have bought millions of dollars' worth of thrift stamps, and raised millions of dollars' worth of food, and conserved most of the supplies that have been conserved. The President of the United States has born eloquent tribute to them. The Secretary of the Treasury has called them 'equal partners,' local Councils of Defense and Red Cross Chapters are loud in their praise. Thousands of them have volunteered their services as nurses and physicians; and have equipped whole hospitals. They have taken up the shovel and the hoe and the T. N. T. and

the tractor plow and the live end of 'wireless' as well as the ordinary garden variety of telegraphy; they are doing all sorts of work that has been dropped by brothers and sons and husbands and fathers and cousins. Their intense loyalty has never been questioned. Their intelligence is admitted. Yet they are disfranchised."

In millions of cases the soldier who has gone abroad has represented some of these disfranchised ones, who might now, under happier circumstances, return the compliment, and represent him to the best of their patriotic ability. As it is, he is unrepresented, and not infrequently they may be misrepresented.

Why not enfranchise them?

Answer—all sufficient to the Neolithic mind—They are Women!

ELLIS MEREDITH.

Washington, D. C.

President Wilson's War Mind

(Continued from page 489)

It will unquestionably go on to further developments. What precisely these will be it is, of course, impossible to say; but we may be sure that they will follow the general course of his evolution up to date. This has taken the form of making clear and explicit in his later policy what was hidden and implicit in his earlier policy.

In forecasting the line of his future influence we should do well, therefore, to ask which of his present principles contains the largest implications, for he is certain to develop them as time goes on. My own choice would be for the principle contained in his saying that America's purpose in going to war is "to make the world safe for democracy." Making the world safe for democracy involves much more than is apparent at first sight. The first requirement is, of course, the overthrow of autocratic domination; for it is certain that, so long as democracy is entangled with autocracy in a common system of international relations, autocracy will call the tune and war will be a perpetual menace to mankind. For the time being we need think of nothing else; but when this has been accomplished we shall have to go much farther if Mr. Wilson's ideal of a world "safe for democracy" is to be made good.

I believe that Mr. Wilson is fully prepared for this, and that he will develop his principle when the time is ripe. *Punch*, in a famous cartoon, unconsciously hit the nail, when it exhibited the White House with a closed door, on which the words were written: "The President is thinking." Yes, he was thinking to some purpose, and he is thinking still. So are we.

(Published in *Land and Water*—England.)

(Reprinted from *The Living Age* for private circulation.)

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How Women Are Serving

VIDA LORENSON is police sergeant of Forest River, Ill.

SIX girl telegraphers have replaced six young men on the floor of the Chicago Board of Trade.

THE Brotherhood of Railway Clerks has already organized 40 per cent of the women clerks on railroads.

AFRENCH woman, Mme. Karen Bramsone, has, according to *La Française*, discovered a method of making paper from dead leaves.

THE Drexel Institute of Philadelphia offers courses for secretaries, engineers and dietitians. Trained dietitians are especially needed by the Government.

AMONG women officials elected this year in Texas is Mrs. John R. Bannister. She succeeds her husband, who died recently, as sheriff of Coleman county.

MISS IRMA C. CRAIG has been appointed a regular letter carrier in Washington, D. C. Other women are called for. All those accepted must pass physical tests.

THE National Women's Trade Union League calls attention to the fact that, starting with fair promises, the railroads are violating the principle of equal pay. Specific cases have been reported on the Pennsylvania, the Baltimore and Ohio, the Lehigh, the Atlantic Coast Line, and practically all the big lines, it is said. In the general offices of the Atlantic Coast Line at Wilmington, a woman employee who has been in the service of the company for seven years and whose ability is not only unquestioned, but is highly rated by the company officials, is said to be receiving but \$94 per month in a position which last June paid her predecessor, a man, something like \$105, and for which the pay has since been raised, under orders of the Director-General, to \$130. Still the woman employee has not received the increase.

Every Door of Opportunity

IN some cities organized men workers on the street cars are opposing the introduction of women; in others they are letting them alone, regardless of whatever threat their unorganized members may offer in the future to wages and hours. The Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees has set a precedent which other cities should follow in welcoming women to the job on the same terms as men. The following instructions of the Executive Board are quoted in the American Federation of Labor news sheet:

"Where women are employed as conductors they shall be employed and enter the service the same as men were employed.

"They shall take their seniority, starting at the foot of the extra list and working up the same as men would work up in the same employment.

"They shall be entitled to the same guarantees, the same wages and conditions that the men are entitled to.

"They shall, when employed on systems that require permits to be taken out, take their permits for membership in the organization the same as the men take permits.

"When women enter the service they shall become members of the organization, being entitled to the same protection, benefits and conditions that men are entitled to, coming under the working conditions and provisions of the agreement in the same manner."

In Denmark

(Continued from page 493)

Before the elections, the society was active in sending in twelve interpellations on points dealing with women's questions. She cautioned the association that the vote was only a means to an end and that much work yet remained before the Dansk Kvindesamfund, if women were to be made equal with men.

With the assent of both Houses of Parliament the picture of the seventeen pioneers of woman suffrage in Denmark will be hung in the House by the Suffrage Association. The inscription on the picture reads:

"By unswerving energy in the Danish Woman's Society, with a view to improving the position of women in the family, society and state, these women and men, in the last half of the 19th century, made a path for political votes and for the eligibility of women."

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JOHN P. TOLSON.

Recognizing Women's Services

SUFFRAGE for the women of the Philippine Islands was one of the progressive measures recommended by Governor General Francis Burton Harrison in his message at the convening of the Philippine Congress.

THE House of Commons adopted a resolution October 23 in favor of women sitting in Parliament. The resolution was passed by a majority of 249, the vote being 274 to 25. The right to sit in Parliament is an extension of the national political rights to women as accorded in the Representation of the People's bill.

IN reply to a letter asking her to speak in the New York State campaign in behalf of the Democratic candidate for governor, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw said: "I work for no party and no man while both Republicans and Democrats delay passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, as they have been doing in the Senate. When the women of the country are enfranchised nationally, then I shall pick out that party whose principles and practice, whose leaders and whose past performances most nearly meet my ideas, and support it with all my power. Until that day I do no campaigning."

THE extending of the registration of alien enemies to women has developed evidence of the need of a married woman's citizenship bill, such as that framed by Dr. Ellen Spencer Mussey and introduced in Congress by Miss Jeannette Rankin in the House of Representatives and in the Senate by Senator Sheppard, of Texas. The latest case in point is that of Mrs. Edith Sheldon Stocker Rose Georg, American born and of American descent, active in Red Cross work in Newburgh, N. Y., but married to an unnaturalized German. Mrs. Georg for many weeks stood out against registration, appealing to President Wilson and to Congress against her humiliation as, in her own right, an American citizen. Only when arrested and threatened with indefinite detention did she consent to register herself an alien enemy.

Coal the Key to Victory

Specially Prepared for the Woman Citizen by the United States Fuel Administration

"COAL is the key to victory. Miners of Britain, help me!" was the message sent by Marshal Foch to the miners of England last August.

This cry for help from the great French commander can well be paraphrased thus: "Coal is the key to victory. Housewives of America, help me!" It would express in different words the appeal General Pershing, too, has made for the greater output of the commodity most essential to the prosecution of the war—coal.

But can women increase the output of coal? Since the war began women have entered many trades and occupations which are new to them, but happily they have not as yet had to enter the mines.* It is not in mining coal that the help of women is sought, but in salvaging it from the waste that goes on unchecked in most households.

American miners have increased their output of coal since we entered the war, until now it amounts to two million tons daily, surpassing any record of coal production made previously by the United States or any other country of the world. Its transportation, which our railroads are accomplishing, represents a daily movement of solid cars three hundred and eighty miles long. Despite this enormous output, the Government finds itself unable to mine the entire amount required this year for the continuation of essential war industries and the maintenance of our great transportation system. The deficit between possible output and requirements is fifty million tons, a deficit due to the unprecedented rate at which war's demands for coal increase from day to day. To meet this deficit the Government calls upon industry to save thirty-five million tons by introducing more efficient methods; and upon the twenty million homes of the United States for the remaining fifteen million tons.

The very core of economy with artificial lights is to turn out the lights in rooms which are left unoccupied even for a short time. It is extravagant to keep any light burning simply because it looks pretty or cheerful in a room, or to have a room redecorated with dark paper, paint and hangings, all of which absorb the light. It is extravagant to keep the hall light burning all the evening if it can quickly and easily be turned on when needed. It is extravagant for the members of the family to scatter to their own rooms after the evening meal, thus using many lights. They should be encouraged to work, read or sew round one lamp which, of course, should be very efficient.

[It was reported early in the war that women mined coal in Charleroi.—ED.]

It is extravagant not to make the utmost use of daylight.

One of the simplest ways in which women at home can save coal for the Government is by the application of efficiency methods to their lighting systems. The power in use for electric lights is usually generated by coal, and artificial gas is manufactured from coal and oil. Even kerosene must be used with strict economy, for it is in demand for war purposes and cannot be produced as fast as it is needed. Likewise we are called upon to save natural gas in order that as large a supply as possible be available for the manufacture of army supplies. Indeed thrift is called for in the use of every artificial illuminant in order that war industries may have more fuel. In learning and applying efficiency methods to household lighting, moreover, women will reduce their own bills while advancing the prosecution of the war.

To burn gas in the old-fashioned open burners is wasteful. By substituting incandescent gas burners of sizes varied according to the purpose for which they are used, gas bills will be reduced and a surprisingly large amount of coal saved. The substitution of five incandescent gas mantles for five open-flame burners in use on an average of four hours a day for a year will save one ton of coal or its equivalent fuel. Carbon-filament electric bulbs are wasteful, and the Government, therefore, has requested that their manufacture for general use be discontinued during the period of the war. Tungsten bulbs produce more light and reduce the quantity of current used, making bills smaller and saving coal at the place where current is generated. Tungsten bulbs vary in power. Those of 15-watts give a sufficiently strong light for closets, white bathrooms, small hallways and other places where brilliant illumination is not required. Lamps of 25-watts are a good average for general household use, while for the reading lamp one bulb of 50-watts is required.

With a chain-pull by-pass on the gas fixture the light can be reduced to a mere spark without danger of blowing out. If gas fixtures are fitted with this, any member of the family will be willing to lower the light if he goes out of the room for even a short time. He could hardly be blamed for leaving a larger flame burning if turning out the light altogether means stumbling through a dark room and groping for matches on his return. The same thing is true in regard to electric lights. Switches are a great convenience, but where they are not installed there is a useful device for lowering electric lights to a dim glow. This is excellent to have in a bathroom which is

(Continued on page 498)

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The Key to Victory

(Continued from page 497)

used during the night, a sick room or a nursery. It may be advantageously placed on one light in any room where there is no switch or push button.

Lamp shades which obscure rather than diffuse the light are, obviously, wasteful of fuel. All shades made of dark silk, dark paper or stained glass will do this. During the war, at least, such shades should be discarded, as they are useless for any purpose but that of decoration, which is a matter of very trivial importance nowadays. Any shade that is not translucent can be made fit for the reading lamp by a lining of glazed white satin or silk. The whole question of efficient lamp-shading should be studied now with a view to finding out how to get the best illumination with the use of the fewest lights.

The Government urges us most strongly not to let a misguided patriotism lead to our using insufficient illumination and thus injuring our eyesight. If the women of the country will give to the question of coal-saving, through the elimination of light-waste, the same intelligence and fidelity that they devoted to the problems created by the wheat shortage, the Government need not be fearful lest homes fail to conserve the fifteen million tons of coal which it is their portion to save or that any of its citizens suffer for lack of comfort and health.

One Woman

(Continued from page 491)

ing part of the hospital staff, and write with enthusiasm and appreciation of the warm welcome and expressions of confidence which awaited them there. They are already at work, and very hard at work, for they are the only nurses now in the hospital, and they anxiously await the arrival of the other members and equipment that are to come.

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"I STOOD for a long while this morning and watched American soldiers pass along the road on one side, and French refugees on the other," writes Miss Elizabeth Bissell, a suffrage "star" doing canteen service in France, as she draws a vivid word picture of the seemingly endless procession of men of the allied nations toward the battle lines in France and the long lines of refugees fleeing from the regions of battle.

"The road was thick with white dust and the men walked in clouds of it. They were on horses, on foot, and in camion; and they were all going at a good pace, unencumbered by equipment. They weren't sure whether my 'Good Morning' was straight American or not; but the home accent lingered in their ears and they would look back and smile.

"Chicago," called an officer, on horseback.

"No," said I. "Iowa—Dubuque."

"Iowa Falls!" he shouted back, laughing.

"All the time down the other side of the road the refugees were struggling along with their great, lumbering, two-wheeled carts, piled high with luggage and drawn by big cart horses or oxen. Mattresses and beds overflowed the high racks, on the outside of which hung chairs, ladders and baskets. Bunches of hay were stowed away among all these objects and spread over the top. Sometimes the entire family was seated up there; but oftener there was just the old grandmother with her black and white 'kerchief tied around her head bent almost double among the sacks. Beneath the carts, swung open, wicker baskets with chickens or rabbits, and the old lame farm dog walked crestfallen behind, panting at the end of a rope.

"They had been on the road for two days and were going on to the next village. That was as far ahead into the future as they could look.

Under the trees on the river bank there was a big party of refugees camping out like gypsies.

"When it was dark—it must have been 10:30—we had an 'alerte.' Then we heard the rumble of another train and went down to see what was happening. A long line of truck cars, loaded with guns, ammunition wagons, auto trucks and kitchens had crawled up in front of the canteen and was standing there motionless; its war machinery looking like a procession of fantastic circus animals in the darkness. Presently, we were conscious of the presence—it seemed—of thousands of men. They swarmed over the trucks and filled the wide space between the tracks. The noise of

their shoes on the ground was like a steady down-pour of rain upon a pavement.

"This morning a train load of Marroquians came in. We stared at them and they stared back. They were the bearded Arabs of the desert. They wore the bright khaki-colored uniform of the Colonials with the red fez. We ran to the canteen for American flags and distributed them, much to their delight. When they came to the kitchen for water their casques bristled with them.

"Night before last, when I tried to open the door of a compartment on my way down to the canteen, an arm shot out instantly to help me. And I knew, without looking, that it belonged to an American; because only Americans do that sort of thing without a moment's hesitation. They were two young officers, one lean and dark, the other fair and boyish; both Southerners and refined, educated men. They had been at the front for forty days. Dead tired, they were; but smiling and happy because they had been tested and had made good.

"It was as though the end of the world had come," said one, 'when the shells began bursting. The noise, ah—'

"Twenty-six of my men fell around me," mused the other thoughtfully. 'But,' he burst out enthusiastically, 'you ought to see them go at the Boches. Squad after squad came out of the trenches against orders—you couldn't stop them—and went across the line. 'I got only a scratch,' he added regretfully.

"Wish you could see the fields of poppies. Were they the only fields of that color what a beautiful world it would be!"

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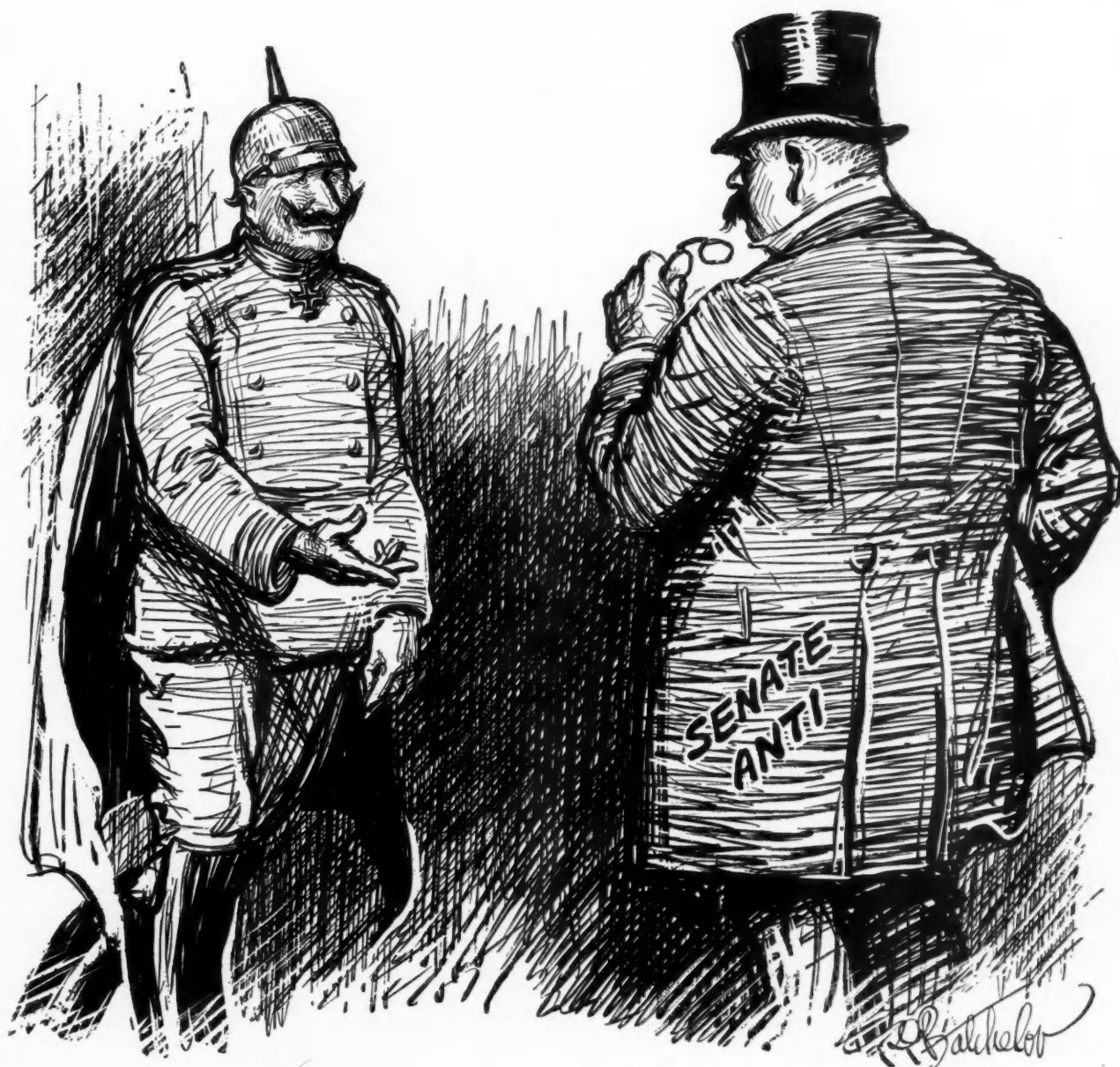
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The Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL
FOUNDED 1870

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November 16, 1918



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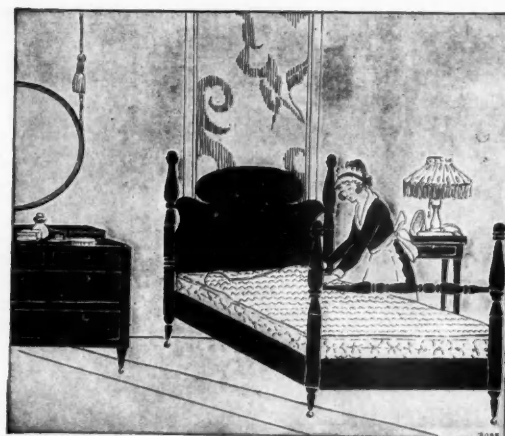
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Entered as second class matter, June 13, 1917, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

THE WOMAN CITIZEN

Founded June 2, 1917

Published every Saturday by

The WOMAN CITIZEN CORPORATION
at 171 Madison Avenue, New York

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VOL. III NOVEMBER 16, 1918 No. 25

PUBLISHED by the Woman Citizen Corporation, in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

The directors of the Corporation are Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, and Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore.

Alice Stone Blackwell is a special contributing editor.

Rose Young is the editor-in-chief.

Mary Ogden White, Mary Sumner Boyd, and Rose Lawless Geyer are associate editors.

Our

HURRAH for the suffrage victories! The past week has been so full of big news in the suffrage world—and such glorious news—as to leave one fairly breathless. The *Woman Citizen* will not be able to tell it all in one issue, by any means. But it will have it all eventually and in the intimate detail that will bring the campaigns vividly to us. Don't miss a number.

"I find the *Woman Citizen* always inspiring and forward-looking," writes Miss Mary E. Kenney of Moundsville, West Virginia. "To any one at all interested in the feminist movement it is indispensable. The Federal Amendment merely gains impetus by each setback. The complete emancipation of women from all political or economic restrictions will come. It is the next step in historical evolution. And no power on earth can stop the process of evolution."

It is coming, the victories of the past week in the states and in the congressional elections bring universal suffrage very close. The *Woman Citizen* at no distant date will be recording more suffrage triumphs.

"I would not think of trying to do without the *Woman Citizen*," writes Mrs. S. Z. Calloway of Waverly, Mo. "It has been my tonic." To be of helpful service to its readers, is the function of the *Citizen*, and the words of appreciation that come to us from our readers lead us to believe we are achieving our aim.

"We do not class the *Woman Citizen* as an ordinary magazine and regard our subscription as economy," is the way Miss Bernice Showalter of Little Rock, Arkansas, writes when renewing her subscription. We agree with her. It is economy to have the proper tools to work with, and the *Citizen* gives its readers tools that make for the welding of progress just as surely as though those tools were of metal.

Now for the Federal Amendment.

ROSE LAWLESS GEYER,
Nat'l Circulation Chrm.

SUBSCRIBERS TAKE NOTICE!

If your copy of the *Woman Citizen* is late in reaching you, make due allowance for the continued congestion in the postal service, but be sure to notify us if due allowance fails to account for any trouble you may be having.

SUBSCRIBERS TAKE NOTICE! It takes two weeks to get a correction corrected on our mailing list. Send in your change of address two weeks in advance.

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Story

Circulation Contest

1. A pledge will constitute an entry.
2. No entries will be accepted after December 1, 1918.
3. Contest closes January 1, 1919.
4. In case of a tie for any one premium, the prize will be awarded to each qualifying contestant.
5. Only actual paid subscriptions will be counted in the awarding of premiums.

First Cash Premium FIFTY DOLLARS

To the State Association that sends in the highest number over 200 (paid new subscribers). The net price per subscription to the State Association is .70, the .30 to go into the state, county or local treasury, as may be decided by arrangement between the state and its branches.

Second Cash Premium TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the County Association that sends in the highest numbers over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the State Association, and would help to swell the state's total.

Third Cash Premium TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the Local Club that sends in the highest number over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the County Association into the State Association, and thence to the *Woman Citizen*.

Fourth Cash Premium TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the co-operating Subscriber who sends in the highest number over 50. This would be independent of state, county and club circulation activities, would apply to states that do not take up the circulation work in an official way, and would come directly to the *Woman Citizen*. The net price per subscription is \$1.00. No discount.

Relative Position of State Leagues in the *Woman Citizen's* Circulation Contest:

November 2nd

1. Iowa
2. South Dakota
3. Georgia
4. Indiana
5. Michigan
6. Minnesota
7. New Jersey
8. Wisconsin
9. Massachusetts
10. New York
11. Virginia
12. Ohio
13. New Hampshire
14. Alabama
15. Missouri
16. Maryland
17. Texas
18. Pennsylvania
19. Maine
20. Kentucky
21. Louisiana
22. West Virginia, Connecticut
23. Tennessee
24. South Carolina
25. Arkansas
26. Washington, D. C., North Dakota
27. Rhode Island, Illinois
28. Nebraska, Oklahoma
29. Washington, Mississippi
30. Kansas
31. North Carolina
32. Vermont

November 9th

1. Iowa
2. South Dakota
3. Georgia
4. Indiana
5. Michigan
6. Minnesota
7. New Jersey
8. Wisconsin
9. Massachusetts
10. New York
11. Virginia
12. Ohio
13. New Hampshire
14. Alabama
15. Missouri
16. Maryland
17. Texas
18. Pennsylvania
19. Maine
20. Kentucky
21. Louisiana
22. West Virginia—Connecticut
23. Tennessee
24. South Carolina
25. Arkansas
26. Washington, D. C.—North Dakota
27. Rhode Island—Illinois
28. Nebraska—Oklahoma
29. Washington—Mississippi
30. Kansas
31. North Carolina
32. Vermont

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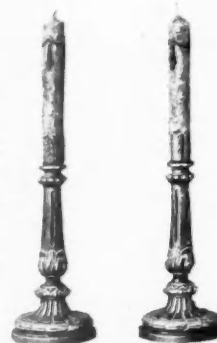


568—This glass vase is 8 in. high and 5 in. in dia. It is exquisitely decorated with a garland of roses in natural colors, and edged with gold around the top and bottom. \$2.50.



508—This dainty tea-set, consisting of six tea-cups and saucers, tea-pot, sugar-bowl, and cream pitcher, is decorated with a band of canary color and a rim of white with colored roses. Each piece is edged with gold. Complete set, \$10.00.

622—Very quaint candlesticks finished in antique gold, decorated with a carved design in polychrome colors; 12 in. high; candles to match candlesticks. Complete, per pair, \$12.50.



652—Open vegetable dish of hand hammered Sheffield. Measures 7 in. x 10 in. long. \$5.00.



502—A honey-pot and plate of amber, blue, or rose glass. Plate 6 in. in dia., pot 4 in. in dia. Complete, \$2.50.

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570—Glass cracker and cheese dish with gold band. Cheese dish, 5 in. in dia., plate 10 in. in dia. Each can be used separately. \$3.50.

632—An exceptional value is this pair of Sterling silver salt and pepper shakers in their fitted case, at only, the pair, \$2.50.



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The Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

A Journal of Democracy

November 16, 1918

"We shall fight for things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

"The War Thus Comes to an End"

WITH Monday's ineffable word in our minds and in our hearts, it is possible, in this soberer moment, to take stock of the vast significance, the far-reaching application of the victory won by the Allies for democracy.

It was hard for the French people to commit themselves to war, but France, like Belgium, had small choice.

It was hard for the English people to commit themselves to war. A peace-loving nation, absorbed in the conquest of matter, in the triumphs of commerce and science and art, the English people's spiritual acceptance of the war lagged far behind the fact of their active participation in it.

The genius of her young, growing, and self-absorbed civilization yet more violated by the ancient destructive ideals of war, America was more laggard still in her realization that ancient ideals had small place in the new war scheme, that there was a new ideal at stake, the ideal of an international fairness and squareness that should stand between oppressor and oppressed.

It would be hard to this day to convince the peoples of any of these countries, outside of militaristic circles, that war is the right solution of international difficulties. Today, with peace come again, what stands out whitely from the black background of the past is the fact that war itself has disproved war. War itself has proved that the strong shall not oppress the weak, that brute strength shall not prevail.

Autocracy is undone. Democracy sweeps the world. And at last the word is accredited with its full sound, the people, all the people, not half, not just the men, the women as well.

Even in Germany it is heralded that the choice of a form of government is to be decided by the people, "irrespective of sex."

Since the war began France has announced her readiness for woman suffrage.

So has Belgium.

So has Italy.

England has achieved it.

So has Canada.

So has Denmark.

Though in this hour, when democracy peals so broadly from land to land, it is a sorry fact that its full exemplification cannot be found in America, Tuesday's elections show that the American people are not content with the half democracy which the United States Senate would leave as America's portion.

In each of the four states where suffrage was at issue, Michigan, South Dakota, Oklahoma, and Louisiana, victory, relative where not absolute, was won. In South Dakota full suffrage carried by approximately 20,000 majority. In Michigan by approximately 25,000. In Oklahoma its majority was heavy; whether heavy enough to overcome the handicap of the so-called silent vote will have to be established by official count. Even in Louisiana the measure seems to have been worsted by so small a majority as to give defeat the aspect of victory in a section supposed to be the most reluctant of all sections to give women political recognition.

With the downright turn of the scale by the defeat of anti Senators in Delaware and Massachusetts and the notable falling off of the majorities of three other anti candidates for the Senate, and with state after state electing pro-amendment Congressmen, Ohio voting down five who voted against the Federal Suffrage Amendment in the House while no one who voted for it was defeated, the congressional elections may fairly be said to have scored momentarily for the suffrage cause.

"Thus the war comes to an end,"—with the world's hope of democracy triumphant, leaving little left to be said and done before even the United States Senate must capitulate to the onward march of progress by passing the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

How to Defeat a Senator

IT was a large order that the National American Woman Suffrage Association assumed when it pledged itself, at its annual convention last December, to enter such a number of congressional campaigns this autumn, "as would effect a change in both houses of Congress sufficient to insure the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment," in case such action should be necessary.

The National had never before committed itself in forthright fashion to a policy of active campaigning, on a comprehensive scale, against candidates to House or Senate. Even at the December convention the cautious were in favor of supporting rather than opposing. The fight idea was scary, and in so large a body as the National there are sure to be some who scare too easily.

However, a resolution to oppose the candidate who opposed the amendment went over. It made a flurry in the press, the imagination of the politician being temporarily challenged by the prospect. Then he forgot it, as did the rest of the outside world.

But inside the organization it was not forgotten. It couldn't be. There stuck the resolution, more or less like a thorn in the flesh, a rousing goad. As the election approached, the possibilities had to be weighed and adjusted with great care. The 65th Congress had failed to pass the amendment on to the states because of a lack of two votes in the Senate. As the measure's reconsideration had been moved there was still a chance for it in the short term of the Senate if the right men should be elected in certain states. New Jersey and New Hampshire were the only states in which the short term elections could be entered with any prospect of success, and in neither was the outlook propitious. Both were likely to poll Republican majorities and in both the Republican senatorial candidates were against the amendment. But even to reduce the majority of an anti-amendment candidate is a weighty consideration today when the eyes of a candidate in any state turn inquiringly upon the tactics of suffragists in another state. So it was decided to enter the lists in both states. In both a canvass was made of the voters, meetings were held, circulars were distributed and an advertising campaign in the daily papers was financed.

IN New Jersey, where the National worked through and with its competent state organization, Senator Baird, the candidate opposed, fell behind his ticket, while the Democratic candidate, Charles O'Connor Hennessy, finished an astonishingly close second.

In New Hampshire the women and the advertising helped make so strong a case for the pro-suffrage candidate that for a day or two the result was in doubt, open allegations of fraud were made and a contest was threatened.

Three states were selected as the fighting ground in the elections which were to decide the fate of the senatorial candidates for the long term. In one, Idaho, the National's campaign against Senator William E. Borah was conducted by circularization wholly. The suffragists' case against him, sharply defined in a masterly review by Mrs. Catt, was sent broadcast over the state. Unfortunately the strike of New York pressmen delayed action in the case, but even so Senator Borah was reported behind his party ticket on the final Idaho count.

We come now to the two most important campaigns in which the National was involved and the two that were entirely suc-

cessful. One of these campaigns was waged in Massachusetts and one in Delaware. Both were conducted without current publicity. In both cases the candidates against whom the women worked went down to defeat.

IT goes hard with the women of the National American Woman Suffrage Association to work against any Republican anywhere. We do not forget that it was the Republican party that lined up the heavier majority for the Federal Suffrage Amendment in both House and Senate. But the fact remains that the Republican majority was not able to bring the minority into line and it therefore devolved upon us to reduce that minority still further.

It likewise goes hard with us to work against any Democrat in view of the magnificent support given to suffrage by the leader of all the Democrats, Woodrow Wilson. But like the Republicans, the majority of the Democratic party had not been able to swing its minority into line. Fortunately for our equilibrium as a non-partisan organization the strategy of the situation made it necessary to go against a Republican in Massachusetts and a Democrat in Delaware.

When the women of Massachusetts started out to do their part by reducing the Senate opposition to the suffrage amendment by one, they did so on a strictly non-partisan basis. Nothing better illustrates this than the personal connections of Mrs. Oakes Ames, chairman of the Non-partisan Suffrage Committee, which engineered the campaign. The daughter-in-law of one Republican Governor and the sister of another, she has been identified with the Republican faith of Massachusetts from her childhood. Another concrete instance of the non-partisan personnel of the fighters may be had in Alice Stone Blackwell, daughter of that rugged and sterling and life-long Republican, Henry Blackwell.

The committee, a small one, in full, consisted of Mrs. Ames, Miss Blackwell, Esther Andrews, Teresa A. Crowley, Mabel Gillespie, Grace Allen Johnson, Mary Agnes Mahan, Florence T. Perkins, and Wenona Osborne Pinkham.

FOR the program mapped out the opposition needed no better ground from which to project itself than Mr. Weeks's own record. Not suffrage alone was involved in that record. "It speaks for itself," said the restrained but significant flier that went out from the campaign headquarters to every Republican voter in the state. In assuming that Republicans would not vote for such a record once it was spread flatly before them, the women of Massachusetts but paid a just tribute, as the event proved, to the intelligence and public spirit of the rank and file of the party. This record alone proved that Senator Weeks had systematically voted against progressive measures in favor of privilege whenever and wherever there was issue between the two.

He had voted against the direct election of Senators, against the income tax, against increased taxation on war profits, against government credit to farmers, against the Clayton Act to curb big business abuses, against establishing the Federal Trade Commission, against the Armor Plate Bill, thereby voting to prevent the government from establishing its own plant whereby millions of dollars could be saved to the people which would otherwise go into the coffers of the big steel corporations. He voted

against the establishment of the Shipping Board and against the extension of the Parcel Post, a measure to benefit the people and delimit the express companies. He voted for the Shields Water Power Bill which meant voting to turn over the public water power of the country to private interests.

Oh, it was a merry record, was Mr. Weeks's, and the women made the most of it in their circularization program.

BESIDES the general circularization the work of the anti-Weeks campaign was subdivided among vigorous groups, like the industrial section of the committee, the Jewish women, etc. Co-operating with well-known labor men and women, the women of the industrial section inaugurated three auto tours of the state, middle, eastern, and western. Big and responsive meetings were held at mill gates, and at trade union gatherings the word "defeat Weeks" was put over again and again.

Not content with all this, Mrs. Ames circularized the voters with a letter of her own that scorched the paper on which she wrote as she pointed out the galling injustice to Massachusetts women entailed by the attitude of the two Massachusetts Senators on the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

Though the National American Woman Suffrage Association made its contribution by helping to finance the circularization program of the campaign, the actual work was carried on by that flying wedge of Massachusetts women who, headed by Mrs. Ames and Mrs. Crowley and Miss Blackwell, were here, there and everywhere that an anti-Weeks blow could be made to count.

The defeat of Senator Weeks in the Republican stronghold of Massachusetts continues to be one of the amazements of election day returns. "Who did it? What did it?" is the constant question. The National American Woman Suffrage Association is very proud of the answer—the women of Massachusetts did it, and they did it because it was necessary to secure two more votes in the 66th Congress so that if the Federal Suffrage Amendment should fail of passage in the impending short term of the 65th Congress, it may be assured of passage by the incoming House and Senate. By the defeat of a Republican in Massachusetts and a Democrat in Delaware those votes have been secured and the fate of the suffrage amendment has been made absolutely safe in the 66th Congress.

FOR months the National has had workers in Delaware, canvassing, speaking, massing public opinion against the Democratic Senator Saulsbury, who has not only opposed the Federal Suffrage Amendment himself, but has used the weight of his opinion to influence the younger men of the Senate to vote against it. Miss Mabel Willard has had charge of the organization work in his state and Mrs. Halsey W. Wilson and Mrs. Horace Stillwell, the two last National officers, have taken special assignments in the Delaware field. One detail of the work of these women was the lining up of Dr. L. H. Ball, the Republican candidate, in favor of the amendment. With his committal to it, the program of opposition to Senator Saulsbury was developed with increasing effectiveness and a coalition of Republican factions at the critical hour made it possible for all elements of the opposition to be assembled with a force that determined his case past peradventure of a doubt.

Here then are two states in which the National feels that women have given a thorough-going answer to the question of how to defeat a senator.

It cost some money. It took time and effort. It nearly broke the backs of the women who had the campaigns directly in hand.

But it was worth it.

Tuesday's Victories

TUESDAY'S victories bring the number of states where women have full suffrage, presidential and municipal or presidential alone to 21. These states are:

FIFTEEN FULL SUFFRAGE STATES

(Keep this for reference. You are sure to want it some day.)

State	Women 21 years and over	Electoral vote	Area in square miles
1. Arizona	48,419	3	113,956
2. California	872,802	13	158,297
3. Colorado	264,647	6	103,948
4. Idaho	105,146	4	83,888
5. Kansas	471,854	10	82,158
6. Michigan	848,916	15	57,980
7. Montana	103,975	4	146,997
8. Nevada	26,611	3	110,690
9. New York	3,125,999	45	49,204
10. *Oklahoma	470,176	10	70,057
11. Oregon	221,008	5	96,699
12. South Dakota	161,024	5	77,615
13. Utah	100,646	4	84,990
14. Washington	444,919	7	69,127
15. Wyoming	37,146	3	97,914
	7,303,288	137	1,403,520

PRESIDENTIAL OR PRESIDENTIAL AND MUNICIPAL

State	Women 21 years and over	Electoral vote	Area in square miles
16. Illinois	1,699,160	29	56,665
17. Nebraska	318,903	8	77,520
18. North Dakota	157,903	5	70,837
19. Rhode Island	183,030	5	1,248
	2,358,996	47	206,270

PRIMARY SUFFRAGE

20. Arkansas	355,514	9	53,335
21. Texas	999,166	20	265,896
	1,354,680	29	319,231

TOTALS FOR THE 21 STATES

Women 21 years and over	Electoral vote	Area in square miles
11,016,964	213	1,929,021

ADD VERMONT WHICH HAS STATE-WIDE MUNICIPAL SUFFRAGE

	<i>Women 21 years and over</i>	<i>Area in square miles</i>
22. Vermont	128,328	9,564

MAKING A GRAND TOTAL FOR THE 22 STATES WHERE FULL OR PARTIAL SUFFRAGE OBTAINS IN THE UNITED STATES

Women 21 years and over	Electoral vote	Area in square miles
11,145,292	213	1,938,585

* Official returns not yet in full.

How to Win a State

SOUTH DAKOTA has won. And won by a majority of 20,000. Her years of struggle have ended with a campaign that was unique in the history of suffrage campaigns.

On the 18th of last April the Governor called a special session of the Legislature to draft some war measures. Chief among them was the now famous citizenship clause to prevent voting by unnaturalized persons in South Dakota, and this was submitted as an amendment to the suffrage amendment.

After these two were securely tied together Mrs. John L. Pyle, president of the Universal Franchise League, said to the Governor: "We suppose now we women will not have to work at all—the men have made our amendment their affair and they will take care of it." The Governor, seconded by several Senators who were in the group, replied: "On the contrary, we depend on you to make the best campaign you have ever made. The double question will require double effort to carry and the women must do the work."

And the women did!

No one who has not campaigned in a state like South Dakota can imagine the difficulties they faced—hard enough at any time—with tremendous distances, poor railroad service, and a large foreign population; in war time, with everyone's attention focused on specific war activities, with all the money going to war investments, and an influenza epidemic sweeping the country, next to impossible.

There was a conference in the headquarters in Huron and Mrs. Pyle faced the situation and took up the burden. The National Suffrage Association had sent her two field workers—Miss Mary Elizabeth Pidgeon and Mrs. Albert McMahon. Mrs. McMahon was given charge of the organization department and together the two women set to work to district the state and organize in each county a campaign committee.

BY and by the forces augmented, and South Dakota had an organizer for every six districts, each comprising from twelve to fourteen huge counties. Each worker as she came into the state had to be carefully instructed in everything that touched upon the constitutional provisions for voting in South Dakota, the status of the alien, the reason for putting the citizenship clause into the suffrage amendment, the effect its passage would have upon the alien, etc., because these questions were constantly met. No one could make a speech without answering them, and we were continually accused of having played a smart political trick—often it was characterized as "low" rather than smart. Almost the only opposition we had to overcome in our newspapers was on that score. The local women, who knew suffrage like the alphabet, had to be educated from the beginning in this new phase of the campaign. Much new literature had to be gotten out and all our posters changed to fit new conditions.

About one-third of the vote in South Dakota is foreign and a large proportion of these men were voting on their first papers. To vote for Amendment E meant to vote to disfranchise themselves. We had to show the neutral aliens how they could complete their naturalization without losing a vote and to persuade the loyal German that he ought to be willing to wait the period of the war through for his citizenship if he were really considering the good of the state.

The campaign, therefore, resolved itself into first educating our workers to a thorough comprehension of the situation; then, through them, educating the local women along the same lines,

Reviewed for the Woman Citizen
by Mrs. Albert McMahon

and, finally, carrying the message to the voters. With it all we could attempt little that was spectacular, because to have done

so would have been to strike a discordant note in minds that were absorbed by the war spirit.

WHAT won South Dakota? Persistent, intensive, quiet work. We had few meetings of our own, but we used every one's else, from aid societies to Rotary clubs, political meetings, and Fourth of July celebrations. We did not plan parades, but wherever patriotic sentiment expressed itself through a parade we were in the parade. In two instances the parades became practically suffrage events, as in Sioux Falls, when Mrs. Lewis Leavitt had a human suffrage map (young girls), followed by a float with women dressed in national costumes of the full suffrage countries and other features; and in Scotland, where Miss Ida Stadie had a whole section depicting the advance of women held back by ignorance, prejudice and vices, women's war activities, etc.

We circularized our voters in groups again and again—lawyers, business men, farmers, etc., with literature adapted to each group.

We circulated a petition, and 95 per cent of the women to whom it was presented signed it. The difficulty of getting this work systematically done led to our "petition drives." We sent every organizer we could command into delinquent counties, having had advance work to get the co-operation of the local women. The county was divided into districts, as many local women as could be corralled were assigned to the organizers as assistants and the county was canvassed in two, or at most, three days. In the evenings street meetings were held. When the workers passed on to another county they left literature in every home, and posters placarded on every wall space. They left newspaper stories, and the spoken word in the ear of all who would listen, and they left the morale of the local workers at high water mark. We called our organizers "the grasshoppers" during these drives, because they cleaned up a county in a day. The petitions were later printed and mailed to the voters in each county with our final circularization.

NINETY-EIGHT per cent of our newspapers were with us, and too much appreciation cannot be expressed for their fine co-operation. In spite of paper shortage and the demand for war publicity they never failed us. In addition to news stories, editorials, etc., they universally used the plate material with which the National Association furnished us. As much as any other one thing perhaps this plate material helped to win the campaign.

Our political parties all endorsed us, the Republicans and Democrats making us a part of their platforms. This would have been a very much more material help than it was had not the influenza struck us just as the political campaigns were starting, preventing the holding of any sort of meeting.

In June Mrs. Frank J. Shuler came out to us and with Mrs. S. V. Ghrist, vice-president of the Universal Franchise League, and Mrs. McMahon a school of methods was held in the principal towns of the state. The women were taught how to organize and were grounded in the new aspects of the campaign. Dinners and receptions were everywhere given in their honor. Later we had every preparation made for Mrs. Catt, but she was ill and could not come to us. We felt this to be the greatest blow the campaign had. However, Mrs. Halsey W. Wilson, recording secretary of the National, took her place and inspired and delighted all who were privileged to hear her.

IN summing up the causes behind our victory one must speak first of the valiant work of the organizers who were given charge of those six tremendous districts and who did yeoman service every minute. Miss Mary Elizabeth Pidgeon was the first to arrive. She formed a campaign committee in a number of places before she was assigned to her own district of ten counties. To her conscientious, earnest efforts is largely due the big vote polled for Amendment E in the northeastern corner of the state.

Mrs. R. E. H. Stevens had her first headquarters at Aberdeen and later worked in the Black Hills district. Too much cannot be said in praise of her unselfish devotion. No day was long enough for her, her working hours extending into every night.

Miss Stella Crossley and Miss Gertrude Watkins divided the southern and most populous district of the state. They made themselves beloved by the local committees and stirred these bodies to a pride in their own counties that found expression in good work. Never a fair that was not covered, nor a Teachers' Institute, nor a Farmers' Alliance, nor a political meeting. Everywhere that voters foregathered, there they were. Miss Josephine Miller with her background of Red Cross service in France, her personal charm and unflagging energy made hundreds of votes for us.

Miss Liba Peshakova proved herself a sort of wizard when it came to money-raising and petition work.

Miss Ida Stadie had several of the hardest counties of South Dakota as her portion. She met and overcame difficulties that had seemed to us insuperable. Counties that in 1916 had been accounted so foreign in population, so averse to American ideals that they had been "given over to hardness of heart" were allotted to her. By her grasp of their needs and her ready meeting of those needs several of those selfsame counties are in the white list today.

In Hutchinson county she raised money, edited, and issued a bi-monthly bulletin which was sent into every home, carrying to most of them the first message they had ever had on woman suffrage.

BUT this efficient, faithful little band could not have won the campaign alone. South Dakota will perhaps never realize how much she owes to Mrs. John L. Pyle, President of the Universal Franchise League, who gave herself absolutely to the winning of political freedom for South Dakota's women. Shouldering the responsibility that others refused, she was at her desk from early in the morning often until 11 o'clock and later at night. Neither home cares nor illness nor anything else stood in the way of her complete service. The best there was in her she gave to the cause she loves and she has the gratitude of those for whom and with whom she worked.

Ably seconding her efforts was Mrs. S. V. Ghrist, vice-president of the League. Mrs. Ghrist not only fully organized her own county and raised considerably more than its quota of money, but she went into other counties on a finance campaign, and she spoke from one end of the state to the other.

As much as any other one person Mrs. Frank Meyer, office secretary, contributed to the success of the campaign. Absolutely reliable, absolutely untiring, she kept everything moving for everybody.

Mrs. Paul Rewman and Miss Alice Lorraine Daly had charge of the Finance Department and coaxed the dollars out of pockets of men and women whom, many times, they had first to convert to a partisanship for Amendment E.

And back of all this, the whole structure rested on the county workers. A traveling man was inquiring as to which counties

would win and when Minnehaha was mentioned, he said:

"Oh, of course, I knew that!"

Asked why, he answered: "One cannot get into Sioux Falls without hearing and seeing 'Amendment E' at every step, posters at the station and in every window, huge street banner, big headquarters, everybody wearing buttons and all the women poking leaflets at one. Oh yes, Minnehaha will carry." Responsible for this was Mrs. Lewis L. Leavitt, chairman of the Minnehaha County Campaign Committee and her splendid corps of helpers. No task too great, no sacrifice too big for them.

Also among the high lights as chairmen of county committees were: Miss Harriet Grant, of Huron, and Mrs. R. H. Lewis, of Mitchell. Neither of these women had been a suffrage worker before, but they rose to the emergency and left nothing undone to put their counties "over the top."

Result:

VICTORY.

Victory for those counties, victory for every county that did its part, victory for Dakota, 20,000 majority for democracy and Americanization, and all the hard work of previous campaigns, the discouragements, the heartbreaks justified.

Thank God for South Dakota's fifth suffrage campaign.

Numerically Speaking

The total area of the United States in which women have full or presidential or primary suffrage is now 1,858,964 square miles, or 61 per cent of the total United States without Alaska. With the addition of Alaska—where women have full suffrage, and Vermont, where they have full municipal suffrage, but no voice for the President—2,459,412 square miles, or 67 per cent of continental United States, are suffrage territory.

The total number of women over 21 in the Union is 27,238,187. Not quite one-fourth live in states where women have full suffrage and 38 per cent in states where they may vote for the President of the United States.





"AT YOUR SERVICE, LADY"

Full Victories

THE work of making the suffrage map of the United States 100 per cent white was given a tremendous impetus on November 5 when the states of Michigan and South Dakota (and probably Oklahoma) came into the full suffrage column.

According to returns Michigan gave a majority of 24,000 votes for the Suffrage Amendment and South Dakota has given a majority of nearly 20,000 for Amendment E.

Monday morning the indications were strong that Oklahoma had likewise scored a victory. If this prove true the victory is unprecedented, as amendments to Oklahoma's state constitution have to poll a majority of all votes cast on any issue or any candidate.

The overwhelming victory in Michigan adds 15 votes to the suffrage representation in the electoral college—the largest number added by any full suffrage state with the exception of New York—and South Dakota adds 5, making a total electoral vote of 203 from states having full, presidential and primary suffrage. The number of states having full suffrage is raised from 12 to 14. Add to these Texas and Arkansas, where women vote at the primaries for Senators and Congressmen, and the total is 16 states where women participate in the election of Federal Representatives. With the victories in Michigan and South Dakota women may now vote for 32 Senators and 124 Congressmen. (This includes Arkansas and Texas.)

In 61 per cent of the territory of the United States women now have a voice in the choice for President, a clear gain in territory of 10 per cent over one year ago.

South Dakota registered not only a victory for suffrage by a large majority vote, but also registered South Dakota's Americanism, as the passage of Amendment E takes the state out of the class known as a "first paper" state and makes American citizenship the basis for participation in government.

Stories in detail of the victories in Michigan and Oklahoma will follow in later issues of the Woman Citizen.

Louisiana's Defeat a Victory

DIRECT advices to the National American Woman Suffrage Association establish the point that Louisiana furnished one of the surprises of the election on November 5th by rejecting the suffrage amendment to the state constitution by fewer than 2,000 votes. The women of Louisiana and the supporters of suffrage lay the suffrage defeat to Martin Behrman, Mayor of New Orleans, who led the Democratic ring of that city in its campaign against the women of the state.

Suffrage carried at all points outside of New Orleans, but the adverse majority of 9,000 votes in that city was too large to be overcome.

The National American Woman Suffrage Association is in receipt of the following telegram signed by Mrs. Lydia Wickliffe Holmes, President of the Louisiana Woman Suffrage Party:

"Louisiana lost by less than 2,000. Martin Behrman, Mayor of New Orleans, who has dictated the official personnel and policy of the state for years, killed it. We lost the city of New Orleans by 9,000 votes. Democracy has lost Louisiana. The womanhood of the state is thoroughly aroused, and combining with men who have always fought the ring, will wipe autocracy out of the state. National committeemen and the Governor did all in their power to win the mayor over. One paper only in the state was against suffrage."

Louisiana is the first southern state to hold a referendum on suffrage, and its defeat by so slight a margin is conceded by press and politicians to be a triumph for the suffrage cause.

The vote stands as a concrete demonstration of the tremendous gain in suffrage sentiment throughout the South.

In New York

IN their first state election since the adoption of equal suffrage, the women of New York turned out about 1,000,000 strong. In New York City politicians estimated the woman vote at from 350,000 to 380,000, or 41 per cent of the total vote in Greater New York.

The figures given out by Miss Mary Garrett Hay, City Chairman, are:

Manhattan	131,538
Bronx	51,267
Brooklyn	143,495
Queens	37,893
Richmond	7,019
	371,212

Miss Hay counts that 89 women voted out of every 100 who registered.

To the 2,000 election district captains of the New York City Woman Suffrage Party belongs much of the credit for getting out this large vote. They worked hard to inform the unaccustomed voters what they were to do and

"THE hope of the world is indeed in our republic; so let work
zen—women as well as men—shall be crowned with me sy

What November 5 G

FULL SUFFRAGE IN TWO NEW STATES. MICHIGAN DAKOTA WON BY 20,000 MAJORITY.

THE OKLAHOMA FULL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT RE (AS THE WOMAN CITIZEN GOES TO PRESS OKLAHOMA FULL RETURNS ARE NOT YET IN). THE OKLAHOMA VOTES OF CARRYING THE STATE.

NEW YORK WOMEN VOTED IN THEIR THE NUMBER OF AT LEAST 1,000,000. THIS IS R OF THE REGISTRATION. IN NEW YORK CITY, FROM 350,000-380,000 WOMEN VOTED AT THAT CENT OF THE TOTAL ELECTORATE.

NEBRASKA ALSO WON A SUFFRAGE VIGILISTS' EFFORT TO FORCE PRESIDENTIAL SUFFRAGE REFERENDUM VOTE FAILED, ANTI SUFFRAGE AS TO BE SET ASIDE.

A FULL ACCOUNT OF THE TRIUMPH OF WOMEN WERE RULED OUT WILL BE GIVEN BY THE NEW YORK TIMES THEMSELVES IN A COMING EDITION. "THE

how to do it. They also followed up their good work by attention to every detail at the precincts.

Woman officials sat on practically all of the election boards, two-thirds of all the boards being women, according to the New York Tribune. Women clerks won general approval for speed and accuracy.

Reports of the decency and regularity of the elections were almost monotonously alike in every newspaper. Many papers headlined the fact that this was the most orderly election ever held in New York city.

An incident of interest because it substantiates voting customs in other large equal suf-

Cut This Out and Keep

THERE are now 14 full suffrage states and 16 states are (in order of the date of suffrage) Colorado 1893, Utah and Idaho 1896, New York 1911, Kansas, Arizona and Oregon 1912, Montana and Nevada 1913, New York 1913, South Dakota 1918.

The number of women of voting age in the United States is 21,000,000. In addition four states, Illinois, North Carolina, Rhode Island 1917, have presidential suffrage and a municipal vote also.

These 18 states, with Arkansas (1917) where women have full primary suffrage, give 10,546,788 electoral votes. Vermont women state-qualified.

The total number of women of voting age in the United States is 21,000,000. The total number of women of voting age who have a voice in choosing President is 10,546,788. The total number of women of voting age who have a voice in choosing municipal officers is 10,675,116.

* This does not include Oklahoma on which the official count is not yet in.

work to make it a genuine democracy, where every citizen has the symbol of equality—the ballot." Susan B. Anthony.

5 Gave Women

CHIGAN WON BY 24,000 MAJORITY. SOUTH

MENT RECEIVED A LARGE MAJORITY VOTE
KLAHOMA IS THOUGHT TO HAVE WON.
SIANA AMENDMENT CAME WITHIN 2,000

THEIR FIRST STATE ELECTIONS TO
IS IS REPORTED TO BE 90 PER CENT
CITY, POLITICIANS ESTIMATE THAT
THAT THEY CONSTITUTED 41 PER

GE VICTORY. THE ANTI-SUFFRA-
AL SUFFRAGE FOR WOMEN TO A
ITIONS PROVING SO FRAUDULENT

IN WHICH THE ANTI PETITIONS
THE NEBRASKA SUFFRAGE WORKERS
"THE WOMAN CITIZEN."

frage cities is the time when women voted in largest numbers. A few were first at the polls. Some women, who found it more convenient, voted early; but the "baby-carriage" vote did not come forth in earnest until the morning was well along. By noon policemen were in requisition to watch lines of perambulators and the election officials had to keep a sharp eye on small children who trotted about the floor.

That is, at the hours when the male vote was lightest the feminine world was out on its marketing rounds, and took occasion to go to the voting booths. This is in line with Chicago experience, and automatically simplifies and economizes the double vote of men and women.

Keep It

ates and one territory.* These
frage gains) Wyoming 1869,
1896, Washington 1910, Cali-
regon 1912, Alaska Territory,
New York 1917, Michigan and

in the 14 states is 6,833,112.
North Dakota, Nebraska and
suffrage—all but the last giving

(1917) and Texas (1918),
ge, give women a voice in 203
state-wide municipal suffrage.
21, therefore, in states where
resident of the United States is
municipal questions are voted

Official count. See page 507 for figures with

Up-State Kept Up with the City

THE New York *World* conceded an even larger percentage of registered women at the polls than was reported for the city.

Answers from twenty cities assembled by this paper showed that 94 per cent of registered women, and exactly 94 per cent of registered men voted on November 5.

Out of 70,000 votes cast in Albany County, 25,000 were women's—about 90 per cent of the registration.

In Rochester about the same per cent was estimated.

In the City of Auburn more women than men voted, and the city polled a big "dry" vote.

In Schenectady, where there is a strong Socialist group, 4,437 women registered and 70 per cent voted.

In Poughkeepsie, where the influenza was raging badly, 1,500 out of 1,800 registered women voted. In Elmira and Orange County the "flu" also cut down the vote.

In Utica seven-eighths of the registered women voted.

In Westchester County, "the bedroom of New York City," out of 8,600 registered persons, about 4,000 women voted.

"Never in the history of election, it was claimed, has such a decided reign of order and complete satisfaction among all parties been noted," reported the *Knickerbocker Press* in Albany.

A human touch was given by the Mothers' Club of the capital, who devoted their motor cars to carrying the women from the old ladies' homes to the polls. Many of these last were among those whose eyes had seen the glory of the coming of the cause to which they had been devoted for so many years, but who could not have gone out by themselves to vote.

Cast Her First Vote at 102

MISS RHODA PALMER, the last survivor of the first suffrage convention held in Seneca Falls, N. Y., in 1848, cast her first ballot on Tuesday. Miss Palmer was 102 years old on the 15th of last June. To live long enough to see her sisters given the right of suffrage, and to cast the precious ballot herself, has been the dream of her life—on Tuesday her hopes were realized.

Mrs. Alfred G. Lewis, Vice Leader of the Ontario County Woman Suffrage Party, always mindful of this rich life, sent a special conveyance and attendants to conduct her to the polls, which were four miles distant from her home. Arriving there, she marked her ballot, unaided even by spectacles. She greeted a large number of friends and neighbors, and was the life of the party on the way home.



ASSEMBLYMAN IDA SAMMIS

Assemblywomen

MRS. IDA SAMMIS of Huntington, Long Island, is one of two women who will take their seats in the New York State Assembly this year.

Mrs. Sammis, who was district leader of the New York State Woman Suffrage Party, ran on the Republican and Prohibition tickets. She polled 1,500 more votes than her Democratic opponent, Walter L. Stilwell, in the second district of Suffolk County. She entered the political contest at the primaries in order to eliminate Assemblyman Murphy, who had made a bad record by his vote on the Child Labor Question. This is her own statement:

"For no consideration would I have become a candidate if there had been a man willing to undertake the task who had the confidence of the people and the necessary strength to win in a contest with Mr. Murphy. I was told that there was no likelihood that such would be the case and that in all probability Mr. Murphy would be renominated. I hoped that Mr. Murphy, like Elon R. Brown, would realize that a large body of new voters, who disapprove of his record in the Legislature, had been added to the electorate and that he, like Mr. Brown, would retire from public life. Mr. Murphy's announcement of his candidacy put an end to that hope. Therefore, at the urgent request of many prominent people in this district, I pledged myself to become the candidate of all our people who desire to be truly represented in the Assembly.

"A man's record in the Legislature is a public matter, a part of the history of the State. The study of that record, when the man becomes again a candidate, is a public duty."

Mrs. Sammis won the nomination and ran on both the Republican and Prohibition tickets. She won at the polls although she had to carry on her campaign by hand-picked electioneering methods, that is through house to house visiting

(Continued on page 513)

A New New York

By Hamilton Williamson

THERE are one hundred and fifty thousand enlisted men within easy reach of New York. One hundred thousand mothers and more are wondering just what their sons do on their furloughs in the monster city.

The War Camp Community Service has set itself the colossal task of finding the answer. Its work is like that of the detective who, having agreed to shadow a man, invited the suspect to pay him a visit as the only means of having his own meals in peace.

The New York branch of the W. C. C. S. can tell you just where hundreds of men are each night, having gathered them under its own roofs. It is a young organization of amazing growth and vitalizing enthusiasm. It has not only had to fight all that is bad in the temptations New York spreads so alluringly, but it was compelled to contend against several good and honest American disinclinations; the unwillingness to give up the smallest fraction of personal freedom, a reluctance to accept something for nothing, and a stout Anglo-Saxon aversion to making friends quickly.

The soldier arrives in New York. He has left discipline back there behind him in the camp. He is full of the hereditary longing to be shown. He has decided that he will trot about the city without blinders. He will see it as it is, or rather he will see Broadway and investigate it in all its complexity, since he has the idea that Broadway is New York.

It is just here that the War Camp Community Service must "get hold of" him. Its early efforts were met with some determination on the part of the men not to be "got hold of." All that is changed. The W. C. C. S. has reached the supreme goal of every business and every profession; it has become the fashion. Its methods have been direct, ingenious, and wholly delightful. It has become impossible for soldiers and sailors not to like and trust a group of men and women who so evidently like and trust them. They get, by word of mouth, accounts of jolly dances and delicious informal dinners which other fellows enjoy, and they fall into line, and give their leisure hours into the

EVEN if the war is over, this kind of constructive work is just as much needed as ever, and will be until demobilization is completed.—Ed.

keeping of that abhorred thing, an organization.

The enlisted man now reads printed instructions as to the best methods of using free time.

In New York, the city of extortion, he discovers on examination of the W. C. C. S. booklet that he can get sleeping accommodations in almost any section for twenty-five cents; a bed, two clean sheets and pillow-case, a bath, soap and towels all for a quarter. For breakfast he can have oatmeal and milk, rolls, butter and coffee for ten cents. He can have a complete breakfast with two eggs and four slices of bacon for thirty cents. If he has been improvi-

First Armory and dance "by the mile," with fifteen hundred other men in uniform. Pool, billiard, reading and writing rooms are open to him all over the city. There are canteens innumerable with prices so small that he can hardly afford not to have bountiful meals. The Stage Woman's War Relief and other organizations provide free tickets for theatrical performances on a scale which leaves him a wide range of choice.

And along comes Sunday which is *his* day. The churches vie with each other in welcoming him, but with a lenient spirit in which there is no insistence. They even assist in advertising the free sight-seeing bus rides which start for upper and lower New York at ten-thirty every Sunday morning from Forty-nine West Twenty-seventh Street.

The Casino Theatre throws open its doors for a two p. m. vaudeville performance every Sunday afternoon for enlisted men exclusively, and their uniform is their pass. On Sunday evenings the various New York theatres in succession invite them to witness, free of charge, their regular productions.

It is interesting to watch the effect which all this hospitality has on the men. Their first feeling seems to be one of astonishment. A young soldier from Kansas summed up the situation:

"What beats me about it is that all these years I have been living in America I got its number wrong. I didn't know our country was like this."

"Well," said his hostess, "it wasn't. The country wasn't like this, nor were you a soldier. It takes a



"WHERE HUNDREDS OF MEN ARE EACH NIGHT"

Drawn expressly for the Woman Citizen by Toni Sarg*

dent enough not to have any money, Mr. Lutz of Unit Number Five will accept his I. O. U. and give him a bed and good breakfast on trust. If he wishes entertainment in a private house he need only apply at any W. C. C. S. centre. He may request to be sent to a household where there are young girls in the family, or, if he is bashful, where there are none. If he is a good dancer he may practice the art every night except Sunday, and if he is a poor one he may have dancing lessons free of charge. On Saturday night he may elect to go to the Seventy-

* Seven years ago Toni Sarg was a London artist of established reputation. His comic drawings appeared in all the English periodicals. It was then that his sense of humor found, in Marionettes, a further means of expression. He made puppets for his own amusement in his hours of relaxation.

When he came to America in 1914, he brought with him a collection of quaint dolls, and continued his experiments in his New York studio.

At the suggestion of Mr. Winthrop Ames, and with Mr. Ames's assistance, he undertook to demonstrate what could be done with an art which, in America, at least, had always been in the hands of the showman type.

Last January he presented three puppet plays at The Neighborhood Playhouse. They were an immediate success. After a half a dozen performances on Grand Street, the puppets were promoted to Broadway, appearing first at the Norworth Theatre and later at The Punch and Judy.

Mr. Sarg is now busy with a production of Thackeray's "The Rose and the Ring," which he promises for next January.

war to make us show our colors. There's a lot of common sense at the bottom of this hospitality of ours," she went on. "We want to meet you men, and see that you are in good fighting trim mentally, morally and physically, and we want you to look us over so you can be sure we are worth fighting for."

The soldier went off on a side line. "I bet," he said, "when I get to France I won't find any girls as nice as those you made me acquainted with in New York."

"Write us that," cried his hostess, "and we will feel that we have won a battle."

The society woman with her well-cut clothes, her easy manner, and ready flow of conversation is hardly the accepted idea of "war material," but now is the time when her quiet charm is at a premium. She is the willing "shock remover" in the social gatherings where men from all states and many stations are drawn together and introduced to girls with whom they have not one single common acquaintance. Their task is that of continually "breaking the ice." The New York women working under Mrs. James Madison Bass do it so skilfully that one is ready to say that no ice ever existed. The thrill of their enthusiasm is contagious. They throw a touch of religious fervor into their work. In most cases their hours are cruelly long, but of this they seem quite unconscious.

One of Mrs. Bass's assistants put it in this way:

"You see we must throw all of ourselves into the work because, while the men are fighting for the country, we are fighting for the men. What we really are," she went on, "is warriors against vice. We are going to make it so easy and delightful for them to be good that they will have neither time nor desire to be bad."

In Paris the problem of prostitution was simplified by a stroke of the pen. Enlisted men are forbidden the city. Throughout Germany moral looseness is welcomed, is given, in fact, governmental sanction as a simple means of bolstering the falling birth rate. America has determined to hold her moral standards in spite of the war. She has determined to be cleaner on account of the war.

We have been taught from infancy that we are a hospitable people, that ours is a land of genial good fellowship, but it was left to the W. C. C. S. to point out to us that that vague consciousness must be translated into the most definite action. The organization has thrown a burden of proof on everyone with an extra chair in his dining-room or an extra dollar in his purse.

New York is responding splendidly. With success comes the realization of the enormous scope of the work. There is almost no woman and literally no attractive girl who cannot help in the promotion of the soldiers' and sailors' happiness.

A Nation-wide Guidebook for the Woman who Votes and the Woman who wishes to Vote

THE WOMAN CITIZEN

By MARY SUMNER BOYD

Chairman Research Department, Leslie Woman Suffrage Commission

The simplest, plainest, most get-at-able book on civics and suffrage for women yet published.

ITS SPECIAL FEATURES ARE:

- It applies to every state in the Union.
- It contains a complete table of women's voting qualifications in each state.
- It outlines the various party platforms.
- It fully explains all vexing citizenship problems.

Besides giving a thorough groundwork of general civics, it lays down for the woman voter certain problems upon which to base her judgment of public issues and candidates. With an introductory chapter by Carrie Chapman Catt. Net \$1.50.

Especially Recommended to Women's Civics Clubs

Just the novel for the mother with a son at the front

THE STAR IN THE WINDOW

By OLIVE HIGGINS PROUTY

Author of "Bobbie, General Manager, Etc."

The romance of an American girl, telling how one house, once blind and visionless, was given sight and soul by a star in the window. Net \$1.50.

443 Fourth Ave.

FREDERICK A. STOKES COMPANY

New York

Can you sing? Can you play the piano? Can you dance? Can you wait on the table? Can you cook, perhaps, or can you talk sympathetically to a boy away from home?

The War Camp Community Service asks for every gift you have, your talents, your time and your money for the benefit of the men in brown and blue.

The Halo of Grief

A Manual of Comfort for Mourners

By Bolton Hall. A new edition of a work which has been highly appreciated and which has a special appeal in these times. A charming Gift for all Seasons.

Price \$1.25 net; postage extra.

BRENTANO'S

5th Ave. & 27th St.
New York.

What November 5 Gave Women

(Continued from page 511)

and canvassing, no public meetings being allowed in her district because of the influenza.

Suffragists account Mrs. Sammis's personal pluck at the highest. She has within a year gone through a double tragedy in the death of her husband and her mother.

On the day after election she went to Boston where her son, who cast his first vote for her, reported for duty in the Merchant Marine.

Mrs. Sammis's short and simple program states: "I am an advocate of the protection of women in industry, and of prohibition." But she wants it to be known of all and sundry that she is not to be a representative of women but of the second Suffolk district, both men and women. She is eager to get at her task and work for the welfare of her district.

SLOW returns are bringing in accounts of successful women candidates from all over the country.

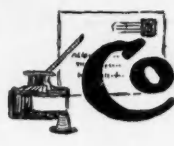
Mrs. Maggie Smith Hathaway has been returned to the Montana Legislature from Ravalli County. She won her re-election on her previous record and the slogan of "unconditional surrender." She was the only Democrat elected

in the entire county and polled a majority of about 200 over her Republican rival, a lawyer.

Men who hesitated about sending a woman to the Legislature in 1916 were her "best boosters" in 1918. They boosted because Mrs. Hathaway had stood squarely for the farmers on the Seed Grain Bill. "Her argument for economy helped save the state \$100,000 yearly," said Speaker O'Connor.

Mrs. Hathaway has a record of seven bills introduced into the last Legislature—five of which passed the House.

AN inquiry sent by the National Council of Women of Canada shows that several women have been elected to office recently. In Brantford, two women were elected to the Board of Education. In Calgary, a woman has been elected alderman, another, school trustee, and two are acting as magistrates. In Regina, a woman is member of the library board. Of three women elected to the Toronto Board of Education, one, Miss Constance Boynton, polled the largest vote of any candidate.



Correspondence



Inevitable Conclusions

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

STUDYING the vote in the Senate for and against the Federal Suffrage Amendment, certain conclusions are inevitable. One is that merely to have the vote taken before the November Congressional elections is a victory for the suffragists, even if the vote did go against them; for it showed just where each Senator stood on the amendment, and exposed the Senators who were false to the promises of their party platforms; especially such prominent Republican leaders as Lodge and Weeks of Massachusetts, Penrose of Pennsylvania and Wadsworth of New York, and such Democratic leaders as Underwood of Alabama and Williams of Mississippi. The Senators opposed to the Federal Amendment did not want the vote taken before the November elections, for they did not want the people to know that they would vote against their party pledges to the suffragists. The suffrage plank, then, in both Republican and Democratic platforms, was not intended to be kept by such party leaders as Lodge and Weeks, and Underwood and Williams, but was merely a trap to catch the votes from the woman suffrage states, who will not be fooled that way again.

Another conclusion is that President Wilson is far more liberal and progressive than his own party, so much so that he is out of sight of them and does not really represent them. He is not able to make the unprogressive Democratic Party follow his advanced standards, even afar off.

The suffragists have far more to expect from the Republican than from the Democratic Party. The Democrats gave a majority of only eight in favor of the Amendment, while the Republicans gave a majority of twenty in favor; and this too in spite of the fact that the Senate is made up of fifty-two Democrats and only forty-four Republicans.

The South is still, as it always was, the most conservative reactionary part of this country—with New England a close second, the writer is ashamed to say. In spite of all the Northern capital and energy which have gone down into the South since the Civil War, it is still the "Solid South," solid in demanding every sacrifice of its women in war times and solid in refusing political recognition of wives' and mothers' services and sacrifices as always!

But New England, the land of schools and education! Massachusetts, the home of Whittier and Emerson, Thoreau and James Russell Lowell! Massachusetts, long called the heart of New England, to have both its Senators, Lodge

and Weeks, vote against the advancement of women, vote against the recognition of women's services and sacrifices in this world war, vote against women having any political part in the reconstruction and rehabilitation after the war, a work for which women are particularly fitted by nature! Massachusetts, the seat of Smith College, Mt. Holyoke, Wellesley, and Simmons College for Women, and the location of innumerable celebrated schools for the higher education of young women! How can Massachusetts endure this? Who can explain it?

Rhode Island was the only New England state both of whose Senators voted for the Amendment. Both Senators from Connecticut voted against it, and only one Senator each from Vermont, New Hampshire and Maine voted for it.

The middle West and far West voted mainly for it. The conclusion is inescapable that it is to the West, "the great free glorious West," as the late Henry B. Blackwell called it, that the United States must look for progress and reforms in the future, not to the reactionary South, nor to behind-the-times New England. But Senators Lodge and Weeks are not representing the real spirit of Massachusetts. They are only misrepresenting it. These antis are merely camouflage for the selfish, rich and powerful interests hiding behind them.

SYLVIA S. VIDETTO.

Detroit, Michigan.

A Word for Senator Williams

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

SENATOR JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS, of Mississippi, used the following words speaking against the Suffrage Amendment before the U. S. Senate: "When the President says we can't lick Ludendorff—scare Bulgaria and reconquer Palestine because 'nigger' women can't vote in Mississippi, I decline to agree with him."

Why did the Mississippi Senator charge President Wilson with words and particular statements not uttered by him, either before the Senate or in any published report of speeches made elsewhere? This sneer at the President was not veneered with any semblance of truth or published facts in the case—and yet the Senator had sufficient assurance to tell the Senate that he was devotedly attached to the leader of his own party.

As one who lived during the Civil War—intimately concerned with the lack of statesmanship which plunged the South into a hopeless struggle to perpetuate and maintain negro slaves in the United States—I venture to say that Mr. Williams is also one of the present order

of unwise and unreliable politicians in the one-time Confederate states who will embarrass the President far more than he will aid him in considering the problems of to-day—now and at the close of the world war.

The despised "nigger women" are the mothers and wives of thousands of colored soldiers—in training and over in France. These "nigger women" are working for war relief, they are buying thrift stamps and Liberty bonds. According to their means they are doing well—winning praise from white men and women in the South. Do not forget that it was a Democratic administration with a Democratic majority in both Houses of Congress which made these colored soldiers equal in military citizenship "with the white troops of the United States." It was the work of Southern Democrats in the present Congress which nullified all the promises of our Dixie politicians—when they were elected—to keep "niggers" from obtaining political supremacy in the solid South.

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Such men as Senator John Sharp Williams could never have reached the Senate under any other conditions than open hostility to the negro race, and yet he did not open his mouth when the negro man was given the same uniform and the same gun, the same pay and the same pension that was allowed to our white soldiers in the South. Senator John Sharp Williams had his opportunity to protest, and his voice was not heard. In common with the other solid South politicians he voted to draft these sons and husbands of "nigger women" and as far as his vote went he knocked down the last barrier against negro citizenship in this country. His attitude on the Suffrage Amendment is an insult to the white women of the South as well as to his own President.

MRS. W. H. FELTON.

Cartersville, Georgia.

Chicago Teachers to Mrs. Catt

MY DEAR MRS. CATT:

THE Chicago Teachers' Federation, on October 12, expressed enthusiastic appreciation of the splendid work done for the Federal Suffrage Amendment by you and your able co-workers in your efforts to secure a favorable vote on this Amendment by both Houses of Congress.

We share your disappointment in its failure in

the Senate and we trust that the women in the home districts of the thirty-three Senators who voted against it will take the first opportunity to see to it that their seats in the Senate are filled by men broad-minded enough to know how inconsistent it is for our Nation to be at war to establish world democracy and at the same time deny to one-half of its own citizens the application of the fundamental principle of democracy.

CHICAGO TEACHERS' FEDERATION.

Frances E. Harden, Corresponding Secretary.
Ida L. M. Fursman, President.

Where a Woman Is "No One"

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

IT was my fortune this morning to take the caboose on a train containing a car load of steers shipped to me at our trading station. When I read over the contract handed me by the shipper, the man from whom I purchased the cattle, I noticed "No one in charge." I drove my beef cattle (with a boy to help) a two days' drive to the shipping point, and I will receive these cattle today and drive them to the ranch, fifteen miles. Yet I notice in this live stock shipping contract this: "Women or other persons incompetent to take charge of shipments of live stock will not be passed."

Our amendment is going to pass.

Excuse this hasty note.

Yours for the new democracy.

ROSE BOWER.

On freight train between Rapid City and Fairburn, S. Dak.

Lifting Her Baby

THE Committee on Women in Industry says that no woman ought to lift more than twenty-five pounds, continuously. Someone objected: "Why, a woman often lifts twenty-five pounds when she lifts her baby!" Mary McDowell answered, "Yes, but she does not lift her baby every two minutes all day long."

When this was reported in the *Woman Citizen* recently, a typographical error changed "baby" to "body," thus spoiling the point. It would be a singularly dwarfish woman who did not lift much more than twenty-five pounds in lifting her body.

A. S. B.

THE WAR IS OVER, BUT THE
UNITED WAR WORK CAMPAIGN
IS STILL ON.
IT NEEDS YOUR SUPPORT UNTIL
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War Time Fiction

MEN have exhausted their imaginations inventing just retribution for the German rulers. Now it is suggested, as an ultimate penalty, that they be made to see themselves as the modern novelist paints them. Give them a view of the horror and loathing with which the word "German" is pronounced in all the Allied countries.

No German in future generations can fail to hang his head because of the picture his nation has graven on the fiction of the hour.

War novels have been almost violently to the fore in England ever since "Mr. Britling" led the van. These have been sincere, tragic, over-sentimental, patently money-getting, or merely opportune, according to the bigness of the writer's point of view.

VALENTINE WILLIAMS'S *The Man with a Club-foot* (Robert McBride and Co.) is a rattling good story. It is a historical novel on the Great War, of the sort that Stanley Weyman wrote. The hero goes to Germany, in response to a cryptic call from his brother, a British secret service agent in Germany, who is on a mission and is apparently in danger. After many impossible, but none the less highly exciting, escapes from impossible situations, the hero and his brother get out of Germany, killing off the club-footed man, who is of course a German secret service agent. And, of course, they accomplish the secret mission for the British government.

The reader who likes a simple tale of thrills will get what he wants from cover to cover.

AS an arraignment of modern education, Ida A. R. Wylie's *Towards Morning* (John Lane Co.) is even more convincing than Mr. Wells's novel. It is not, however, the question of modern education in itself that Miss Wylie is attacking, but the evil that can be wrought upon a sweet young soul by German militaristic training. What the German system made of Helmut Felde is a thing for tears. How it brutalized, stultified and battered his



Books for Candle Light and Chimney Corner

soul, which, at the price of his body, he won back, is a gripping story.

ELIZABETH ROBINS'S *Camilla* (Dodd, Mead & Co.) is as astonishing as it is delightful. Elizabeth Robins leads the reader through a maze filled with vivid personalities; not until the last line of the book is the mystery solved. *Camilla* was a wealthy American, beautiful, albeit her sisters called her stupid and her husband complained of her "formidable innocence." Seeking flight from an unhappy marriage, Camilla renews acquaintance, in Europe, with Michael Uancarrow. As Michael's betrothed, and a divorcee, Camilla has an interesting visit at the stately English home from which in inexplicable trepidation she flees to America. On the eve of her marriage, capricious, stupid, whatever Camilla was, she led her lovers and her readers a merry dance until the end of the book.

In the Book Trenches

THERE is only one Under-the-Sidewalk Shop in New York and it is on Fifth avenue. In it are the trenches of culture—not with a k. It is the maddest, merriest, little shop in the world, calling itself the *Book Corner*, and there one may see a series of pastels by an Indian, Glenn Cooper Henshaw, which gives promise that soon art interests will come into their own again. These pastels of American cities show idealistic visions of New York, Indianapolis, Chicago. In them the Chicago railroad yards, the Hudson River, the Indianapolis markets tell a story of municipal charm the casual observer does not often see for himself.

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JOHN P. TOLSON.

Peace Time Poetry

A TOUCHING significance belongs to *Dreams and Images* (Bonni and Live-right) because it is edited by Joyce Kilmer, one of America's own young poets killed at the war front.

Lieutenant Kilmer was not only a poet but a critic of fine discrimination whose reviews in the New York Sunday Times were widely known.

His death at the front was one of the most thrilling incidents of personal courage in the story of the American Expeditionary Forces. He was shot at an advanced post where he was creeping up on an enemy machine gun nest. Although Lieutenant Kilmer was a Catholic, this "Anthology of Catholic Poets" is gathered with a poet's taste and with a generous mind for the beautiful whether religious or otherwise. Here is one of the poems:

AN OLD WOMAN OF THE ROADS

By PADRAIC COLUM

Oh, to have a little house,

To own the hearth and stool and all—
The heaped-up sods upon the fire,
The pile of turf against the wall!

To have a clock with weights and chains,
And pendulum swinging up and down!
A dresser filled with shining delph,
Speckled and white and blue and brown!

I could be busy all the day
Clearing and sweeping hearth and floor,
And fixing on their shelf again
My white and blue and speckled store.

I could be quiet there at night
Beside the fire and by myself,
Sure of a bed, and loth to leave
The ticking clock and shining delph.

And I am praying to God on high,
And I am praying Him night and day,
For a little house—a house of my own—
Out of the wind's and the rain's way.

After the Deluge

By Alice Stone Blackwell

WOMEN are coming into their heritage of equal suffrage at an eventful and momentous time. The greatest war in the world's history is just closing, and in its wake are emerging problems of peace no less tremendous than those of the war itself.

Women will view these problems in different ways, according to their individual characters and to the education that each woman has received. They will exemplify the description that Dr. Samuel Crothers gave of the Ark, in a recent speech for the United War Drive. He said, in substance:

"Among the people in the Ark there were all the types that we find in society today. There were those who were always looking back to what they did in the days before the flood, and longing to return to the good old times. These were the Antediluvians. Then there were the Post-diluvians, who kept planning what they should do after the flood subsided. They were ridiculed as 'high brows' and if one of them opened a window to see whether the dove was coming back, he was promptly ordered to shut it. Then there were the plain Diluvians. They were wholly absorbed in feeding the animals and running the Ark. They said, 'There is no sign of this flood ever coming to an end. What we need to do is to gather in driftwood and enlarge the Ark, so that there will be room for our children.' Then there came a great shock, and Antediluvians, Post-Diluvians and Diluvians were all thrown on their faces. The Diluvians cried, 'There! Didn't we tell you so. That was the biggest wave yet.' And when one of the Post-Diluvians scrambled up and opened a window, they said, 'Oh, pshaw! You must look facts in the face.' And he answered, 'I am. I am facing Mt. Ararat!'"

Dr. Crothers said the attitude of the Diluvians was justified while the war was actually on, but now that it is ending, we must address ourselves to the problems of reconstruction. Especially must we make an earnest effort to lessen the period of demoralization that follows every war; and to this end he urged liberal giving to the united "drive" for the various agencies for social and religious work among the soldiers.

The good done by these agencies has been immense, and the response to the appeal in their behalf has been and will be generous. But every argument for giving to them applies with equal or even greater force to the need of working and giving for equal suffrage. There is an old saying, "An ounce of mother is worth a pound of clergy." This is now true in a new sense. The religious work should be and will be supported; but the mothers of the young soldiers can do more with their votes to prevent that

post-war period of demoralization than all the chaplains put together.

When our boys come home from France, will they come home to a country of clean national, state and local government, where the authorities are working in good faith to build up the welfare of the people, and to maintain the principles for which our soldiers and sailors have shed their blood—the principles of justice and right, or protection for the weak and fair play for all? Or will they come home to an environment of base politics, with the authorities in league with every sort of corruption, and our public affairs dominated by unchecked selfishness, profiteering and greed? The kind of environment to which our boys come back will have more influence upon their future lives than all the good preaching they may have heard in the course of the war. If the mothers use their votes wisely, they can determine whether that environment shall be wholesome or unwholesome, inspiring or degrading. There is vital need for educating women as widely and thoroughly as possible upon public questions. Let every woman who has anything of the vision of the Post-Diluvian do her utmost to educate her neighbors and friends!

Restoring the Loot

IN the settlement that is to be made after the war, the Germans will doubtless be required to restore the famous objects of art and other valuable things that they have stolen, so far as restitution is possible. This prospect is a source of general gratification. A very similar gratification fills the breasts of the suffragists over the victory in Michigan. That state was stolen by the opponents of equal rights in 1912, when suffrage had a majority at the polls, but was counted out by gross fraud, engineered by the liquor interests. With an honest count, Michigan would have come in at the same time with Kansas, Oregon and Arizona.

That wrong was sure to be righted sooner or later; and it has not had to wait so long for redress as the wrong done in Washington Territory, where the women were twice robbed of their ballot by two unjust and illegal decisions of the Territorial Supreme Court, and did not get it back for more than twenty years.

*So round and round we run,
But ever the right comes uppermost,
And ever is justice done.*

Michigan wins on the fourth submission; South Dakota on the fifth. When we remember brave women who put their hearts, their time and their toil into those many successive campaigns, we rejoice the more that the piecemeal method of securing suffrage state by state is almost over, and that nation-wide suffrage now stands at the very door.

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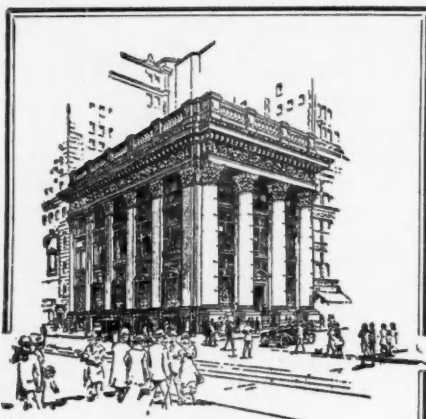
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Women's Work

TWO victories were heralded as the work of the newly-enfranchised women of New York City. They were over Abraham Ellenbogen, Republican, and State Senator Albert Ottinger.

Both men had "bad" legislative records. Senator Ottinger had voted for the "dark Brown Bills" of evil fame, the bills proposed early in the war by Elon R. Brown to destroy the protections surrounding the labor of women and children.

He had also opposed a minimum wage bill. Against Ottinger, the Women's Non-Partisan League, assisted by the Women's Trade Union League of New York City, put out their strength. They worked for Abraham Kaplan, a man who had promised to support equal pay for women and decent labor legislation.

The Sixteenth Senatorial district, that had previously elected Ottinger by a 2,000 majority, sent him to defeat by 5,000 majority against him.

Assemblyman Ellenbogen was another long-time foe of the causes dear to women. He also had to capitulate to the new voters, and was defeated by a woman rival.

New York State women have active memories and they have circumstantial records. It was on the records that Mr. Ellenbogen had supported the ill-famed Bewley cannery bills in the Assembly. His successful rival for the Seventh Assembly district was Mrs. Mary M. Lilly, well known in educational and social efforts.

She has been prominent in night court work. In 1905 she demanded a scientific system of probation in the Juvenile Court. She is now vice-president of the Society for the Aid of Mental Defectives. Her platform was four-square for upholding the war to the end, for unconditional surrender, for the federal suffrage amendment, for equal pay for equal work and for fair legislation for children.

In addition she has been a teacher and was for two years an editor of the *Women Lawyers' Journal*. She had also raised her boy to be a soldier, and he is now a captain.

Voting by Whole Families

ODDLY enough it was men who seemed to take pleasure in family unit voting. One of the *Woman Citizen's* best male friends said with satisfaction that he had gone to the polls with his wife, four sisters-in-law and his mother-in-law, the last being more eager than any of them to cast her vote. Wives went to the polls with their husbands, sisters with brothers. The men had the pleasant satisfaction of being guide, philosopher and friend to the timid, although many well versed and diligent suffragists were prepared to give instruction themselves in the gentle art of voting.

THE Suffrage Amendment Alliance of Illinois has been greatly bereaved by the death of a member of the State Central Committee—Miss Winifred Fairfax Warder, of Cairo. She has been not only a faithful worker for suffrage in Illinois, but she has been indefatigable in every sort of war work. When the registration of women began she had her county fully organized the first of any county chairman, and she has been as faithful in Red Cross work as she has always been to city charities. She enlisted for the Suffrage Overseas Hospitals work, and looked forward to it with great eagerness.

On October 15 her mother and father, former Senator Walter Warder of Cairo, received a cablegram announcing her death of pneumonia in Bordeaux. To carry on her noble work the Suffrage Amendment Alliance wish to make gifts to a \$2,000 Winifred Fairfax Warder Memorial, all of it to be used for our Overseas Hospitals Fund. No bronze memorial would be as fitting for her honor as our continuing her work for suffering soldiers. Friends of Miss Warder and suffragists are asked to send their donations to Mrs. Georgia E. Keck of Buffalo, Illinois.

CATHARINE WAUGH McCULLOCH,
Chairman.

THE recent death of Mrs. Nina Mattern of Poughkeepsie is a hard blow to the New York State Woman Suffrage Party. Mrs. Mattern was Field Secretary of the 10th Campaign District of New York in the 1917 suffrage campaign and had been a worker in the previous one. She was secretary of the 26th Congressional District at the time of her death.

One of her latest activities was the highly successful campaign against Senator Elon R. Brown last spring. Mrs. Mattern accompanied Mrs. Leavitt, who conducted the campaign on the part of the suffragists.

Mrs. Mattern has been of such great service to her city that the Poughkeepsie Board of Health has voted to put up a bronze tablet to her memory in their rooms in the City Hall.

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"THE LINEN STORE" has long been famous for its wonderful Holiday stocks of Pure Linen Handkerchiefs. It is, therefore, with great pleasure that we announce that our selection this year is quite as complete as those of previous years, notwithstanding war conditions.

It gives us added pleasure to be able to share with our patrons generous advantages in price, due to our foresight in anticipating the present Linen shortage before prices advanced.

Hand-Embroidered Handkerchiefs



We are showing a fine selection of sheer, dainty Swiss, Spanish, Irish and Madeira Hand-Embroidered Handkerchiefs.

Swiss, 50c, 65, 75, \$1.00, each, and up.

Spanish, 35c, 50c, 65c, 75, \$1.00 each, and up.



Irish, 25c, 35c, 50c, 75c, \$1.00 each, and up.

Madeira, 35c, 50c, 75c, 85c, \$1.00 each, and up.



James McCutcheon & Company

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Fifth Avenue, 34th & 33d Sts., New York

Plain Hemstitched Handkerchiefs

All Pure Linen of McCutcheon Quality.

For Women

In sheer and medium weights, \$2.00, 3.00, 4.50, 6.00, 9.00 per dozen, and up.

For Men

Generous in size, wide or narrow hems, \$4.00, 6.00, 7.50, 9.00 per dozen, and up.

Patrons will find it decidedly advantageous at this time to add to their own stock, as well as to select Handkerchiefs for gift purposes

Mail Order Service

Any of the Handkerchiefs illustrated or described in this advertisement may be ordered with complete satisfaction through our Mail Order Service.

Christmas Shopping

We respectfully suggest that in so far as possible you act on the Government's request that you do your Christmas shopping during November

Our Old Price

¶ For a year and a half the *Woman Citizen* has been held at a subscription price below the cost of manufacture.

¶ At no time has it been considered a commercial proposition.

¶ All the way along the return on the money invested has been computed in terms of propaganda.

¶ All the way along the main object has been to furnish a medium of authoritative political information from the suffrage viewpoint at a nominal cost to the subscriber.

¶ It seems to be generally conceded that this object has been attained.

Meantime

¶ The price of all items of manufacture has soared unbelievably—10%—25%—35%—50%—and still mounting!

¶ The price of the *Woman Citizen* must mount likewise.

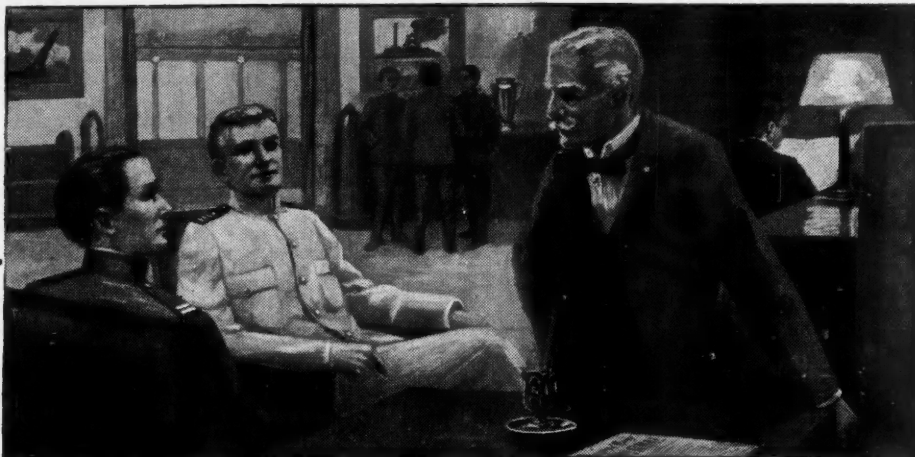
¶ Beginning January 1st, 1919, the annual subscription to the magazine will be \$2.00 a year.

¶ For that sum you are to get a better magazine, with a continuing series of special features of vital interest.

N. B.—All paid subscribers who remit \$1.50 for 1919 before December 15th, 1918, will receive the magazine for one year.

Send in your check or money order to the

Subscription Department, Office of the Woman Citizen
171 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.



The Last Word About the War

And How Colonel Sibley Was Helped to Write It

SCENE: (Army and Navy Club, New York, where Commander Ellsworth, U. S. N., and Captain Trowbridge, U. S. A., are having a conference and an after-dinner cigar in the Club Library and are joined by Colonel Sibley, U. S. A., retired)

The Colonel: Well, comrades, I win!

The Commander: Been fighting again, Colonel? Who says you're retired?

Colonel: I was retired, but now I'm in action again or soon will be, and this time with the pen instead of the sword.

Captain: How's that?

Colonel (Drawing closer to the table and glancing around): Well, comrades, I don't mind telling you in confidence that I just signed up with the Editor-in-Chief of a big magazine (name censored for the present) to write a series of articles on the Great War.

Commander: Tell us about it.

Colonel: Well, it's going to be a long campaign. The Editor, whom I have just left, wants an extended series of articles, to begin with an exhaustive survey of the causes which led up to the War.

Captain: The causes? All of them? Well, you've sure got your work laid out for you.

Commander: I should say you had.

Colonel: The Editor feels that way

himself. He's now concerned chiefly about what has happened up-to-date and the authority upon which my statements will be based. The Editor's a big gun in the business, you know, and his rivals will be getting his range if he exposes himself. He wants to secure a strategic position so that he can't be successfully attacked on anything he prints.

Captain: Well, what did you suggest?

Colonel: I'll tell you. While he was talking I was thinking and I finally told him that what he wanted as a reserve-force was some late general reference work of recognized reliability that he could fall back on. "That's it," he said, and then asked: "Which one?"

Commander (Turning his head and glancing at a set of The New International Encyclopaedia in its special case): I'll bet I can tell which one you named.

Captain (Glancing at the set): Ours, of course.

Colonel: You're both good guessers. Of course I named The New

International and the Editor nodded his head and said: "That's the very work I had in mind, not only as an authority on the causes of the War and what has already happened, but when peace comes I hear the publishers are to bring the war-volume down to date at once and are to send it to all subscribers in exchange for the war-volume now in their possession so they'll know the last word about the conflict."

Commander: Well, that settled it, I suppose.

Colonel: Yes, I told the Editor that the selection of The New International as our authority simplified the problem and he added that it not only simplified the articles, but solidified them and made them so authoritative that he would be able to follow out with safety his plan to publish the series of articles in book form.

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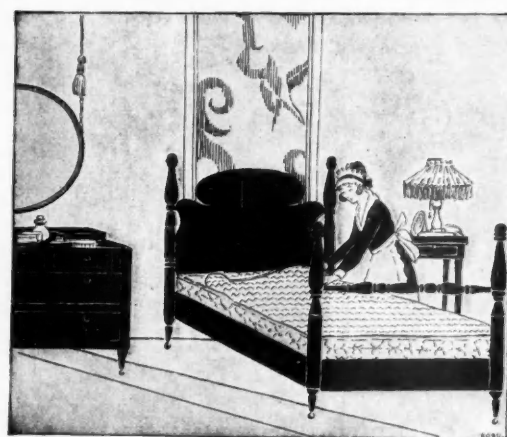
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Entered as second class matter, June 13, 1917, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

THE WOMAN CITIZEN

Founded June 2, 1917

Published every Saturday by

The WOMAN CITIZEN CORPORATION
at 171 Madison Avenue, New York

Ten cents a copy; yearly subscription (52 numbers), \$1.00. Postage to foreign countries fifty cents extra. Entered at the New York Post Office as Second Class matter, under the act of March 3, 1879. Copyright, 1918, by The Woman Citizen Corporation.

VOL. III NOVEMBER 23, 1918 No. 26

PUBLISHED by the Woman Citizen Corporation, in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

The directors of the Corporation are Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, and Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore.

Alice Stone Blackwell is a special contributing editor.

Rose Young is the editor-in-chief.

Mary Ogden White, Mary Sumner Boyd, and Rose Lawless Geyer are associate editors.

Our

THE shouting is by no means over! We had hardly sent out the news of the tremendous victories in Michigan and South Dakota when Oklahoma jumped into the full suffrage column with a big majority. Read the *Woman Citizen* and get in close touch with the progress of suffrage.

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And the same spirit is reflected in the following brief extracts from our correspondence:

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November 9th

1. Iowa
2. South Dakota
3. Georgia
4. Indiana
5. Michigan
6. Minnesota
7. New Jersey
8. Wisconsin
9. Massachusetts
10. New York
11. Virginia
12. Ohio
13. New Hampshire
14. Alabama
15. Missouri
16. Maryland
17. Texas
18. Pennsylvania
19. Maine
20. Kentucky
21. Louisiana
22. West Virginia—Connecticut
23. Tennessee
24. South Carolina
25. Arkansas
26. Washington, D. C.—North Dakota
27. Rhode Island—Illinois
28. Nebraska—Oklahoma
29. Washington—Mississippi
30. Kansas
31. North Carolina
32. Vermont

November 16th

1. Iowa
2. South Dakota
3. Georgia
4. Indiana
5. Michigan
6. Minnesota
7. New Jersey
8. Wisconsin
9. Massachusetts
10. Virginia
11. New York
12. Ohio
13. New Hampshire
14. Alabama
15. Missouri
16. Maryland
17. Texas
18. Pennsylvania
19. Maine
20. Kentucky
21. Tennessee
22. Louisiana
23. West Virginia—Connecticut
24. South Carolina
25. Arkansas
26. Washington, D. C.—North Dakota
27. Rhode Island—Illinois
28. Nebraska—Oklahoma
29. Washington—Mississippi
30. Kansas
31. North Carolina
32. Vermont

Story

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The Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

A Journal of Democracy

November 23, 1918

"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

Men and Women

EMPLOYERS of labor are displaying an admirable show of hospitality toward the idea of re-connecting the returning soldier with the job he left behind him. Warmed and colored by gratitude, the imagination of retailer and manufacturer alike leaps out to greet the home-coming hero with the promise of work and wages ready for the asking.

Which is as it should be.

A country which has exercised the right to commandeer the lives and fortunes of men in war must so rearrange itself in peace as to insure that those men who have survived the menace, the privations, the hunger of war shall not go down before the menace, the privations and the hunger entailed by an economic system that flings them to a jobless fate.

But in this connection an element of irresponsibility, interestingly naïve, is asserting itself as the surge of emotion beats out to welcome the homeward-bound boys in khaki.

Manufacturers, and even labor organizations, are suggesting, a little surreptitiously to be sure, but still suggesting, that "the same patriotism that prompted women to step forward into men's places will now prompt them to give up those places."

IT is not conceivable that intelligent men would talk like that unless they had in mind a picture of a well-groomed, financially independent woman to whom the "war job" has been a sort of cross between a patriotic duty and an economic lark.

If the problem of the forthcoming turn-over of labor were as simple as that, it would be simple indeed.

We have in mind—many people have in mind—the picture of a very different sort of woman. The woman to whom working is the condition of living; the woman who has been shifted and shunted about for four years, according to the war needs of her country; the woman who has been urged and decoyed from industry to industry, adapting herself to demand as best she could, hoping all along the way that she was winning on to an assured and permanent place as a wage-earner; the woman on whose wage-earning capacity rest the health, comfort and happiness of others besides herself.

Is she to be brushed lightly off the industrial map now that the emergencies of war are over?

NEVER has the inability of men to think in terms of women been more emphatically shown than in their large and cheerful disposition to settle the critical labor problems confronting the world today without taking into account this woman who has been the main reliance of the industrial world during the war. In the lively commitments being made, by manufacturers' associations and labor unions alike, to the home-coming soldier, you find not a word of her save this suggestion that she run along back home now. The war is over. Men want the jobs.

It is this inability of men to think in terms of women that lies at the very heart of the woman question, that has, in fact, made a woman question out of that age-old question of the representation of women by men.

Human beings may represent one another satisfactorily in so far as their common humanity is concerned. But men are not only human beings; they are men. And women are not only human beings; they are women. There is common ground on which they meet and there is particular ground where each sex stands alone.

IN all the great problems facing the world today men and women have a joint concern, and in them all each sex has its special concern.

In all the demobilization questions before us, in the questions of food rations for the world, in the questions of the readjustment of labor, men's labor and women's and children's, in the questions of financing the world, of assuring the world's future against wars to come, of rebuilding the world's productive capacities, in all the questions of world sanitation, health and morals, women have a joint stake with men. To certain of these questions, and to certain aspects of other of the questions, women's contribution will be so distinctive that they cannot hope that men will or could get the point of view. Men have their own contribution to make. They cannot possibly make women's.

It is for this reason that the demand for women on the Peace Commission comes with a peculiar pertinency.

The peace conference is the herald of a new order, and in that new order women are to be represented not by men, but by themselves.

How We Kept the Silent Vote from Talking

By Marjorie Shuler*

"OKLAHOMA NEXT" was a campaign slogan that failed to enthuse the suffrage public. "It can't be done" came in sympathetic but hopeless tones from all that enfranchised territory which made Oklahoma a black isthmus on the suffrage map. "Never" was the shrill triumphant cry from the eastern antis, thinking by volume of their sound to camouflage the utter absence of anti talk in Oklahoma.

And indeed there were grounds for unbelief. On attaining statehood Oklahoma adopted a progressive constitution. So very progressive that she wanted to preserve it *au naturel*. To guard against change, she requires, in order to carry any constitutional amendment, a majority of the entire number of those voting for any other measure or official at the same election. Thus any man who fails to vote at all upon the amendment, but does vote for any other measure or official at the same election, is recorded as voting on the amendment. This silent vote has defeated amendment after amendment, many of them strongly backed by one or more political parties.

The confidence in this silent vote to defeat the suffrage amendment led some legislators who were much opposed to suffrage to yield to the importunities of the suffragists and, on February, 1917, join with the legislators who favored equal suffrage to pass the amendment. The usual procedure of having the Governor, by proclamation, decree the date for the submission of the amendment was set aside. The legislature voted that the amendment should be submitted at the general election, 1918. Gubernatorial year. Good year for a heavy silent vote.

Then came the entrance of the United States into the world war. The suffragists gave their time and money to war work. A year passed and no suffrage campaign had been started. The chances of the silent vote looked good.

THEN came an appeal to the National American Woman Suffrage Association from the little band composing the Oklahoma State Suffrage Association, Mrs. A. C. Stephens, president. The National sent Mrs. Frank J. Shuler, chairman of campaigns and surveys, into the state, accompanied by Mrs. Charles Brooks of Kansas, and Mrs. T. T. Cotnam of Arkansas.

The National officers reviewed the lack of campaign organization, the absence of campaign funds, the extreme heat which would test the souls of the campaigners, the Oklahoma sense of isolation from the affairs of the outside world. On the opposite side of the scales they weighed the remarkable receptiveness of the men and the unusual support of the press. And the receptiveness and the press won.

Mrs. Shuler stayed for two months in the state and organized a state campaign committee. Miss Josephine Miller and Miss Gertrude Watkins were sent into the state for a month, and did splendid pioneer organizing. Miss L. Lola Walker, who always makes friends, was then sent into the state and remained through

OKLAHOMA'S highest vote—that cast for governor—was 178,963, with 73 counties out of 77 heard from. The suffrage amendment had to poll a majority of the total highest vote cast. A majority of 178,963 is 89,482. The yes vote on the suffrage amendment in these same 73 counties was 98,465. The amendment has therefore swept to victory with approximately 9,000 votes to spare. The total vote on the amendment itself in the 73 counties was: yes, 98,465; no, 74,598; total, 173,063. The amendment's plurality on its own vote was therefore approximately 25,000.

Three cheers for the Oklahoma campaign!

Three cheers for Mrs. Frank J. Shuler, who managed it.

Three cheers for the Oklahoma women and the National's organizers who put it through.

Three more for the Oklahoma men who voted Oklahoma white.—Ed.

the campaign, serving for the longest time of any of the workers. To Miss Edna Annette Beveridge was assigned the western part of the state. Her untiring faithfulness and her perseverance in the face of all obstacles resulted in the carrying of counties where this year's third successive crop failure made it difficult for the people to see beyond the blackened cotton fields and the serried rows of corn stalks withered before their growth. Miss Margaret Thompson, as a volunteer worker, did wonderful service for the petition of women. Mrs. Mary Katherine Maule took her wide experience to the northeastern section of the state, where the Tulsa committee, by all odds the best in the state, gave her a headquarters. Miss Alma Sasse, Miss Sally Fanny Gleaton and

Miss Mary Park London, as a volunteer worker, contributed important work in washing Oklahoma white.

ONE of the first features of the campaign to be decided upon was the petition of women. Under the splendid direction of Miss Alice Curtis assisted by Miss Doris Long, the petition was brought up to 58,000 names, which were formally presented on October 19th to Governor Williams and the other officials at the state capitol in Oklahoma City. The city was posted in honor of the event and the shops had suffrage windows. The central display was followed by county displays which were in many instances moved to several towns. All the displays featured posters, suffrage store windows, patriotic ceremonies, suffrage speeches and committees of prominent men and women to pass on the authenticity of the signatures. The petition represented 77 counties and 49 towns. Wherever the women's petition was presented for signatures men also asked to sign. As a result 5,000 men's names were included in the display.

All the local suffrage leaders were doing important war work. Mrs. Clarence L. Henley, who took the state chairmanship at the resignation of Mrs. John Threadgill, has charge of the college women volunteers under the state food administration. Mrs. Frank Haskell, state vice-chairman, and Tulsa committee chairman, sold more Liberty bonds than any other individual in Tulsa and had charge of the last Red Cross drive. Mrs. A. P. Crockett, state secretary, is state chairman for the Fatherless Children of France. And so on down the entire list of officers and the advisory board, composed of heads of the various men's and women's organizations throughout the state, the county chairmen and the local committees. As a unit the suffrage organization and speakers were accepted for the third and fourth Liberty loans. During the last two weeks of their campaign the suffragists organized a state-wide Unconditional Surrender Club, in which they enrolled nearly 100,000 members. In the face of these activities the men paid little heed to the personal attacks of pacifism and lack of patriotism made against the suffragists by paid anti speakers from outside the state.

So much had been planned to center about the visit of Mrs. Catt that the blow fell heavily when the epidemic regulations

* The press and political work in Oklahoma were in charge of Miss Shuler.

forbade meetings of more than twelve persons. The suffragists had felt the need of much oratory to overcome the silent vote. With oratory suspended, all manner of devices for voiceless speech were resorted to. One hundred and fifty thousand fliers with the wording of the amendment, directions as to how to vote and the warning that a silent vote was a vote against were distributed by hand and through the mail of various organizations. Other circularization, posting of towns at a specified date, and newspaper publicity were pushed.

The newspaper support was remarkable. Nearly 300 papers took the monthly plate service and the weekly news bulletins and gave editorial backing besides. The week before election these papers distributed 126,000 copies of a two-page suffrage appeal.

The political help was generous. All state officials but two, and all members of the state supreme court but one were in favor of the amendment. The Democratic and Republican National Committeemen were members of the suffrage advisory board. The state chairmen of both parties and both candidates for governor supported the amendment, as did most of the candidates. Both Republican and Democratic conventions passed suffrage resolutions. Preceding the Democratic convention nearly every county passed a suffrage resolution. Three counties elected women delegates for the first time in Oklahoma history. A woman was named on the first committee appointed in the convention. No work which the women did in the campaign was more effective than their election day appeal. Nearly every polling place in the state had women watchers within and women scouts without. When one political party denied women the privilege of watching they secured appointments as regular watchers for the other political party.

During the last two months the work was directed by Mrs. Shuler, whose faith had made possible the campaign and whose zeal and watchfulness carried it to successful completion.

With the returns in from all but one county it is sure that Oklahoma has carried above the silent vote by about 10,000 majority, the first southern Democratic state to become white on the suffrage map. In some counties the silent vote was below ten, in others below twenty. The much talked of silent vote—where was it?

Many asked the question. The answer was given when Mrs. Shuler showed an astonished state official a map of Oklahoma almost obliterated by tiny red stars. Said she, "Every one of those stars represents a suffrage committee organized since last January. When you have that many women working for a measure, there can be no silence."

The Press and the Senate

OF the Maine Senators, Hale voted with antiquity and Fernald voted with the present and some of the future thrown in. It is too bad to live in the past altogether. The present sometimes gives the past a bad jolt. It takes a lot of pep for a man to cut loose from the teachings of his dad. Perhaps the Junior Senator for Maine may arrive some time, but his vote against suffrage does not indicate that he is running on high gear in this issue, which has ceased to be an issue except in the minds of some forty or more members of the United States Senate.—*Journal*, Lewiston, Me.

THE United States Senator who has doubts can afford to waive them and leave it to his state Legislature at a later date to endorse or reject his action. It is his duty to make possible the amendment to the constitution in the manner provided by the originators of the nation's organic law. In opposing the

prescribed course he announces himself as a reactionary and should be treated as such by the people of his state. With the Federal Amendment out of the way, a political bone of contention is removed which is likely to prove costly for the Democrats, if they continue to oppose its passage.—*Evening Journal*, Richmond, Va.

SENATOR WADSWORTH'S case is exceptional. In voting against the Federal Suffrage Amendment in the Senate he defied the Republican party of New York and also the State of New York. For his party's convention had endorsed the Federal Amendment, while his state had already extended the franchise to women. The right of the Senator to vote as his conscience and convictions dictate need not be questioned in order to find out what to do with Mr. Wadsworth. The question is whether the state of New York, which the Senator represents, has any rights which he is bound to respect. When a man in his position sets up his personal opinion against the fixed policy of his state, and in addition repudiates the platform of his party, framed so as to accord with the fixed policy of the state, there remains but one course to pursue. That is to destroy him. He may get in the way, if he chooses, but he should also be made to suffer the consequences.—*Republican*, Springfield, Mass.

Summary of the Senate Vote

FACING the prospect of another Senate vote in the short term, the following summary of the Senate vote on the Federal Suffrage Amendment on October 1 will be of special interest to our readers:

	Democrats	Republicans	Both Parties
Voting in favor.....	27	27	—
Paired in favor.....	3	5	—
	—	—	—
Total in favor.....	30	32	62
(Senator Jones of New Mexico is counted in favor.)			
Voted against	20	10	—
Paired against	2	2	—
	—	—	—
Total against	22	12	34

Roll of Honor States in Which Both Senators Voted or Paired in Favor

Arizona	Kansas	Oklahoma	Washington
Arkansas	Michigan	Oregon	West Virginia
California	Minnesota	Rhode Island	Wisconsin
Colorado	Montana	South Dakota	Wyoming
Illinois	Nevada	Texas	
Indiana	New Mexico	Utah	
Iowa	North Dakota		Total 24

States in Which One Senator Voted or Paired in Favor and One Senator Voted or Paired Against

Idaho	Maryland	New Hamp.	Tennessee
Kentucky	Mississippi	New Jersey	Vermont
Louisiana	Missouri	New York	
Maine	Nebraska	Ohio	Total 14

States in Which Both Senators Voted or Paired Against

Alabama	Florida	North Carolina	Virginia
Connecticut	Georgia	Pennsylvania	
Delaware	Massachusetts	South Carolina	Total 10

Note: These states, with the exception of Pennsylvania, are all on the Atlantic Seaboard.

Concerning Nurses' Rank

HERE'S a story to think over!

In an overseas hospital a little American Red Cross nurse was bathing a big Prussian and he spat in her face. Of course Huns will be Huns.

But that isn't all of the story.

In an American emergency hospital during the influenza, where untrained women were volunteering to care for the sick, two American men patients did the same thing, and they were not Huns either. They were just panic-stricken sick men who thought that women in civilian dress had no right to tell them what to do.

Both instances seem to indicate that men, sick or well, respect authority, and they respect nothing else. This is one of the reasons why a nurse with shoulder straps can manage a hospital ward when, without them, she can not.

When the Lewis-Raker bill to grant army nurses relative rank, ranging from Second Lieutenant to Major, came up for a hearing before the Senate Military Affairs Committee early in October, Mrs. Helen Hoy Greeley, counsel for the committee to secure rank for nurses, interviewed the Senate Committee with Miss Etha Pearce, head nurse in an American hospital in Paris.

Miss Pearce presented to the Senate Committee an appeal for the ranking of nurses based upon reasons so undebatable that it is hard to see why there is any resistance to them or any delay in complying with them.

"The American nurse can accomplish her work even with the difficulties imposed by her lack of recognized authority over the hospital orderlies who are assigned to assist her," said Miss Pearce, "but the American people should know that the lack of rank results in a heavier drain on her time and energy than is necessary. This waste of time and skill might be avoided and even more efficient care given our soldiers if American nurses, like Canadians, had rank."

"In addition to the argument for efficiency the Committee in charge of the nurses' ranking bill points out that, in justice both to soldiers and nurses, rank should be accorded at once; that, whereas Canadian and Australian nurses rank as officers with pay and quarters to correspond, American nurses are working under a disadvantage. Unable to command the orderlies, they are forced to do heavy work themselves, sometimes breaking down under the strain and obliged therefore to leave their posts."

The nurses protest the injustice to the soldiers themselves from the present lack of authority given to women. This lack necessitates the assigning to ward duty of more men than are necessary. It also imperils the lives of wounded men.

"There are now more than 150,000 enlisted men assigned to ward duty," says the Committee. "Very few have had any training in the care of patients. Many dislike ward work; some even are assigned to it for punishment. According to army regulations, nurses have authority over hospital aids, but because the regulations are not clear, because the men do not understand them and because the nurses wear no recognized insignia of rank the men refuse to take orders from them. The result is the loss of more than one soldier's life, as the following facts show: Gassed and wounded men were brought in together from a battle. When the nurse ordered the gassed men brought to the ward first since only speedy action could save them, the orderly declined to 'take her orders' and many of the gassed men died. Orderlies untrained in hospital work refuse to observe proper sanitary precautions; they frequently force the nurse to wait their convenience in performing surgical dressings; they do not attend properly to the ventilation and heating of wards.

"There is just one thing an army man will obey quickly and that is shoulder straps. It is for them, nurses are asking."

This bill, which has the endorsement of every nursing association in the country, of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the Committees on Nursing of the Red Cross, and the Council of National Defense, is now before the sub-committee of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs and the Committee on Military Affairs in the House.

The bill does not ask for commissions or for increase of pay for nurses. It does ask that the superintendent of nurses shall have the relative rank of major, and that assistant superintendents, director and assistant directors, the rank of captain; that chief nurses shall have the relative rank of first lieutenant and other nurses of second lieutenant. As regards medical and sanitary matters, and all other work within the line of their professional duties, the Army Nursing Corps shall be regarded as having authority in and about military hospitals next after the medical officers of the army, and shall wear the insignia of the rank in the army to which their rank corresponds.

This Means You

"THE interallied council sat last summer planning those measures which meant victory in 1919 for the cause of freedom. Food was a vital factor.

"The United States of America by its representatives gave them this assurance:

"Determine what you must have and how much the ships can carry.

"That will be your quota through the coming year. You need not consider how much America has more or less. We will send it; we have it or we will find it.

"America, which shipped last year 140,000,000 bushels of wheat where a surplus of only 10,000,000 could be reckoned, had given its pledge. The allies believe in us. They trust us as they trust the American soldiers. They have faith in the endurance of the American people for self-denial, as they have faith in the courage of the American Army in reserve or in battle.

"America will not fail them."

—United States Food Administration.

You know, you can't read that without a little thrill of satisfaction that things went that way. "Tell us what the Allies need. We will send it. Never mind us, we will send it."

That's the way you want America to talk. You would feel humiliated and shamed unless she talked exactly like that. But don't overlook the fact that there has to be more than talk. America is pledged, America has to make good. There has to be continued conservation on your part if that is to come to pass.

"America must send to the armies and the allies this year 50 per cent more food than last year; three times the normal exports.

"America must be ready when the war ends to rush supplies for 180,000,000 people, victims of Germany and the war, who are facing starvation unless help comes quickly.

"America must build up reserves to carry us over the harvest period and to protect us against the lean year that may come.

"The conservation program reduces to this: Every ounce of food of every sort that we manage to save will set free its proportion of essential food for the relief of those whose needs are greater than ours.

"The success of this program rests not alone on the honor and co-operation but also upon the intelligence of the American people. Its success will be the highest proof of the faith and works of democracy in America."

"The Weaker Vessel"

IN my childhood days this epithet, "the weaker vessel," was sometimes used when men spoke, perhaps unwittingly, in pitying accent, and I fear also in patronizing tones, of women. I did not at that time define an atmosphere of sex prejudice, but I do recall so well the mild shock I felt, for intuitively the truth was with me that the term in *that* vicinity, to say the least, failed to fit.

It may have been a provincialism, quite unused in many larger and more enlightened sections of our country; but surely it was a frequent expression in the rural district of which I write, though absolutely a misnomer where women were at least more than half the brains of that neighborhood, and, judging from the burdens they bore, also its physical giants as well.

To cite a single bit of evidence of their muscular prowess: it was their wont to hang out tremendous washings on Monday, preparing often as well a great dinner for "hired hands" on that selfsame day. They served also these men at table with the utmost devotion, and, alas and alack (truly, it is pathetic to recall it), they sat down to a second table after these lordly men had fully satisfied themselves and had sauntered off for their noon-day nap!

This often happened the day after the brethren had remembered at church these same "weaker vessels," praying earnestly that "their strength fail not." My childish mind was honestly puzzled because of this feature of my new life in the country; and I asked many questions of my mother, who quietly and even patiently replied: "These men do not know how to treat women." I am sure that mother put it right, but she also explained that the *country* was not necessarily responsible for women's status, since this was largely left to the men closest to them. In that neighborhood, most of the reforms in school, in church, "in state," were in large part accomplished through the inspiration, the energy, the diplomacy, and the hard work of these same noble women. "An unusual condition" you say? Possibly so, yet similar and large sections exist today where the women despised as "females" do much of the menial work which should fall to both men and women in united service.

IN the prosperous community referred to, the cleaning of the church, even to the walls and ceiling, the repair and painting of the public buildings, the hiring of the "school marm"—all these tasks and others innumerable fell to the women, though officially and one might add *officiously* they were rendered by the Board of Trustees or Directors, members being strictly males only! It was truly a clever piece of camouflage, repeated now-a-days ten thousand times by similar methods in the states where women work but do not vote, and where also many a noble and reasonable man is weary of the down-right foolishness and stupidity of it and would gladly have it otherwise.

Since women have less muscle than men, the conclusion must be that, though they are physically weak or proportionately so to their brothers, they are somehow, in will and spirit, magnificently strong! Simon Peter argues that since maternity and other causes make the wife the "weaker vessel" she must therefore be given special "honor." Simon Peter's successors have argued that she must therefore be given special *dishonor*. It all depends upon which way your horse's head is turned as to what destination you are to reach.

If, on the other hand, there is a question of mental equality, it would be fruitless to enter upon a discussion so obsolete.

By Harriet Lamb Hyde

ONE might as wisely open a discussion as to which are better—peaches or pears. Every sane man knows that it depends entirely upon the peach and the pear. That argument would carry us back to grey times and places such as have been noted above. The discussion itself is off. Its ghost only is with us today, still effecting and retarding woman's greater freedom, but it is a *real* phantom and is felt and even heard here and there, whispering, "They're the weaker vessel and they should not have to carry the burdensome ballot." The male voter sometimes listens, forgetting his glorious old-time mother who "saw him through college"; and it was not weakness either on her part that accomplished the feat!

"The war has proven the strength of women." Can we not word it a trifle differently? Women long ago proved their soul-deep strength, but they worked out of sight. In the rugged lives of our mothers the public procession was lacking. God in his mercy, through the tragedy of war and otherwise, has brought women into full view and the evidence of their power is therefore conspicuous and convincing.

The other day the officials visited a poor Italian mother whose son had been killed in action in this great war. They came to settle upon her an insurance or pension, and she, after listening to them, replied proudly, with head uplifted: "I cannot take your money. I did not *sell* my boy to the great cause of Freedom, I *gave* my boy."

It is this dominant super-spirit manifested by woman in all crises of all ages which today serves her in her struggle for a larger life, helping her upward and onward to final and permanent triumph. And her triumph is in her new-found liberty to share with men in the larger sacred services of life.

Do It Now

AS already mentioned in these columns, the U. S. Government has undertaken a wide-spread campaign against venereal diseases, as a war measure. It is carrying on a great campaign of education. It has got out a large quantity of excellent and plain-spoken literature, calling a spade a spade, and setting forth scientific truths in language that everyone can understand. It has also two striking and effective film plays, one for audiences of men, another for audiences of women, both bringing home in a telling way to the young people who see them the importance of keeping straight and the consequences of going wrong. The literature can be had free, and the films, with a lecturer, will be furnished likewise.

This campaign of education is desperately needed, all over the country. It is only as a war measure that the Government has authority to carry it on. The war seems drawing to an end. Now, while the great opportunity is here, women everywhere should co-operate with the Government for all they are worth in getting over to the people these vitally important facts as to the connection between social purity and national health.

If you do not know who has charge of the work in your own state (in Massachusetts it is Dr. Mary R. Lakeman, Health Department, State House, Boston), write to the War Department, Commission on Training Camp Activities, Social Hygiene Division, 105 West 40th St., New York City.

Do not delay; do it now.

A. S. B.

ARE women people?

Back to the old slogan, which was at the heart of the New York state campaign, comes the new question, "Shall woman's voice be heard at the great Peace Convention, which is to begin the reconstruction of a war-torn world?"

It was Mrs. F. Louis Slade, in her speech at the Hotel McAlpin, on November 18, when women of all the organizations of New York were asked to come together and discuss whether a resolution should be sent President Wilson, asking that "adequate representation" be given women in the peace councils of the nations, who repeated the old challenge. She reminded her hearers that this new step in women's participation in world councils is only one more on the upward effort to secure from a reluctant world the acknowledgment that every question that touches government by the people must include women.

Mrs. Slade spoke for the Women's Division of the Y. M. C. A. and as director of the branch of service which has been and is sending women by hundreds and thousands to the war camps. One reason for asking that women meet with men at Versailles, she said, was that women have been found necessary in every act of war, and so are necessary to every act of peace.

"We are needed, let us serve," was her view.

The man's point of view, the detached, judicial reason as to why women should go to the peace table, was voiced in one phrase by Assemblyman Amos, of New York, one of the men present on Monday night. "There is just one undeniable reason why women should be represented," said he. "They are among the high contracting parties to the treaties that will be made. It is only just that they should be present when those contracts are under consideration."

The meeting, held in the ballroom of the McAlpin, which was courteously offered for the occasion by the hotel management, was a history-making event. It was called together by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, for the sole purpose of considering whether the women of America should request representation at the peace conference.

In her opening address she briefly reminded her audience that men have always considered that they could represent women, and that women's participation in public affairs has been thought superfluous by them. She recalled that because on-marching women had achieved their property rights, they had had money in their own hands to support the Government in this war, to buy bonds, to aid the Red Cross, to help the war camps; that because they had persisted until they wrenched the privileges of higher education from a resisting society, they were now able to serve as doctors, bacteriologists, nurses, speakers, leaders in a world conflict.

Women on the Peace

"A LITTLE minority has always started the things which have been of incalculable use to the world in its periods of crisis," said Mrs. Catt. "Women have in this war done the things and made the things which have helped to overthrow German militarism."

"In every treaty ever made at the end of wars, seeds of new wars have lain dormant, waiting for a chance to spring to life. At this peace conference now to be held questions which will affect future civilizations are to be considered. It has been said for four years that this is a war to end war. But wherever women are subordinated to men, where their rights are disregarded, there is a fertile field for militarism to thrive. This has been outstandingly true of militaristic Germany. If women are not heard at the peace conference, this war will not be a war to end war."

"The long future must be considered and something of the rights of women must enter into the treaty which is to be made."

"It has been said that only men who understand international law are suitable delegates for the commission. When it comes to the making of contracts, international lawyers may be needed, but before that contract is drawn up, every effort should be made to find out what should go, into it."

MRS. CATT then presented the following resolution to the meeting and moved its adoption:

"WHEREAS, The great war just ended has been a partnership of all the people of every belligerent country, composing two vast armies, one in the trenches and one of civilians who have formed a second line of defense to supply the needs of the fighters, thus making it possible for them to fight and

"WHEREAS, The war could not have been carried to a victorious conclusion without the aid of women in civilian activities, as is shown by the testimony of men of high authority in every belligerent land, and

"WHEREAS, All truly civilized intelligent people now wish to make a final end of war and so to reorganize the forces of civilization as to make future war impossible, and

"WHEREAS, Women compose half of society, with very special and peculiar interests to be conserved and protected, all too frequently overlooked by men, therefore be it

"Resolved, That we urge the President of the United States to give women adequate representation on the United States delegation to the Peace Conference. We urge him to select women whose broad experience and sympathies render them competent to defend and support every point which bears upon the establishment of liberty for all the peoples of the world and especially upon the proper protection of women and of children in peace as in war. We urge him to select women who may be relied on to uphold free representative institutions, based upon the will of all the people in every land in

"To make a final end of war and so recon- as to make future war

which independence is established, in order that democratic institutions may make an end of war."

IN submitting the resolution, Mrs. Catt pointed out that no call to the women of the world had ever met with so swift and cordial a response as had this request from the various organizations of women.

In England the movement to have women on the Peace Commission started ahead of that in America. It now develops that the British women led the women of the world in taking the initiative. After Mrs. Catt, as President of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, had written Mrs. Millicent Garrett Fawcett, President of the National Union of Woman Suffrage Societies, to tell her that American women were including a request for women on the Peace Commission on their forward-looking program of post-war activities, and to ask the attitude of British women on the subject, she found that British women had already formulated their demand as far back as October 11th. Paragraphs in the announcement of their program read:

"In the last few days the promised land of Peace, which has long seemed as unreal as a remote country only known on the map, has suddenly shone like a vision before our eyes. In the coming months we hope to enter it. We are promised international reconstruction. As President Wilson and Mrs. Fawcett have pointed out, this reconstruction can only be real if it is based on the consent of all, of women as well as men. The N. U. W. S. S., therefore, desires that there should be women among the delegates to the peace conference, and that this conference should use its great authority to uphold free representative institutions based on the will of all the people, in all the lands. It also asks that in the international organization of the future, women should have the same choice of citizenship as men, and that nothing but their own will should ever deprive them of their birthright."

At Mrs. Catt's suggestion, Mrs. Fawcett is taking steps to co-ordinate the demand of the women of the continent for the appointment of women representatives of their respective countries to the Peace Commission.

Canada has also spontaneously awakened to the same need. A telegram read by Mrs. Catt from Calgary, Alberta, announced that a campaign for woman representatives is now on foot for western Canada. The telegram requested that Mrs. Catt "as president of the International Suffrage Alliance, assist this movement by communicating with the heads of the women's national organizations of Canada, urging them to ask their governments to grant representation."

In the meantime other American organizations

Peace Commission

and so reorganize the forces of civilization
future war impossible"

have been kindling to woman's part in reconstruction. The New York State Federation of Women's Clubs, representing 350,000 women, at its meeting held in New York city last week, passed the following petition:

"WHEREAS, Women at home have given their all and risked their lives in ammunition plants, and in serving the armies in Europe, and have made thereby so vital a contribution to the success of the world war that in every land men of high authority have said that the war could not have been carried on without women's aid, and"

"WHEREAS, Justice demands that those who have taken part in the war should have adequate representation in dictating the terms of peace, and"

"WHEREAS, President Wilson has himself pointed out that without the counselings of the women of a nation, that nation is only half wise, and in view of the fact that all, not half, the wisdom of the world will be needed for the discharge of the great tasks confronting the world in the settlement of the problems of reconstruction of the world, problems that involve women certainly no less than men, be it

"Resolved, That we urge the President of the United States to give women adequate representation in his appointment of the personnel of the United States delegation to the Peace Commission."

THE President of the National Federation of College Women reported from the floor that her federation, composed of 70,000 college women, had already sent telegrams to President Wilson, asking for the appointment of women on the Commission.

Mrs. Catt also held in her hand a copy of a petition from the women of Rhode Island, containing the same request.

The movement to secure adequate representation of women on the peace commission found instant favor with the Ohio Woman Suffrage Association, as its official bulletin indicates:

"We heartily endorse the movement inaugurated by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, our national and international president, to secure the appointment of women on the peace commission. Every participating country should be represented by at least two women, women truly representative of the best interests of humanity, women who understand the fundamental causes of war and who would eliminate those causes, root and branch, to insure against a repetition of the world horror of the past four years."

A fine array of women spoke to the motion, each representing a different group, but each endorsing the idea, and giving one cogent reason why the resolution should pass.

Mrs. Percy J. Pennybacker's "one reason" was that of all who had suffered, the women in the invaded lands had suffered the most and

the worst. She said that at the final decision for the future of the world those people should be represented who have the deepest understanding of what war has brought, but must never bring again to the women of any nation.

"Banish women from the peace table!" exclaimed Mrs. Pennybacker. "We might as well say banish tortured Belgium."

MRS. JAMES LEES LAIDLAW, Chairman of the College Women's Section of the New York State Federal Food Board, but known of all in New York as acting Chairman of the Woman Suffrage Party, said that the provisioning of the world would make a large part of post-war discussion. It would be a loss to civilization, if, in any discussion of world housekeeping, woman, the great housekeeper, should be omitted.

It was then that Mrs. Slade told of the work done by the "Battalion of Life," the women called upon by the army itself, by General Pershing, above all, to come up to the help of the morale of the army. "As we sit here," said Mrs. Slade, "American women of the Y. M. C. A. are patrolling the streets of London to guard our boys from temptations. If the Y. M. C. A., made by men, of men and for men, could not go through the war without calling in women's help; if the United States has requisitioned its women to carry on its military necessities, how can peace be made without women?"

Rose Schneidermann, President of the Women's Trade Union League, asked that women be sent to the peace table that wages may no longer be paid on the basis of sex, and that child labor may be forever done away with.

DR. ANNA HOWARD SHAW, Chairman of the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense, arose to give her "one reason," although she said she had 80,000,000 reasons. Out of the more than 110,000,000 population in these United States, 27,000,000 are adult women. If as many more are grown men, then the women and children together amount to about 80,000,000, and every one of them is a reason for the adequate representation of women in the peace treaties. To make peace without women's voice would be a libel on humanity, Dr. Shaw protested, "because women are human beings, with a distinct contribution of their own. I do not think women know more than men—I know they do about some things, and I know that men know more than women about others. Together men and women know all there is to be known."

She quoted President Wilson's words: "It is only when men and women both have a

voice in their own government that we shall have the basis of a lasting peace."

Then Dr. Shaw struck a note of warning to the assembled women. She told them that justice would not come without their own efforts. She said this was already evident in Washington, where girls are being turned out of jobs for which they were requisitioned so short a time ago that they have not yet earned money enough to pay back the debts they assumed for their traveling expenses to Washington. Many are dismissed now without money enough to get home. She brought out a storm of applause when she said that this Government had the same duty to get its girl soldiers back home as it had to get its men soldiers home. "Men mean no harm, but they haven't been accustomed to doing the just thing by women. Unless women take a stand for themselves," she warned, "no one will take it for them. And no one ought to take it for them. A great opportunity to press for justice is before the women of today. After the Civil War, they were told to be quiet and not urge justice for their sex, although they had served their country faithfully then as now. If the women of America fail to do their duty by themselves and their country now, it will be a long while before opportunity will come to them again."

WOMEN spoke eagerly from the floor, encouraging action at this important time. Mrs. Frederick Nathan reminded women that not so long ago it was said in the United States: "What has Congress to do with women and children?" And that perhaps an all-male Peace Commission might see the affairs of the world the same way.

Mrs. Bell, a soldier nurse since 1915, and a woman voter for eighteen years, said that the 2,000,000 women munition makers of France and England were argument enough for women's voice in peace treaties.

There was no time for all the speakers to voice their desires, and, when the presiding officer, Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Chairman of the New York City Woman Suffrage Party, put the motion, it was given unanimous support.

Mrs. Catt explained that the resolution would be sent to President Wilson by Miss Hay as chairman, in the name of the assembly, with information as to its size and representation. She urged the score or more of presidents of women's organizations who were in the large and enthusiastic audience, to ask the various bodies they represented to send separate petitions to the President, who has appointive power for this commission. She asked individuals to start chains of agitation, to write letters signed by numbers of people well known or influential. When the meeting adjourned it was with the deep conviction of those present that one more step had been taken towards making the world safe for democracy.

Notes and Comment

Catherine Breshkovsky Alive?

A CABLEGRAM announces that Catherine Breshkovsky is alive, and is on her way to America. Her friends in this country thought that they had authentic news of her death, but they now hope that it may prove to be a mistake. All sorts of wild reports come out of Russia, and it is hard to know what to credit. The present writer has been overwhelmed with inquiries. She has no recent information beyond what has appeared in the press.

Tracking the Beef Trust

WHILE women are saving food as individual housewives, let them likewise bring their best intelligence to bear upon the gigantic monopoly which for years has been screwing up the price of food to our own people, and is now screwing it up also to our Allies—a monopoly which is as truly a menace to the world as German militarism was when at its height. Let every reader of the *Woman Citizen* send to her Congressman for the report of the Federal Trade Commission upon the investigation of the meat combine; let her read and digest the facts there given, and spread the knowledge of them as widely as possible among her friends. She can do her country no better service.

The Spectre of Hunger

EVERYONE is thankful that the war is over. But now there is a new war to be faced—the war of the whole world against Hunger. Europe is starving, and so is a large part of Asia. In America and Australia only is there a surplus of food. During the terrible winter that is coming, we shall have to feed our own people; to feed our Allies; to feed the neutrals, and to feed our former enemies. For even if it were true, as some papers imply, that every German is a criminal, right-minded people in these days do not punish the worst of criminals by starving them to death.

As the women's help was essential in winning the war against German militarism, so will it be essential in winning the war against Hunger. Every woman should heed Mr. Hoover's solemn warning that great economy and simplicity of living throughout this country will still be needful, if Europe is to be fed; and that, even after we have done our best, human beings by hundreds of thousands will die of starvation before next spring. It is a heart-wringing prospect; but, at least, let our best be done.

For a large part of our population no exhortation to food-saving is needed. They are barely able to get enough to eat. But, with

those who can spend money on luxuries, the first natural impulse is to celebrate the end of the war by reveling in everything that they have patriotically gone without. It is in a far different spirit that we ought to keep our Thanksgiving this year. There is a terrible picture—one of the war cartoons—showing a man eating a big dinner with callous complacency, while watching him through the window stand a group of famine-stricken men, women and children, gaunt and frightful spectres of starvation. There are few men, and fewer women, who could enjoy an over-profuse meal with the hollow eyes of starving fellow creatures actually fixed upon them. But when they are out of sight we forget them. The trouble is not so much want of heart as a sluggish imagination. We must try to "see with our souls as well as with our eyes"; to comprehend the horrible plight of the war-devastated world, and to realize that any woman who wastes food, between now and the next harvest, will have the guilt of blood upon her hands.

Suffrage in Bunches

THE great difference between the old times and the new, in the suffrage movement, is shown in many ways—among others, by the thickness with which victories now come, like grapes in a cluster. They used to be few and far between. During the fourteen years from 1896 to 1910, for instance, we did not get a single new state. Then they began to come in one at a time, and then faster and faster.

Instead of the rooster put forth as a token of victory by the party press, the *Woman's Journal* used to display a dove with an olive branch. It was a source of embarrassment as well as delight when we first had two victories in one week. Another dove had to be provided in haste. Then three states enfranchised their women on the same day, and we gave up the effort to have a dove for every victory. Last year eight new states were added to the list in this country, to say nothing of the advance in foreign lands. When it was announced the other day that both Michigan and South Dakota had carried, we felt like the mother of twelve children, who added twins to her family, and then said to a friend with joy, "The Lord saved me from having thirteen!" And now it looks as if Oklahoma had been carried, too, in spite of the unfair handicap in its constitution that every voter who neglects to mark his ballot either way is counted as voting no.

The rejoicing over the big nation-wide victory which is clearly at the very door cannot wholly overshadow the delight in these partial gains. And every new state carried makes the foundation firmer for ratification.

Small But Sweet

MASSACHUSETTS women may now be notaries public. The Constitutional Amendment to that effect, which was submitted to the voters four years ago and beaten, has just been submitted again and carried.

One of the secrets of happiness, especially as we advance in life, has been said to be to "cultivate an undergrowth of small pleasures." The passage of this little amendment is a small thing in comparison with the greater victories won on the same day, but it is a step in the direction of fair play for women, and is to be welcomed as such. The defeat of the same amendment four years ago was claimed by the opponents of equal rights as an anti-suffrage victory.

A. S. B.



A VERY UNCOMFORTABLE POSITION

City Party Moves

THE first of December will probably find the house staff of the New York City Woman Suffrage Party installed in its new headquarters at 373 Fifth Avenue, corner of Thirty-fifth street. There will be a suite of six rooms which have been labeled City Committee Room, Office of the Boss, Work-room, General Office and Manhattan Borough's Twins. The City Committee Room is warranted to be large enough to encircle all the officers and leaders of the Party when in meeting assembled. The Boss's domicile is airy and sunny with a Fifth Avenue exposure that makes it an ideal place from which to watch parades. Mrs. Russell's domain, which she describes as the "size of a rug" is still large enough for working purposes. One thing that many women will regret is the passing of the Suffrage Restaurant, which will shortly be no more, with its homemade muffins, its salads, its soups and its cakes. The change of domicile, however, bids fair to be a pleasant one when everything is settled and the day's work established.



FITTING THE CLOTHES TO THE TASK



Simplified Dress for Women

As the Designer Sees It

By May Rhoads

Designer of the "Dress of the Hour"

OUT of the terrible calamity of the present world war much unexpected good has come. It has forced us to face many issues and to solve many vexed problems that otherwise we should have left to the slow processes of peaceful evolution. Necessity is a grim teacher. In the grip of her iron hand we obey quickly and without stopping to argue her stern commands.

And thus it has come about that women upon whose shoulders so many unaccustomed burdens have been laid are compelled to dress for their new duties. In so doing they have departed radically from accepted modes. They have had to eliminate the useless. The trousered uniform is every where in evidence.

In many of our best shops there are now to be found whole departments devoted exclusively to this new type of dress for women, uniforms, coats, hats, gloves, shoes, designed primarily for women in service under the flag, but also for the farmerette, the house worker, the women chauffeur, etc., etc.

And this influence toward simplification is far-reaching. It has spread to all classes; and has perceptibly altered our feeling toward the whole question of dress. The keynote of the modern dress for women is appropriateness. That is as it should be. Nothing is more painful than dress out of relation to the time and the place.

When women were under the compulsion of charming to live, when their function was chiefly decorative, then it was to be expected that they should dress for that purpose. A woman's dress expressed the exact measure of her husband's worldly success, his station in life, and his consequent ability to maintain the women of his family in picturesque idleness. His successful competition with his fellows for place and power was registered by the exact distance put between his wife and daughter and all forms of useful labor. The train, the tight collar and sleeve, the high heel and pointed toe, the tight stay, the hoop skirt and bustle were all designed to advertise to the world their wearer's abstinence from manual work.

Today women are expressing far different

ideals. Their comparative economic freedom, their improved legal status, the wider range of their interests and activities have all contributed to a ruthless revision in our canons of taste.

This change in purpose and ideals, with its corresponding change in expression through the clothing of the body, is tremendously encouraging to all who are interested in seeing the complete triumph of democracy. It is convincing proof that women have outgrown the immaturities of thought and feeling that to the doubters seemed so fundamentally and ineradicably feminine.



MISS FLORENCE CHRISTMAN IN THE UNIFORM OF THE GIRLS OF THE NAVY

As Secretary Daniels Sees It

WHEN Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels adopted a uniform for the working girls of the Navy Department he so carefully safeguarded the elements of simplicity and economy that the suit may revolutionize the fashions in dress for the office girl.

The uniform is described as follows, and its simplicity, economy and serviceableness are qualities that recommend its wide use:

Cap—Forest green with broad tan band of cloth and tan leather strap and visor.

Coat—Forest green serge of light summer weight, cut loose, with patch pockets fastened with tan buttons and rolled-back lapels.

Skirt—Same cloth as coat, with an inverted plait in the back, giving the effects of trousers when the girl walks.

Shoes—Heavy English walking boots, tan and laced almost up to the edge of the skirt.

Insignia—An American flag with swords criss-crossed woven in red, white and blue on the left sleeve.

Girls wearing this uniform, like soldiers, look alike.

Economy—The uniform will not necessitate big laundry bills every week. There is no laundry to a uniform.

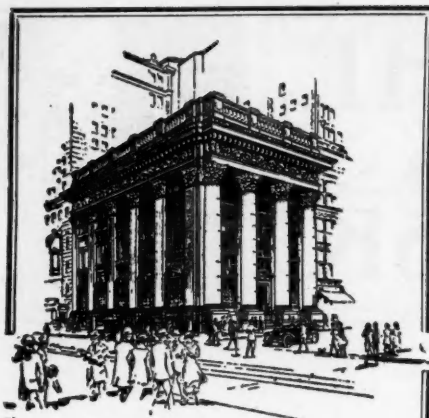
Simplicity—No wardrobe of finery for work, thus eliminating competition in dress.

Serviceableness—The uniform can be worn year in and year out. It can be worn for more than one season. In summer the coat can be discarded; in winter it can be added.

S. R. WINTERS.

As Club Women See It

THIS year, stimulated by the war tendency to simplification of women's dress, the General Federation of Women's Clubs has developed its propaganda for standardized dress to the point of open and full discussion in the pages of the *General Federation Magazine*. In a spring issue (March) appeared a general article and twelve pages in the October issue are given over to articles, pro and con, by practical dressmakers or experts in dress, such as M. D. C. Crawford, formerly Curator of Textiles in the Museum of Natural History, Bertha Holley and May E. Rhoades.



Those in sympathy with woman's entry into business life will be quick to appreciate the advantages of keeping deposit accounts in a bank which has for years maintained a separate Woman's Department.



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Correspondence



A Wounded Soldier on Suffrage

A LETTER containing the following was sent from a Red Cross nurse to a leader in the New York State Woman Suffrage Party:

"Among our patients is a boy whose foot we are working day and night to save. He is patient and brave, as they all are, and anxious to get back to the front and finish the job. He was originally in the militia regiment from Northern New York, in which Senator Wadsworth was an officer for so long. He is fond of Mr. Wadsworth, will not criticize him for leaving the regiment when it was ordered out, and insists that the Senator must have reasons that we don't know.

"I was reading him items from an old New York paper, and, among others, one on the Federal Suffrage Amendment and Mr. Wadsworth's opposition. The boy sighed a little and said: 'If he had seen what you and I have he would understand why most of us boys want our mothers to have something to say about fixing things up so that all this can't happen again.'"

From Life

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

I WAS very glad to be able to vote. I have always been interested in women's rights and am glad to have the privilege of helping to vote for good men who will make better laws for the welfare of women and children. . . . I am three miles from the store and post office. My health has been poor for several years. I am past 50 years of age. We have no doctors near us as the war has taken them away and we have lots of snow in winter and the roads are drifted full of snow. It makes it very lonely for any one here in winter. . . . I am not well enough to travel much, as the neighbors here are so far apart. We live on a small farm and I help to do my housework with my daughter's help. My daughter has helped out of doors some with the farm work, helping to rake and get in the hay and bring the water, as it is some distance from the house. The house is very old and very cold in winter. We would like to get a small place out near a village like Warrensburg or Lake George where we could get work. I could take care of children or do plain cooking for a small family, and my daughter can do plain cooking. She has a small child to care for. We need some clothes and I need medicine and the care of a good doctor. I wish we could get a good law passed that a woman should get some pay for her work when she does all her work and takes care of her children, but most of the men carry all the money and the women don't get any to use.

The woman ought to have her share, but few get it. . . . The woman is pinched with as little as she can get to care for herself and children, and some are compelled to go out to work or take in washing. . . . I hope the time will soon come when the law will make the father support his little ones, if he is able to work, and the wife can get a share to care for herself in sickness and old age.

A. M. S.

Horicon, N. Y.

Disfranchised by Moving

To the Editor of the Woman Citizen:

I IN renewing my subscription to the *Woman Citizen* I want to say that I find your magazine always inspiring and forward looking. To anyone at all interested in the feminist movement, it is indispensable.

I am a New Yorker by birth and education. During the suffrage campaigns of that state, I served as a private in the great suffrage army. I looked forward to the casting of my first ballot. Today, however, by a simple change of residence, I am deprived of that privilege.

But I am a history teacher, so I realize that the deprivation is only temporary, that federal enfranchisement merely gains impetus by each setback, and that the complete emancipation of women from all political and economic restrictions will come as surely as night follows day. It is the next step in historical evolution. And no power on earth can stop the process of evolution.

Yours to hasten the day!

MARY E. KENNEY.

Moundsville, W. Va.

Mothers Need Good Nerves

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

OHIO is now a Prohibition state as, of course, you know. I hope you received the clippings I sent. My son, Lieut. Sharp, in France, writes such complimentary things about women. I now have another son in the U. S. Army. My youngest son, Dr. Wilfrid D. Sharp, of Cleveland was commissioned captain in the Medical Corps R, over a month ago. At present he is located at Wilbur Wright Aviation Field near Dayton, Ohio, and sometimes rides aloft in the heavens above me.

Mothers need good nerves these war times. I wish you literary people would find some good biographies of good representative women for the list of books my club is to present to our public library.

KATHARINE D. SHARP.

London, Ohio.

Women Preserving, Binding and Building Up

THREE weeks ago the Woman Citizen published an account of the Allied Conference of women in Paris. From Helen Perry, a former correspondent of the magazine, has come this personal account of that conference. It is published at this late hour because it emphasizes the contribution of women to the prosecution of the war, the same contribution which will make valuable their part in peace settlements—"the quiet spirit of helpfulness and cooperation as if women had always and would always stand beside men as equals. So many things have settled themselves in this war for all time."

FOR some weeks they have been planning in Paris a Congress of all the Women War Workers of the Allied Countries. I hesitated a long time

about going, as it seemed very silly to give up three days of real work for a mere matter of conferences. But I was certainly glad I went. There were representatives from Belgium, Roumania, Serbia, Italy, England and America, and all of them wonderful women, the leaders in all the biggest things that have been done by women since the war began. All the women who attended the conferences (and they came from all over France) were in uniform. The first evening was a big banquet. I suppose a thousand women were there. . . . The table of honor was a raised platform, and there sat duchesses and countesses and all the great ladies of all the great lands. Mrs. Bliss, wife of the American Attaché at Paris, presided. The Belgian Countess, who spoke for Belgium, is a most charming person, who has lectured out here, and I know her quite well. The delegation from England was wonderful. Madame Boutroux spoke for the French, and such a wonderful talk as she gave! But the greatest part of the meeting was just having all those wonderful women together at one time. It made the thrills run up and down my spine.

One of our Paris conferences was at the home of Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt, Jr. She has two or three children, but she looks about sixteen.

The other afternoon all the women war workers were received by President Poincaré and his wife in their palace, Palais de l'Elysée, and their gardens were real Elysian fields, or I never saw any. Lovely sloping lawns, with winding paths, a little pond or two and unexpected

"THE day will come when man will recognize woman as his peer, not only at the fireside but in the councils of the nation. Then, and not until then, will there be the perfect comradeship, the ideal union between the sexes that shall result in the highest development of the race."—Susan B. Anthony.

bits of statuary. At the far end of the gardens, the Garde Republicaine, the most beautiful band in France, gay in red and blue uniforms, played music that made your head swim. President Poincaré himself was the only other man present. I guess it was a good thing, or we should all have been dancing on the lawn, in spite of our uniforms and the serious business of war. The palace itself is one of the most beautiful in France, all pale ivory and gold, with hanging chandeliers of glass and beautiful tapestries on the walls. I wish you could have had the thrill, too, seeing all these wonderful women together, and feeling that they were working together, standing behind the manhood of the world, preserving and binding up and building up, until the war shall be over. That was the keynote of the whole meeting—women's instinct for preservation, the preservation of people and ideas and things that she loves. And the most wonderful part of the whole thing to me was the quiet spirit of helpfulness and co-operation in the work of the men, as if women had always and would always stand beside them as equals. So many things have settled themselves in this war, for all time.

I spent most of my spare time in Paris, on this trip, eating. The rest of my spare time I spent thinking how miserable I was with a high collar on. This being a formal occasion, this conference, we all had to appear in full regalia, high collar included, and I can make no greater sacrifice for my country than that! It's queer, over here, how nothing seems important except one's job, and to leave that, even for an hour, makes you feel like a "piker."

HELEN PERRY.



MRS. MARY BREWER

One of the hard workers in the suffrage campaigns of New York State. She ran for the State Senate in the counties of Richmond and Rockland. Although she did not win her seat, she gained a majority of Rockland County's votes and ran 1,000 ahead of the rest of the Republican ticket in Richmond, which is Staten Island, one of the boroughs of Greater New York City.

The Woman Citizen's Own Roll Call of Women in State Legislatures

As far as heard from the following are the women elected to the various state Legislatures this year:

California

Miss Esto Broughton, Modesto, Assembly.
Mrs. Anna Saylor, Berkeley, Assembly.
Mrs. Grace Doris, Bakersfield, Assembly.
Mrs. Elizabeth Hughes, Crofield, Assembly.

These are the first women elected to the California Legislature.

Montana

*Mrs. Maggie Smith Hathaway, Stevensville, Assembly.

Utah

**Mrs. Elizabeth Hayward, Salt Lake City, Senate.
Mrs. Anna T. Piercy, Salt Lake City, Assembly.
Mrs. Delora E. Blakeley, Salt Lake City, Assembly.
*Dr. Grace Stratton-Airey, Salt Lake City, Assembly.

New York

Mrs. Ida Sammis, Huntington, L. I., Assembly.
Mrs. Mary M. Lilly, New York City, Assembly.

For the Fourth Term

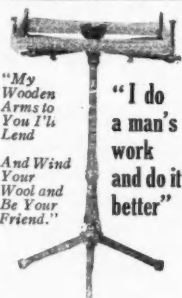
Mrs. Mary C. C. Bradford has again been elected State Superintendent of Public Instruction in Colorado to fill her fourth term.

She was chosen by a majority of 16,000, while every other Democrat on the slate was beaten.

She ran 28,000 ahead of her ticket. Mrs. Bradford was President of the National Educational Association in 1917.

* Reelected.

** Mrs. Hayward was in the Utah Assembly last term.



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world women want representation
on the Peace Commission.*

Child Labor and Democracy

By Raymond G. Fuller

Formerly of Russell Sage College

Written especially for the Woman Citizen

THE war for democracy has not yet been won. There is another war for democracy than the war for international democracy. It is the old and long-to-be-continued struggle for more complete democracy in our own national life. The practical implications of our democratic ideal are bound to be realized in time.

There is today much unfinished business—including the enfranchisement of women by national action and the passage of a federal child-labor law that will stand the test of constitutionality. Such a law may require a constitutional amendment, but probably not. A clear challenge will face the country until a child-labor law has become so firmly fixed on the statute books of the nation that all danger will have passed of its removal or invalidation except by the will of the people expressed through Congress.

The domestic war for domestic democracy is concerned with men's rights, women's rights and children's rights, but in its more significant aspect it is concerned with the duties, obligations and services of all the people. The world war has illumined this latter aspect. It has emphasized a meaningful phrase—"man power." It has demonstrated that half of man power is woman power. It has called attention to the fact that child power is potential man power. It has shown us that everything that pertains to man power is a matter of national importance and concern. Man power is nation power, which depends on the services of all the people.

A great Frenchman defined democracy by saying that it enables every man to put forth his utmost effort. Of course, if he had said "all men and women" instead of merely "every man" his definition would have been nearer accurate. The democratic basis of equal suffrage is equality of opportunity to put forth one's utmost effort. Women are not looking for equal rights—their rights are already equal, though not legally and politically; what women seek is equality of opportunity for service.

Nor is opportunity for service the last word in democracy, unless we give the phrase its very

fullest meaning. When we speak of children's rights—such as playtime and schooling—we cannot be unmindful of the opportunity they afford for physical, mental and moral development. Democracy implies equal opportunity for the development of capacity for service. Child labor is therefore a sin against democracy.

OF child labor legislation Prof. Frank A. Fetter says that "viewed as a purely negative policy it is not of great moment." He adds: "Its real significance is to be judged only in connection with the broader social policy of protecting and developing all the children of the nation to be healthy, intelligent, moral and efficient citizens." Let it be further said that child-labor legislation is assuredly of great moment, since it cannot properly be regarded as "a merely negative policy." It is an essential part of "the broader social policy of protecting and developing all the children of the nation." Moreover, it directly affects citizenship in every one of the aspects named—health, intelligence, morality and efficiency. National efficiency is promoted by child-labor legislation, which as we have seen has its basis in democracy. Efficiency and democracy are not so far apart, not so antagonistic, as is sometimes said.

American soldiers and civilians have been fighting a war to make the world safe for democracy. They have been fighting not merely for the immediate preservation but for the everlasting perpetuation of democratic ideals and institutions. They have been fighting, that is, for the heritage of their children, and they have fought in the hope and determination that their children will not have to fight the war over again. The war has been to a large extent a war for the children. But we Americans, in spite of that, have permitted child labor at home. Indeed, we have permitted it to increase in vast amount.

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JOHN P. TOLSON.

WE have failed to conserve to the best of our ability the potential man power of the nation. This man power will be needed for the pursuits of peace—a man power of health, intelligence, morality and efficiency. And it will be needed not merely for the material prosperity of the nation, but for the maintenance and development of our spiritual possessions—a man power of successful democracy. Tomorrow it will be the privilege and obligation of the children of today to "Carry on" for democracy. Wartime child labor has done nothing to fit children either for the material or the spiritual tasks of tomorrow; it has unfitted many.

The harm that has been done by a century of child labor in America cannot be undone, but in part at least we can stop the continuance of child labor. Federal legislation to take the place of the Act of 1916, which the Supreme Court declared invalid, is now pending. President Wilson is strongly in favor of federal legislation. Why not wait for the States to abolish child labor? Because man power is a national issue—in the case of potential man power as in that of woman power and equal suffrage—and because the vital interests of the nation admit of no delay in their furtherance.

[THERE are now some half dozen child-labor bills before Congress. Attention is called to the amendment to the Revenue bill recently introduced into the Senate, which seeks to eliminate child labor from the mines and factories, through the taxing power of Congress. This levies 10 per cent on net profits from sales on all wares to the production of which child labor has contributed.

It is claimed for this that an act based on the taxing power would run counter to no states rights scruples, "as the Federal taxing power is subject to no limitation, except those which are distinctly named in the Constitution." It has been referred to the Finance Committee, of which Hon. F. M. Simmons of North Carolina is chairman. Will you, therefore, write or telegraph at once to your two Senators, urging the adoption of the child labor amendment? Not a moment is to be lost.—Ep.]

PRESS reports state that German ships manned by women have arrived at the port of Lulea, Sweden.

A CHINESE woman, according to the *Evening Mail*, has beaten the

record for versatility. This is Tseu Mei, the Chinese motion picture star, who has taken time from her taxing profession to learn English, take a B. A. from a Pittsburgh college, a four years' medical course and a course in the Columbia Law School.

TWO more American women have received French honors. Annie Murray Dike and Anne Morgan, of the Committee for Relief of the Devastated Regions of France, have been cited in French army orders as having "consecrated themselves with intelligent activity and admirable devotion to restoring French firesides devastated by the war."

A COMMITTEE made up of such representative women as the wife of Marshal Joffre and the presidents of three Red Cross societies, is planning a monument in Paris from the women of France to the women of the United States. Their statement follows:

"We, women of France, knowing that we can never adequately express our gratitude towards the women of the United States for their generosity and devotion in their ceaseless giving, desire to see raised in a prominent place in Paris a commemorative monument, so that future generations may always keep in mind this beautiful sisterhood that forms an imperishable bond between us."

SWISS suffragists have recently held a conference on federal woman suffrage by amendment to their constitution. The propositions of the conference are given in *La Mouvement Feministe*. Just as equality under the Constitution of the United States has been demanded under many clauses so there are many ways of changing the Swiss constitution.

Article IV lays down the principle that "all Swiss are equal under the law. There is in Switzerland neither a subject class ('ni sujets') nor privileges of locality, of birth, of individuals nor of families." By the addition of the words "or of sex" political—and it seems also civil—equality would be conferred on women by one stroke of the pen.

Among other propositions is one to insert a paragraph providing that as the several cantons give local suffrage this shall be understood to cover federal suffrage also. This is the

With Women on all Fronts

"WHOEVER controls work and wages, controls morals. Therefore we must have women employers, superintendents, committees, legislators. Wherever girls go to seek the means of subsistence, there must be some women."—Susan B. Anthony.

Swiss sovereignty emanates from the people, but this fact is nowhere categorically stated in the federal constitution. Another proposition is therefore, to insert a clause to the effect that "sovereignty resides in the assembly of citizens of Switzerland male and female. They exercise all the political rights which are granted the people under the constitution."

THE question of suffrage for women has been taken up with enthusiasm in the Island of Jamaica, according to a dispatch from Kingston. A movement to endow qualified women with the vote, which was started by a member of the Legislature, met with instant approval from both men and women.

THE Indian Home Rule League has aligned itself on the side of suffrage for the women of India. The League passed a resolution as follows: "The Indian Home Rule League interprets the word 'people' used in the Congress-League Scheme as meaning women as well as men, and it supports the recent All Indian Women's Deputation in the request they made to the Secretary of State on the subject of the position of women in relation to the coming political reforms." The request of the Deputation was to the effect that political reforms be made without discrimination as to sex.

AT a public rejoicing in Reykjavik, this summer, when the women of Iceland celebrated the third anniversary of their enfranchisement, Mrs. Briet Bjarnjedinsdottir made an address from the balcony of Parliament House. Several members of Parliament were in the crowd. She summed up the odd situation for Icelandic women voters, whose age requirement for voting for the Upper House was 40, while the age limit of men voters was only 35. At each election one year is being taken off the women's age of qualification until presently it will be identical for both sexes.

At the election by local constituencies for the Lower House the initial discrepancy was greater, the age for men being 25 and that for women 40. Here also the women's age qualification will diminish until equality is reached.

This limitation of the women has produced somewhat languid voting. The speaker urged them to make full use of their privileges in order to carry through the schemes they have promulgated. On the Icelandic woman's program is the question of equal pay for women

"states rights" step-by-step method. The main objection is that federal rights cannot, under the constitution, discriminate between cantons, but must be equal throughout the federation.

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This is a sign printed in large letters and carried on the front of big motor trucks in New York City.

Below are just a few of the things that girls are doing:

EVANGELINE MOORE, of Poughkeepsie, has been chosen city bacteriologist to replace a man gone to war.

* * *

Miss Amarette Crossley, formerly a yeoman, is now master-at-arms and general supervisor of the women yeomen in the navy yards.

* * *

More than one hundred women answered the advertisement of the Pearson and Ludascher Lumber Company. Seventy-five women lumberjacks are now employed.

* * *

The Smith College School of Psychiatric Social Work, whose course was given last summer, has graduated sixty-five women trained for work with shell-shocked soldiers.

* * *

Edith Curtiss, daughter of the Dean of Agriculture of Iowa State College, is the first woman to be appointed to the Bureau of Animal Industry of the Federal Department of Agriculture.

* * *

One of the most successful experimental station entomologists in the country, says the Rocky Mountain Husbandman, is Edith M. Patch, who is doing excellent research work and has written many valuable studies in that field.

* * *

"There is little call for men in this work," says the director of the Medford (Ore.) office of the United States Employment Service, speaking of harvesting in his district. That would have sounded like a joke "before the war."

* * *

Emma Conley and Jessie M. Hoover, formerly deans of Home Economics, one in Wisconsin, the other in Idaho University, have been given leave of absence and taken over as experts by the Federal Department of Agriculture.

* * *

"I cannot understand why women have never before attempted this work," says Mary E. Willard, who is now substituting for a man chimes' ringer gone to the war. She finds the pushing of levers to ring the chimes easier than sweeping and scrubbing.

* * *

Lillian G. Jones, a young woman under thirty, has been appointed cashier of the New York

business of the National Bank of Cuba. She is an expert in foreign exchanges and on this side of the business alone \$400,000,000 a year goes through her hands.

* * *

Speed-Up, official weekly of the Submarine Boat Corporation, reports that women are creeping into submarine factories also. Edna Decker and May Varian, who work on a threading machine, are on record as the first in the business, but others are being installed rapidly.

* * *

Under the captain, "Read this, knockers, how Fargo's women shockers worked like dockers and proved Kaiser blockers," the United States Employment Service Bulletin tells how three-quarters of the 2,000-odd volunteer grain shockers who worked in the harvest fields of Fargo (N. D.) this autumn were women.

* * *

To Clara Brown Lyman, formerly of the Consolidated Gas Co., New York City, now member of the Fuel Administration, is given the task of teaching American families to turn down the gas or snap off the electricity when they leave the room and in other ways to save the many millions of tons of fuel lost yearly by petty waste.

* * *

Women industrial workers occupy more and more space in the United States Employment Service Bulletin. They appear as farmers, printers, harvesters and in many other trades. The bulletin holds that the United States Employment Service holds "the key to women's coming era." Alice Field Newkirk, of the Philadelphia bureau, believes that the "day of the dependent woman is passed," and if figures prove anything, she has a good case, for her bureau has placed as many as 5,000 women in one day.

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¶ At no time has it been considered a commercial proposition.

¶ All the way along the return on the money invested has been computed in terms of propaganda.

¶ All the way along the main object has been to furnish a medium of authoritative political information from the suffrage viewpoint at a nominal cost to the subscriber.

¶ It seems to be generally conceded that this object has been attained.

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Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

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10 Cents a Copy

November 30, 1918



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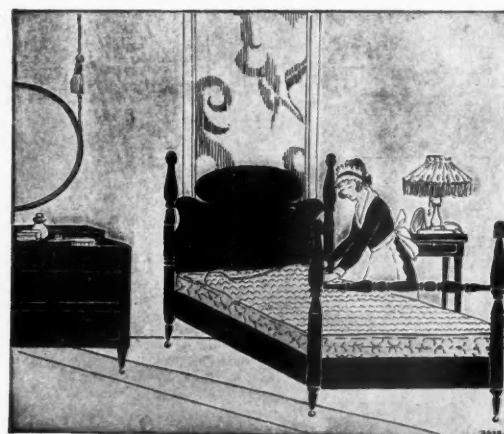
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Entered as second class matter, June 13, 1917, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

THE WOMAN CITIZEN

Founded June 2, 1917

Published every Saturday by

The WOMAN CITIZEN CORPORATION
at 171 Madison Avenue, New York

Ten cents a copy; yearly subscription (52 numbers), \$1.00. Postage to foreign countries fifty cents extra. Entered at the New York Post Office as Second Class matter, under the act of March 8, 1879. Copyright, 1918, by The Woman Citizen Corporation.

VOL. III NOVEMBER 30, 1918 No. 27

PUBLISHED by the Woman Citizen Corporation, in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

The directors of the Corporation are Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, and Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore.

Alice Stone Blackwell is a special contributing editor.

Rose Young is the editor-in-chief.

Mary Ogden White, Mary Sumner Boyd, and Rose Lawless Geyer are associate editors.

Our

THANKSGIVING past, the close of the year will soon come and with it comes the close of our Circulation Contest. We have a few weeks in which to make a record for ourselves. It should put every Circulation Chairman on her mettle to see how much she can accomplish in this period. The coming year promises big events in the suffrage world.

"I must have the *Woman Citizen* to keep in touch with the spirit of this age," writes Mrs. C. W. Gilson of Montville, N. J. "As an expression of that spirit I find 'our paper' not only capable and vigorous, but also brilliant and beautiful. I am sure that your standards of good workmanship will be reflected by suffragists everywhere. We shall try to keep your pace."

The practical value of the *Woman Citizen* is a point stressed by Miss Helen S. Norton, who says, "I regard the paper as ably edited and very useful. I had planned to give my copies away, but they are so good for reference I must keep them."

"I have always liked your extremely well edited and intelligent paper," writes Mrs. E. H. Brooks, Swarthmore, Pa.

"A wonderful magazine" is the enthusiastic word from Mrs. L. Hedwig Bruhn of Minneapolis.

"Very truly a citizen of the U. S. A." is the way Mrs. A. J. MacDiarmid of Grand Lodge, Michigan, signs her letter, in which she says "I just will not get along without the *Woman Citizen*."

The glad exultant tone that rings through every letter from Michigan, since November 5!

"The *Citizen* is a weekly fund of encouragement and inspiration. I could not give it up for many times the price," writes Miss Cynthia Jordan of Casco, Maine.

With 15 full suffrage states in line, all we need now is a long, strong pull—a pull all together for the Federal Amendment.

ROSE LAWLESS GEYER,
Nat'l Circulation Chrm.

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SUBSCRIBERS TAKE NOTICE! It takes two weeks to get a correction corrected on our mailing list. Send in your change of address two weeks in advance.

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Relative Position of State Leagues in the *Woman Citizen's* Circulation Contest:

November 16th	November 23rd
1. Iowa	1. Iowa
2. South Dakota	2. South Dakota
3. Georgia	3. Georgia
4. Indiana	4. Indiana
5. Michigan	5. Michigan
6. Minnesota	6. Minnesota
7. New Jersey	7. New Jersey
8. Wisconsin	8. Wisconsin
9. Massachusetts	9. Massachusetts
10. Virginia	10. Virginia
11. New York	11. New York
12. Ohio	12. Ohio
13. New Hampshire	13. New Hampshire
14. Alabama	14. Alabama
15. Missouri	15. Missouri
16. Maryland	16. Maryland
17. Texas	17. Texas
18. Pennsylvania	18. Pennsylvania
19. Maine	19. Maine
20. Kentucky	20. Kentucky
21. Tennessee	21. West Virginia
22. Louisiana	22. Tennessee
23. West Virginia—Connecticut	23. Louisiana
24. South Carolina	24. Connecticut
25. Arkansas	25. South Carolina
26. Washington, D. C.—North Dakota	26. Arkansas
27. Rhode Island—Illinois	27. Washington, D. C.—North Dakota
28. Nebraska—Oklahoma	28. Rhode Island—Illinois
29. Washington—Mississippi	29. Nebraska—Oklahoma
30. Kansas	30. Washington—Mississippi
31. North Carolina	31. Kansas
32. Vermont	32. North Carolina
	33. Vermont

Story

Circulation Contest

1. A pledge will constitute an entry.
2. No entries will be accepted after December 1, 1918.
3. Contest closes January 1, 1919.
4. In case of a tie for any one premium, the prize will be awarded to each qualifying contestant.
5. Only actual paid subscriptions will be counted in the awarding of premiums.

First Cash Premium FIFTY DOLLARS

To the State Association that sends in the highest number over 200 (paid new subscribers). The net price per subscription to the State Association is .70, the .30 to go into the state, county or local treasury, as may be decided by arrangement between the state and its branches.

Second Cash Premium TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the County Association that sends in the highest numbers over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the State Association, and would help to swell the state's total.

Third Cash Premium TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the Local Club that sends in the highest number over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the County Association into the State Association, and thence to the *Woman Citizen*.

Fourth Cash Premium TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the co-operating Subscriber who sends in the highest number over 50. This would be independent of state, county and club circulation activities, would apply to states that do not take up the circulation work in an official way, and would come directly to the *Woman Citizen*. The net price per subscription is \$1.00. No discount.

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¶ It seems to be generally conceded that this object has been attained.

Meantime

¶ The price of all items of manufacture has soared unbelievably—10%—25%—35%—50%—and still mounting!

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The Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

A Journal of Democracy

November 30, 1918

"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

Oklahoma's Victory

NEVER was victory so victorious as in Oklahoma!

In spite of a raw and reckless disposition on the part of anti-suffrage politicians to count suffrage out in that state, the suffrage vote of November 5th has stood every test. Total figures from the 77 counties, reported directly to the National Suffrage Association, under date of November 24th are as follows:

Suffrage vote, yes.....106,909

Highest vote cast, gubernatorial, total 194,035.

It was necessary to win a majority of this, that is to

say, one more than one-half, or..... 97,019

So that the amendment carried over the necessary

majority by..... 9,890

The National American Woman Suffrage Association accounts the victory as won over handicaps as great as any that ever hampered a suffrage campaign. It hails it as one of the great triumphs of a year made notable by important suffrage triumphs.

Outstanding features in the handicaps overcome by the women of Oklahoma in adding their state to the list of full suffrage states were:

(1) The fact of Oklahoma's "Southern-ness."

"Oklahoma is southern, not western—you have sent us down here to try to bring a southern state into the full suffrage column!" Thus the wail of the organizers of the National who went into the Oklahoma suffrage campaign under the fond delusion that Oklahoma was a western state, and were promptly brought up standing by the evidence of Oklahoma's southern traditions, southern ancestry, southern customs, southern heat, southern hot biscuit.

(2) The necessity of polling a majority of the highest vote cast in a general election for an amendment in a state where the silent vote is counted as a negative vote; (3) the danger from the contention of the Board of Elections that the Amendment was to be omitted from the ballot on the technical ground that the Secretary of State had failed to supply the official wording; (4) the failure to send suffrage ballots to the Oklahoma soldiers in seven camps at the time the official ballots were forwarded; these soldiers who were thus prevented from voting on the amendment at all were counted as casting a negative vote; (5) attempts made by certain interests to count mutilated ballots as silent votes; (6) a serious drought; (7) the Spanish influenza; (8) the severe heat of the summer months.

The determination of the antis to count out this victory has made a pitiful spectacle. County by county they have waited on returns and as county by county has filed into the pro-suffrage column they grew more and more desperate, and at last reports

have filed a protest based on the claim that mutilated ballots, not voted at all, should be counted as no votes.

To such unhappy straits has anti-suffrage come in Oklahoma!

Yet Oklahoma is not so different. Suffragists have long been convinced that in various state elections chicanery, pure and simple, or say impure and subtle, has been responsible for the defeat of suffrage at the polls. What saved the day in Oklahoma was the continued presence of the woman who had charge of the campaign, Mrs. Frank J. Shuler, who stayed on and on, ten days after the election, relinquishing her watchdog task to Miss Edna Annette Beveridge only when the result was assured.

To the tireless insistence of these two, to their accurate following up of returns, to their repeated checking and counter-checking is due the fact that the Oklahoma victory has stayed put.

TO the uninitiated it may seem a curious fact that the three great state victories just won under the banner of the National Suffrage Association have but served to reconvince that body of the wastefulness of the state route for suffrage.

But it is not curious to those who have counted the cost. Consider this Oklahoma situation where the antis have held on to their determination to defeat suffrage, as a dog holds to its last bone. See what a tremendous burden was laid on Michigan's women and South Dakota's women to carry on for war and suffrage at one and the same time. Read this testimony from Louisiana's suffrage leader:

"To those women of my state who hoped in yesterday's election to see vindicated our faith in that keystone of our government, the sovereignty of the state, I extend my hand in sorrow and shame that the dictates of one man can show the farce of what we have believed was free government.

"To the women who believed in the Federal Amendment I offer my heartiest congratulations, for nothing could have given greater impetus to their cause than the knowledge flashed out to the country that the kaiser who rules the city of New Orleans had ordered out his slaves with the instruction to continue to keep the white women of Louisiana the political inferiors of the negro men, and maybe federal supervision of our elections will be the only way we can ever hope to wrest this city government from the shame of the whip of the ward boss and the degrading spectacle of men, supposed to be, free cringing and doing the bidding of the Great Boss.

"Signed, JEAN M. GORDON."

Consider and see and read, and be convinced, as the National is convinced that the Federal route is the suffrage route for the future.

"The Last Chapter in the Old Book of War"

"THIS is a war for peace. It must be the last chapter in the old book of war and horror," is the word of a great warrior, General Smuts. It is also the word of the combined womanhood of the world. That this may be insured is one of the strongest reasons for the appeal of women everywhere for representation on the Peace Commission.

How universally this request burst forth from women in all countries is manifest in the letter from Canadian women which was received by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt from whom the general call went out to American women to meet together and ask for such representation.

A committee of women, representative of the professions and of several women's organizations in Alberta, Canada, met in Calgary and offered formal congratulations to Mrs. Catt for the "public action she had directed toward securing representation for women by women on the peace commissions of the several nations and on the peace conference."

"Canada is a self-governing Dominion of the British Empire," said these assembled women, "and at the request of the premier of Great Britain, the premier of Canada and advisers to him, chosen by him, representing business, labor, agriculture, etc., have proceeded to England to attend a conference of Empire representatives for a preliminary discussion of the terms of peace. Immediately upon this information, several professional women and women representative of the powerful organizations of Calgary formulated a request to the Canadian premier that he appoint one or more representative women to attend this conference with him as one or more of his advisers. The women who met formed a committee for the purpose of communicating with organizations of the Province and Dominion with a view to obtaining concerted action and immediate expression of the deeply-felt right of the women of Canada to participate in a conference so vital to their future. There has not been sufficient time to secure the expression which we feel sure will be given in response to this appeal.

"I am further requested to state to you that we believe the women's organizations of this city and province are willing and anxious to cooperate with you in making a demand, not only on behalf of the women of the particular countries in which we live, but on behalf of the women of each of the nations interested in the terms of peace, for representation in the preliminary peace conferences, and, if possible, in the final peace conference."

No appeal to women has ever met with a more widespread and unanimous response than has this invitation to women to unite in asking for representation in the post-war discussions

of the nations. It seems fitting and just to organizations as far separated in opinions and aims as the Workers of the International Association of Machinists who met in Brooklyn, New York, on November 12, and sent word that they were of the "unanimous opinion that a woman should be selected to sit at the Peace Conference," and the W. C. T. U.

A letter signed by Miss Anna Gordon, President of the National Women's Christian Temperance Union, says: "We are of one accord that women should be members of that con-

A Message to American Women in War-Time

By Lieut.-Gen. the Rt. Hon. F. C. Smuts, P.C., K.C., M.L.A.

"One of the great truths about this struggle is that it is for the position which all womanhood will hold throughout the world in days to come. This is a war for peace, and through the lack of peace the sufferings of women have been greater than the sufferings of men. It must be the last chapter in the old book of war and horror, destruction of dear homes, rapes, massacre and outrage. It must be the great end of the oppressions of all womanhood. . . . If Freedom wins in this war, political emancipation will be achieved by womanhood in all parts of the world."

"It is the fight of womanhood as much as it is that of manhood. It has liberated many evil forces; it will liberate many forces of beneficence. Chiefest of them all will be the sane and purifying force of womanhood."—Quoted by Theodora Thomson in "The Coming Dawn—A War Anthology" (John Lane Co.).

ference." Another, signed by the President of the Council of Jewish women, Mrs. Nathaniel Harris, is whole-hearted: "I am quite in accord with your opinion that a woman should be appointed." Mrs. Harris can, however, only speak as an individual until her board has a chance to act, which will not be until early in December. But she adds: "I feel strongly on this matter, and will be glad to make every possible propaganda for it."

"If you could see the photographs of children so stricken by terror that nothing can make them speak or smile, you would redouble your efforts to have women represented at any and all conferences dealing with the new world

which must replace the old world of autocracy," is a word from one who has been working for the children of the devastated countries, Miss Lillian Bell, President of the Children's Patriotic League of America, and the sister of Colonel James Bell, assistant chief of the General Staff under General Pershing.

One of the first organizations to take action on the question of women at the peace discussions was the Women's Republican Club of New York city. At its public meeting on November 12, Mrs. James G. Wentz, its president, proposed a resolution to President Wilson asking that women be represented. This was unanimously adopted by the meeting.

The Ladies of the Grand Army of the Republic sent back their heartfelt prayer to be allowed "to unite their forces with those of other women" for obtaining representation at the conference.

From far and wide, letters have been coming in asking what can be done to further the interests of the plan. "I have been commissioned by the Board of the Women's Welfare League of St. Paul to ask how they can further your suggestion to have a woman (or more) on the Peace Commission," was an immediate response from Minnesota. It is typical of many such swift responses. From the Civic League of Cleveland comes a similar response.

The Boston Equal Suffrage Association for Good Government made the demand for the cessation of war the basis of their appeal. "We urge," said the resolution, "the appointment of women as well as men at the Peace Conference to take their part in effecting such a settlement as will insure that this war shall be the last."

The Women's Council of Yonkers, Mrs. Arthur Livermore presiding, passed this resolution: "Resolved, That the Woman's Council of Yonkers asks the appointment of a woman or women on the Peace Commission, holding that free representative institutions must be based on the will of the people, both men and women."

The Woman Suffrage Party of Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania, "heartily endorses"; the Woman's National Farm and Garden Association, "expressed its desire that a woman representative of each country be a member of the Peace Commission." In answer to an appeal for cooperation in this move from the various organizations of New Jersey, the State Regent of the D. A. R., the state chairman of the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense, and the President of the New Jersey Federation of Colored Women's Clubs responded at once with cordial assent, while the Equal Suffrage League of the Oranges passed its own separate resolutions cordially endorsing the proposal.

Michigan's Sweeping Triumph

By Ida Porter Boyer

Press Chairman and Executive Secretary

FROM the thirteen congressional districts of the state the story of the campaign is told in these pages by those who were factors in the triumphant results. The headquarters in Detroit was the clearing house for all activities, and the consecrated team-work there not only made for efficiency but also for inspiration. Under the quiet and forceful guidance of the president, Mrs. Percy J. Farrell, the spirit of co-operation flourished. Mrs. Henry G. Sherrard essayed the great task of supplying the 82 counties with specialized literature. This was far more difficult than was at first apparent, since parcel-post as well as express facilities were congested. But somehow, some way, the supplies went steadily forward under Mrs. Sherrard's persistent care.

The huge petition, with Mrs. Emerson Davis as its chairman and custodian, early began on its record of over 202,000 signatures—by far the largest number of signatures ever presented on any petition for any cause in the state of Michigan. County by county the women enrolled. In public places the signature-sheets were exhibited; in some cases at county fairs the display of petitions was a popular feature, and in many counties the full list of names was published. The leading dailies of Grand Rapids printed the surprising number of over 14,000 names. These rosters were largely scanned by readers, and proud was the man who found the names of his women relatives among the list of patriots; 100 per cent Americans these women were called.

To Mrs. Myron B. Vorce's political sagacity must be credited the dynamic organization of the Men's Federation for Woman Suffrage. The *Woman Citizen* has already told of the personnel and helpfulness of this committee. Its influence, integrity, and just appreciation of the womanhood of Michigan was a potent factor in making November 5 mark an historic step in Michigan's progress. To Mrs. Vorce's political insight must be added a persuasive eloquence which made her of double value.

Our allies were the finest forces that could be marshaled in the Wolverine State. The great organization of the Woman's Benefit Association, with Miss Bina M. West as Supreme Commander, was among the first to offer co-operation in the campaign. Its resources of organization, finance and talent were freely tendered and so fully and freely accepted that one congressional district after another was added to the apportionment until the Sixth, Seventh, Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh and Twelfth districts were under the care of Mrs. Alice B. Locke and Mrs. Alberta Droelle. Mrs. Locke's brilliant oratory, combined with Mrs. Droelle's knowledge of the state and her ability in organization, made an irresistible combination. Theirs was the difficult territory, since it in-

*M*RS. IDA PORTER-BOYER came to Michigan in April as Press Chairman for the campaign, and immediately established cordial relations with the majority of the papers of the state. She issued weekly press bulletins, and wrote advertisements for the final issues of the papers.

In addition to the press work, Mrs. Boyer very soon took on the duties of Executive Secretary, and in this capacity was connected with every phase of the campaign. So much so that the success of the campaign in Michigan is due in a great measure to Mrs. Boyer's intelligent and whole-souled work. She threw herself into it, and became a vital part of it, and those associated with her wish to express their appreciation of the inspiration, as well as help, she has been to them.

AGNES STEVENS FARRELL,
President Michigan Equal
Suffrage Association.

cluded the thinly populated, and sometimes difficult of access, portions of Michigan. Where time-tables and railways baffled, these irrepressible women pressed automobiles into service and the "message to Garcia" was delivered.

Early in the campaign the Women's Christian Temperance Union, through its Franchise Department, prepared literature, and the president, Mrs. E. L. Caulkins, put into motion the many committees of the W. C. T. U. In several counties, particularly in the Seventh District, much of the suffrage petition work, as well as the election day service, was rendered by the W. C. T. U. members.

The clergy of the state gave endorsement to the campaign in surprising numbers, endorsements which were collected and printed in a pamphlet. Among them were represented nearly every denomination and creed. Bishop Gallagher's statement arrived too late to be included in the pamphlet, but was printed and circulated just before election day.

The press was almost unanimous in its support. Few states have equaled the fine editorials from metropolitan and rural newspapers. Many of these were of such pronounced literary value that they were copied and re-copied by exchanges. In many instances offers to pay for space by anti-suffragists from other states was indignantly refused. Principle triumphed over commercial profit—a concrete illustration of the high character of Michigan newspapers.

The very powerful Gleaners, with Mr. Grant Slocum as leader; the Grange, with its influence, and Mr. J. Ketchum at its head; and the strong Federation of Labor, represented by Mr. Carl Young, afforded a powerful backing that told unmistakably at the polls.

The Anti-Saloon League added its efforts, as did the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense. This array of allies is one of which Michigan suffragists are justly proud.

The National American Woman Suffrage Association was prompt to answer all appeals. It sent substantial help in literature and posters and most timely was its contribution of funds. Mrs. F. J. Shuler came into the state several times—and each time gave assistance where needed. Mrs. A. C. Hughston directed the Wayne County campaign, generally conceded to be the most difficult single assignment, since nearly one-fourth of the vote of the state is located in that county. Miss Lola C. Trax rendered valuable service, especially in the Second and Seventh districts. Her organization was so thorough that the files at headquarters show details including chairmen in nearly every township in the counties to which she was assigned. Miss Edna Wright was devoted to the Eighth District in which Saginaw is situated, regarded as a serious point because of its adverse vote in preceding campaigns. Mrs. James G. Macpherson and Mrs. S. S. Mitts determined to reverse the hostile conditions and with Miss Wright's capable help scored a majority for Saginaw of more than three thousand votes.

Miss Marie B. Ames had the Ninth District as her field of operations which covered twenty counties—a large task for one person and one carefully canvassed.

To Mrs. Huntley Russell and Miss Grace Van Hoesen too much praise cannot be accorded for the excellent work done in their district. Grand Rapids was one of the banner cities.

Dr. Blanche M. Haines supervised eleven counties so admirably that more than fifteen thousand majority was added to our total victory votes.

Mrs. Geo. R. Patterson and Mrs. Daniel Quirk sustained the work in the Second District, the report of which is unavoidably delayed, but like those from its fellow districts that report is gratifying.

This resumé would be incomplete if it did not make special tribute to Mrs. Wilber Brotherton, the one Michigan woman whose faith, devotion and work has carried her actively through three campaigns. With a patriotism that could withstand the defeats of the past, and a democracy that illumines the future, Mrs. Brotherton proved one of the few who can remain steadfast through sowing until reaping time.

Winning Wayne

Reported by Mrs. H. A. Stewart

Campaign Manager, Mrs. Augusta C. Hughston, Congressional Chairmen, Mrs. Albert Prentis and Mrs. Cora Vaughn

THERE were 18 ward chairmen and 253 election district chairmen appointed; 11,447 propaganda calls made, and 1,038 helpers promised. There were 8 general meetings held, 95 church meetings, 75 industrial meetings in factories—117 miscellaneous meetings were cancelled because of the influenza. Fourteen large mass meetings at factories were cancelled, but literature was distributed to every man, and little groups not exceeding ten in number were addressed. In the factories and stores 150,000 persons were reached.

The number of women who signed the petitions in Wayne County was 37,107. Resolutions endorsing suffrage were passed by 67 clubs, and 227 churches; 105 pastors were favorable. The Men's League, of which there were 297 members, planned to have a large mass meeting with ex-President Taft as the chief speaker, but the ban on meeting prevented this. On election day forty of these men acted as watchers at the polls.

Five hundred thousand pieces of suffrage literature and 50,000 buttons were distributed during the campaign; 13,000 posters put in windows, 1,000 street-car advertisements were displayed, 174 large billboard posters were put up and we had 1,766 inches of paid news advertisements. Publicity literature was distributed at all important large public gatherings, such as the Battle of Vimy Ridge at which all Detroit and the surrounding country were present; the Fourth of July celebration at Belle Isle; Michigan State Fair; Michigan primaries, and at all temporary headquarters, of which there are 22. Theatre and moving picture audiences were addressed from time to time.

Several hundred feature stories and news items with illustrations appeared in the papers as regular press publicity. Miss Miller clipped 566 articles from the four local papers. All affairs and all prominent suffragists, local and those visiting town, were written up and given every possible publicity. Sousa, Ford, Paderewski, Miss Bonstelle, General Swinton, Judge Charles Hughes, and others were interviewed and endorsed suffrage.

An enormous fête, a play by Mrs. C. Piquette Mitchel and Mrs. Sallie Kemper, and a series of historical tableaux were planned but called off because of the epidemic. An exceedingly successful rally was held at the Garrick Theatre by courtesy of Jessie Bonstelle, at which another play by Mrs. Mitchel was produced by the Bonstelle Company and important speakers were present.

"THE woman suffrage campaign in Michigan this year was carried on under the most difficult and distracting conditions which suffragists ever faced. Before the suffrage campaign began most of the suffragists were already spending in Red Cross and in war relief all the time and money they could spare from their homes and families and their regular business. Many of our best suffrage workers of previous cam-



MRS. AUGUSTA C. HUGHSTON

paings are over-seas serving in soldier-canteens, as ambulance drivers, motor-truck drivers, nurses, etc. This is especially so with the younger and stronger suffrage workers.

"Woman suffragists, from long experience in thorough organization in training to obey without question the orders of officers, and making one dollar do the work of two, have acquired experience which makes them valuable and efficient in Red Cross and war relief work. There is no class of women who have gone into war work more earnestly than have suffragists, or who are working harder in it."

Last week and the week before, the WOMAN CITIZEN printed the stories of what women had paid in time and money, in strength and energy to win Oklahoma and South Dakota.

Let each person who thinks the state-by-state method of enfranchising women better than the Federal method give heed to today's story of what Michigan women sacrificed to gain freedom for the women of their state.

Mrs. Albert Peppers was particularly successful with the colored population of Detroit, which is considerable, and also with the Poles.

Mrs. Lillian S. Mathews, Chairman of the Petitions and Election Day Committee, assisted by Mrs. Guy Brown, Mrs. A. L. Munnech, Mrs. Herbert Shryer, Mrs. P. Hazzard, and many

other conscientious suffragists, had over 1,000 workers at the polls November 5, caring for 319 precincts, as well as countless machines to patrol the wards.

Mrs. Harry Woodhouse was responsible for many petitions. Miss Maria Trueman personally secured over 1,000 names from school teachers. Mrs. A. H. Finn was in charge of the church meetings and petitions circulated there, in which work she was remarkably successful. Miss Florence Field and the Misses Ruth and Elizabeth Whittier secured many names, and Miss Florence Hopkins did admirable work among the local schools. Mrs. Myron B. Vorce, the political chairman, and Mrs. Alexander MacDonald were very successful in their political work and in securing memberships to the league. Mrs. Stevens T. Mason, Mrs. Owen J. Davies, Miss Margaret Foley, and Mr. F. Toms were particularly effective in speaking before large masses, especially in industrial centers. Miss Louise Wendell, who has been one of the most capable, earnest workers in the organization; Mrs. Charles Hague Booth, Chairman of Theatres, who secured the Ford Moving Picture Company to make suffrage cartoons for the picture houses; Mrs. James A. Hurst, Mrs. Carl Mattson, Mrs. Frank Bigler, Miss Julia Parker, and Mrs. Paul King were also effective workers. Mrs. Grace Fortwangler, Mrs. Grace Bailey, Mrs. Ida M. Grainger, Mrs. Albertine Elliott were all successful in the work of organization. Mrs. Willard Pope, Organizer of the Men's League, Mrs. Henry Ford, Mrs. Percy Ives, Mrs. Noble Banks, Mrs. Arthur Cushman and Mrs. Ralph Ainsworth were responsible for much of the success on election day in Detroit and throughout the county. Temporary headquarters were splendidly handled by Mrs. C. E. Hickey, Mrs. Hazzard and Mrs. E. E. Bross, who was also Chairman of Poster and Literature Publicity, which office she filled with pronounced success. Press publicity was first in the hands of Mrs. Sara Moore Eastman and later of Mrs. Harvey R. Stewart. Misses Jessie and Mary Miller were in charge of the literature and clippings. Mrs. Wilber Brotherton, President of the Wayne County League, was active at all times. Mrs. Augusta C. Hughston,

Campaign Manager, was a fount of enthusiasm, vigor, resourcefulness and capability. Miss Susie Smith, an organizer among the colored people, did admirable work. There were countless other splendidly conscientious and effective workers whose names deserve to be recorded here but space does not permit.

A CONVERT to the CAUSE of SUFFRAGE

ONE of the most interesting converts to the cause of suffrage in recent months is Mrs. Henry Ford, the wife of the automobile and tractor manufacturer, who, in her capacity as vice-chairman of the Dearborn branch of the Equal Suffrage League of Wayne County, was an important factor in the success of the suffrage referendum campaign which closed November 5. Until the last year, according to her own testimony, Mrs. Ford had taken little or no interest in the cause of equal suffrage, but at a meeting of the league held in her own home last summer, she not only became a convert to the cause, but one of the most ardent workers of the entire campaign that placed Michigan alongside the other full suffrage states by a comfortable majority of 24,000.

From the time the initial meeting of the Dearborn league was held in the Ford home until the last hour of the campaign, it was one of the most active and potent units of the state suffrage organization. Present at this meeting were Mr. and Mrs. Ford, Mr. and Mrs. Edsel Ford, and Mrs. Louis Ives, all of whom were won to the suffrage ranks by the forceful arguments of Mrs. Myron B. Vorce, Mrs. Ives becoming president and Mrs. Henry Ford vice-chairman of the organization. What happened from that time on is an important part of the history of one of the most remarkable and successful state campaigns ever conducted.

No task became too difficult for the vice-chairman of the league to perform, and one of the first things she attempted was a house-



MRS. HENRY FORD

to-house canvass of the outlying country districts. This was in reality pioneer work, inasmuch as Mrs. Ford found it necessary quite often to explain the nature of the movement to women and men who scarcely knew the meaning of suffrage.

Mrs. Ford was one of the most earnest and effective workers at two large mass meetings held by the Dearborn league, one in the public square of Dearborn and the other at the Ford tractor plant. In the former meeting more than 1,200 persons asked for suffrage buttons,

AN EARNEST and EFFECTIVE WORKER

and at the close of the meeting at the Ford plant more than 7,000 employees promised to vote for the Amendment on November 5. While various speakers were addressing the Ford workmen, Mrs. Ford was busy distributing literature, passing out buttons to the eager converts to the cause, and pasting stickers on trucks. Altogether, it was one of the busiest days of her life. Later in the campaign, meetings were held at the automobile factory in Highland Park and at the famous Ford Eagle plant on the River Rouge.

"I never thought very much about suffrage until this last year," said Mrs. Ford in discussing her work in the campaign.

"I had never taken any interest in it until I heard Mrs. Myron B. Vorce speak on the subject. 'You're selfish,' she told me. 'Just because you are fortunate enough not to need the ballot yourself is no reason why you shouldn't help others who do need it to get it.' And she was right.

Her arguments for it were so convincing I became deeply interested in the cause.

"My former attitude, when I thought 'What's the use?' was like that of an old woman I encountered a short time ago. I explained to her all the advantages the ballot would give to women and she listened stolidly, but when I asked her if she wouldn't like the right to vote, she remarked, 'What's the use? I have two sons who are old enough to vote, but they never have voted.' When asked the reason, she replied, 'Well, nobody ever comes after my boys to take them, that's why they don't vote.'"

Downing the German Vote in Saginaw

TALK about what Marshal Foch did when he turned back the Germans!

Saginaw women turned back the German vote of Michigan.

You couldn't win Saginaw County because of that German vote, it was said, and—because of another thing. Then this little task of winning a congressional district which was foredoomed to failure on two counts, the Germans, and the other thing—was turned over to Miss Edna Wright of Utica, New York, organizer for the National Suffrage Association.

The Germans were counted against suffrage

from the start. They were not even just plain Germans; they belonged to a church whose clergymen preached that it would be a sin for women to vote. Some of these German women in the wards and townships about Saginaw would have liked to vote. They said so to the suffrage workers who were getting out a petition of women; but as soon as they found that the names had to be published, they withdrew them at once because they did not dare let their husbands know they were thinking for themselves. In one German ward of Saginaw out of 400 votes the suffrage cause had 25. This

is typical of the way the German men of Michigan felt towards the freedom of women.

The "other thing" the women of Saginaw had to meet and overcome was the likelihood of a stolen vote; for Saginaw was one of the three counties that were conspicuous for having stolen the suffrage victory of 1912. This was not speculation, it was fact. Women knew it; men knew it. Men who were good friends of woman suffrage predicted that the victory would be stolen away again.

These were among the things Saginaw women

(Continued on page 558)



MRS. WM. F. BLAKE,
Treasurer Michigan Equal Suffrage Assn.

THE active campaign in Grand Rapids extended over a period of a little over six months. In April we began the intensive organization to carry out the petition work. Mrs. David A. Warner, Chairman of Organization, selected three ward chairmen and they succeeded in getting captains for each of the forty-five precincts, who in turn selected a woman for each city block.

All of the organization work and educational instruction for those carrying petitions was done during May. An intensive campaign of two weeks was put on the first half of June to secure petition signers and to inform the women of Grand Rapids regarding suffrage and the Michigan referendum. This was done by house-to-house work.

We had hoped to secure 15,000 signatures, but this was at a time when women were busy with war work outside their homes. In these two weeks we secured 13,267 signatures. We made no second visits, as the women who carried the petitions were also war workers and too busy to go over their territory a second time. During the summer months the number of signatures was increased to around 14,000 by being taken to group meetings. Had we gone over the city again we could have raised the number to 20,000.

June—In the middle of June, headquarters were opened on the first floor in the business section. During the rest of the campaign, literature and posters were constantly being sent out, inquiries answered and information given. A fine poster exhibit was kept in the four large windows, being changed from week to week as the campaign advanced.

July—During July, August and September, a

small group of women, headed by Mrs. Katharine Prager, worked at the headquarters, deciphering, verifying, alphabetizing and typewriting the 14,000 names on the petition, getting this great list of names in shape to be published.

Our political chairman, Miss Cora Riggs, after the candidates for Legislature had filed their petitions in July, sent each one a letter asking his position on suffrage, the Michigan referendum and the Federal Amendment. Those who failed to answer were sent a second, even a third letter—were finally telephoned to or seen personally, until out of the twenty-six candidates all but three had answered and twenty-two were pledged for us. Again, after the August primaries, the winning candidates were asked for their support during the campaign.

August—The finances for the end of our campaign had to be raised and this work was undertaken in August by Mrs. Huntley Russell and the president of the local suffrage body. Letters were sent to a selective list and to the entire suffrage membership, and personal visits were made, finally securing pledges to meet the necessities of the campaign. The only money spent in the campaign was for commercial advertising, literature and stationery. All of the organization work, the office work and expenses were contributed by the workers.

A LETTER was sent out to each member of the clergy asking for an endorsement of suffrage and for cooperation on their part. Many personal calls were made, endorsements were secured from Bishops Gallagher (Catholic) and McCormick (Episcopal) and the leading clergymen of all denominations. These letters were published in the press during October.

Much time was spent in August in getting contracts for street car, billboard and newspaper advertising. From Oct. 5 to Nov. 5 every Grand Rapids car and all interurban cars carried two cards for the Michigan referendum. We had thirty 24-sheet posters in Grand Rapids.

September—September was ushered in by the Labor Day parade in which we had four large banners, each carried by two soldier boys in khaki, bearing appropriate legends such as "Make Michigan Women Real Citizens—Vote for Suffrage Nov. 5." "Women Have Earned the Right to Vote—Vote for Suffrage Nov. 5." "Women Vote in Wyoming, etc., etc. Why not in Michigan?" etc.

September was devoted to suffrage work at fairs. At the West Michigan State Fair held at Grand Rapids, we had a suffrage booth equipped with an automatic stereopticon, fourteen different slides and all the down-to-the-minute suffrage arguments and data. These ran all day, automatically changing, and were read by thousands each day. We had a different

Michigan's Inconvenient

Why Grand Rapids

Reported by Van
President Grand Rapids



TO THE MICHIGAN
WE ARE WORKING FOR DEMOCRATIC
One of the best ca

committee in charge daily and they passed out tags which read "Vote yes Nov. 5 for woman suffrage." We had two banners 25 x 30 feet, which had been used in the New York State Campaign in 1917, placed in conspicuous places on the grounds so that, all told, no one could escape suffrage at the Fair.

THE state Republican Convention was held at Grand Rapids September 26 and the suffragists were appointed as assistant sergeants-at-arms. The chairman of resolutions and Mr. Will Hays were seen and pledged to put the suffrage plank into the platform for not only the Michigan Referendum, but the Federal Amendment also. Governor Sleeper was asked to speak favorably and he did.

REPUBLICAN PLANK FOR SUFFRAGE

"We believe the time has come when Michigan should extend the right of suffrage to women on equal terms with men, and we endorse the Constitutional Amendment looking

Convertible Majority

nds Was Won

d by Van Hoesen,
Grand Rapids Franchise Club



THE MICHIGAN
MOOTE US A SHARE IN DEMOCRACY
the Gert cartoons

toward that end, to be voted upon at the November election, and call upon the voters of the state to adopt it by emphatic majority.

"We further favor the immediate submission to the several states of the proposed amendment to the Federal Constitution granting suffrage to women, and we call upon the Legislature of Michigan to ratify such amendment when so submitted."

WE were not too busy with our State Referendum to consider the Federal Amendment, but lined up both our Michigan Senators to vote for it in Congress.

We began when the clubs opened in September to have a ten-minute talk at each such gathering, expecting to have some large public meetings in October. This plan was carried out until the ban was placed on meetings on account of the influenza.

The publicity chairman, Miss Christine Keck, and her workers, succeeded in getting the merchants of Grand Rapids to promise space

to feature the Michigan Referendum in their advertisements during the last week of October, many giving large space and nearly all giving inserts. The Grand Rapids Clearing House gave one full page in all three daily papers with a fine full figure cut. These gave us publicity for a week in all our daily papers. Our newspapers all gave us very fine editorials. The cartoonist of the *Press*, "Gert" (Mrs. Ernest Young), made a special cartoon for suffrage and it was featured as a center on the front page of the *Press*.

As another means of publicity during October, we secured forty vacant store windows in various parts of the city and filled them with the latest suffrage posters, making a silent suffrage headquarters in every part of the city.

Just a week before election 100 factories were visited and promises secured in 97 of these to place, either near the time-clock or the bulletin boards, suffrage posters. Political leaflets with an extract from President Wilson and his picture on one side, and a quotation from Colonel Roosevelt and his picture on the opposite side were left for the employees of these factories.

The judges were asked for endorsements, and four sent letters which were published in the *News* in October.

WE decided that our last shot should be the publication of the 14,000 signatures of the women who had asked the men to vote "yes." No one paper could print the full list, so we gave one-third of the list to each of our three.

The *News* started November 1, with letters A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, with the heading:

"To the voters of Grand Rapids:

"We, the undersigned women, petition you to vote yes for Woman Suffrage Nov. 5. Fourteen thousand women in the city of Grand Rapids, 182,000 in the State of Michigan have signed this petition.

"Women are sharing equally with you the burden of the country. We are willing to work beside you—fight beside you—die beside you. Let us vote beside you."

November 2 the *Press* printed names under K, M, S, W, with similar heading.

November 3 the *Herald* printed names under H, I, J, L, N, O, P, Q, R, T, U, V, Z.

Making, as it did, a double page in each daily, it was the talk of the town and a most convincing method of showing that Grand Rapids women *did* want the vote.

Each paper ran a news story the day of the publication of the names, featuring the petition work.

The full page advertisement donated by the Clearing House, with its beautiful full figure cut, appeared in all the daily papers, November 4, just before the vote.



MRS. EMERSON DAVIS, STATE CHAIRMAN OF PETITIONS

DURING the final week of the campaign, the street cars were each carrying two cards advertising suffrage. Thirty twenty-four-sheet billboards were distributed around the city. Forty vacant stores each had a window full of small posters. Ninety-seven factories had posters and the political leaflet where employees would see them. Our three daily papers each carried one day a double page of petition names and numerous small advertisements—also many inserts. Beside all this, the fine cartoon by Gert, the many fine editorials, and news stories were published.

November 5, election day, at the polling place in each of the forty-five precincts at 7 A. M., were two women to see that our interests were safeguarded and also to tag every voter with a tag, "I am an American Citizen. I have voted." The Americanization Society had asked us to do this for them. These women were relieved at noon by another two and these again at 6 P. M. The last shift was to come on at 6 P. M. and stay until the polls closed and the votes were counted for suffrage. They were to get a signed report of the votes for and against, and telephone or bring it in to headquarters. A flying squadron of seven automobiles divided the city up into districts and made each precinct every three hours to see that the workers were there and everything was going well. A line of reserve workers was at headquarters to be sent wherever needed.

After the polls closed at 8 P. M., the first report came in at 8:30. From that time until the last report at 1:15, headquarters were crowded with anxious suffragists. At 1:15 A. M. we knew that Grand Rapids had gone over the top by 662 votes.

Campaigning in the Third and Fourth

AFTER the state convention, which occurred the last of March in Detroit, when campaign plans were adopted, a call for a District Convention was made. The District election occurred in Battle Creek the last week in April. From that time until well into September, the work of organization and reorganization of every county and precinct in the two districts was the objective. Eleven counties and two hundred seventy-seven precincts made the total. Reorganization had to be effected in all but three counties.

Unfortunately, the Michigan campaign started under a sinister optimism that "the war work of the women will win the campaign." Just as it took the sinking of the Lusitania and other warfare to teach some Americans that they had raised their boys to be soldiers, so it needed organization and organizers, and much dynamic rhetoric, to combat the subtle and pernicious propaganda, launched alike by suffragists and anti-suffragists in Michigan, that no effort would be needed to carry the Michigan campaign. Many chairmen were so grounded in this fatal optimism, that it was necessary to have them give place to women of less optimistic vision. Like Mrs. McClung's Canadian premier, "It was easier to change the premier than to change his mind."

It was not until the latter part of September that a sane determination to work and win took the place of the earlier idea of letting George do it all at the polls. As we write this history, three days before election, we have a good bit of faith that he is going to do the right thing at the polls, but we know that Adeline, Corinne, Deborah, Hazel and the eleven county and two hundred seventy-seven precinct chairmen have done their best to remind him of his duty to his countrywomen next Tuesday. In addition, four organizers gave full time during the summer months. Miss Alta Chase and Mrs. Harriet Mason of New York, both workers in the New York campaigns, gave us splendid help. Miss Hazel Furman of Detroit and Miss Metta Ross of Allegan County added greatly to our organization work. To Miss Chase, who was formerly a Michigan woman, the Michigan suffragists of the southwestern part of the state owe a debt they can never pay.

The petition to the voters to vote for the state constitutional amendment, granting full suffrage to Michigan women, was the "*pièce de resistance*" of the campaign. It was signed by more than 35,510 women in the two districts.

The educational work of the campaign was done through the thorough house-to-house canvass for this petition work, through ready-made meetings, fairs and, at the last, through posters and newspapers. Very few suffrage speakers

Reported by Dr. Blanche M. Haines,
Congressional District Chairman

were heard at suffrage meetings. The war held first attention. The last weeks of the campaign closed in not only an atmosphere of war but of pestilence. Every meeting was called off and speakers' tours were canceled on account of the epidemic of influenza. Nothing remained in the way of publicity except the



DR. BLANCHE M. HAINES
Who Had Charge of Eleven Counties

posters and press. It has truly been a quiet campaign. Quiet beyond the plans made to conduct a quiet campaign.

In the circumstances we have had to change plans to reach the voter. The initiative and resourcefulness of the different chairmen have been interesting and valuable.

The matter of money raising has been one of the hardest features of the campaign. Again friends and foes alike said, "It is no time to raise money for anything but the war." One wonders sometimes just what function the biological think-spot is supposed to have. Because campaigns cost money and the extension of democracy at home demands money as well as the defense of democracy abroad. However, think-spots do respond to external irritation. Education produced enough resources for the major needs of the campaign. More money would have been better, but we appreciate that

the demand upon all purses was great. To Berrien, Kalamazoo and St. Joseph Counties much credit must be given for the work of financing our share of the campaign.

If we have had unusual handicaps in our campaign, we have had also unusual help. Both the Republican and Democratic State Party Committees recommended to their voters the passage of our amendment. Following this lead, Mrs. DeFoe, chairman for Eaton County, secured the endorsement of the Republican and Democratic County Committees of Eaton County. Mrs. Gould, county chairman for Barry County, secured the passage of a resolution favoring suffrage, through the Common Council of Hastings. Mrs. Malcolm Smith, Allegan County chairman, through her affiliation with the Farm Bureau, as a member of that Board and her other affiliations, had the able help and endorsement of that organization. Mrs. Harsen D. Smith, chairman for Cass County, impressed Liberty Loan speakers, as well as farm auctioneers, into service to talk for suffrage when speaking for Liberty Loan or crying sales. Mrs. Peet, chairman for Calhoun County, and Mrs. DeFoe had strong newspaper support through their relations with the press. The county press in St. Joseph County, as well as the chairman of the War Preparedness Board gave valuable support.

In Branch and Berrien Counties the fraternal gave good help. The Red Cross in Van Buren County helped greatly in organization and gave us workers. In every county we had support and help from the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense. The endorsement of the suffrage amendment by its state board was one of the finest things that came to us in our districts. Rev. Caroline Bartlett Crane, state chairman for the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense, made a large proportion of the suffrage addresses in the Third and Fourth Districts.

It is impossible, in a brief summary, to mention all the fine workers. We mention a few, who, because of certain conditions, added much, Mrs. Curtiss, Mrs. Cornish, Mrs. Pauline T. Heald and Mrs. Elnora Chamberlain of Van Buren County, among them. Mrs. Fowler, Mrs. Tinker, Mrs. Reffner and Miss Mary Corbett of Hillsdale County did fine team work. Mrs. Bell, Mrs. Simon Doll, Mrs. Huss and Mrs. Addison deserve especial mention for their precinct work in St. Joseph County. Mrs. Stanka of Eaton County, for her precinct work. Mrs. Nicol and her daughter, Miss Jessie, for splendid services in both Allegan and Van Buren counties, and Mrs. Davis and Mrs. Carleton of Albion for telling local work. We

(Continued on page 555)

James McCreery & Co.

5th Avenue

34th Street

Special Sale

F U R S

Commencing Monday, December 2nd

Offering Coats, Capes and Muffs in the latest and smartest styles. Furs include Hudson Seal, Mole, Caracul, Marmot, Muskrat, Mink, Beaver, Lynx, Skunk, Wolf, Fox, etc.

Hudson Seal Coats made of choice skins, with belt; fine Skunk collar and cuffs. regularly 345.00, **285.00**

Fine Moleskin Coats made of choice, perfectly matched skins; smart model. regularly, 395.00, **325.00**

Caracul Coats, made of choice lustrous pelts; large Skunk collar and cuffs. regularly 325.00, **265.00**

Mink Capes made of dark, natural skins. regularly 310.00, **265.00**

Mink Muffs to match regularly 105.00, **75.00**

Beaver Capes. regularly 55.00, **45.00**
Beaver Muffs. regularly 47.50, **37.50**

Fine Fox Scarfs. regularly 65.00, **45.00**
Fine Fox Muffs. regularly 65.00, **45.00**

Sixth Congressional District

Reported by Emily G. West

THIS district was also mothered by the Woman's Benefit Association. The press was most helpful. The Board of Commerce, the Board of Supervisors, the Kiwanis Club, the Federation of Labor, the County Republican Convention, and the County Democratic Convention formally endorsed the Suffrage Amendment. Had not the influenza ban stopped all public gatherings many other bodies of men would also have given similar support.

Twenty of the leading merchants agreed to add a suffrage plea to their newspaper advertisements. The opinions of leading business people and others, published on front pages, made telling publicity.

Signatures to the petition were secured.

Genesee County suffragists are grateful for the faithful and efficient services tendered by the local and state organizations.

Cut Your Christmas Oranges and other acid fruits With a GLASS KNIFE

GET YOUR CHRISTMAS
SUPPLY EARLY

Solves the Christmas problem
hines without scouring
sanitary, absolutely
harp, always

Price 50c
Attractively
Boxed

Miss Lord's Craft Shop - - - Erie, Pennsylvania

Victory in the Seventh

Reported by Lola C. Trax,

"A S Port Huron goes, so will go the Thumb." This political saying was thoroughly appreciated by Mrs. A. H. Cote, Recording Secretary of the State Organization, who assumed responsibility for St. Clair County, which is the most important county in the Seventh Congressional District. So carefully was the petition work done that the list in Port Huron City equalled the gubernatorial vote, and gained the unanimous endorsement of the County Elections Board. Posting, newspaper work, and all campaign plans were excellently taken care of. Mrs. Cote modestly says that she could not have done it without the whole-hearted co-operation of Mrs. C. L. Boynton, and the Women's Benefit Association.

Mrs. John Lungerhausen, with the assistance of Mrs. J. H. Dussenberry and Mrs. W. H. Crawford, had the difficult task of Macomb County, well known to the National Suffrage

Association through its organized opposition work in the 1912 campaign. Despite a large anti population, a 30 per cent petition list was secured and admirable posting, publicity and political work done. At New Baltimore the Town Marshal placed posters on the Town Hall entrance, and the large suffrage map had the earnest attention of the voters as they went in to cast their ballots.

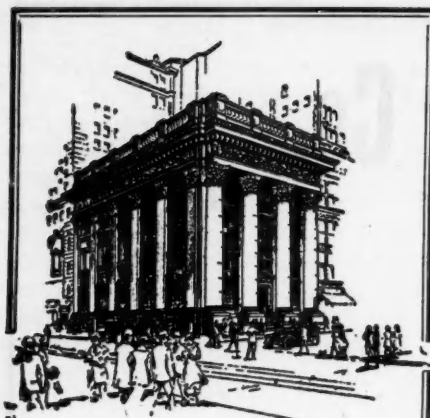
In Lapeer County, Mrs. Ettie V. Schanck, living seven miles in the country, rolled up a 40 per cent petition list, and with the help of her associates in the W. C. T. U. did other good campaign work.

Mrs. James P. Mugan of Sanilac, and Mrs. Maud McComb Stilson of Tuscola, had indifferent constituencies, and worked under harassing difficulties. The Tuscola W. C. T. U. helped with petition lists. Huron County did not receive much "mothering" in the campaign, but since it is the home county of Governor Sleeper, results were bound to be favorable.

This, then, is an accounting of the "Thumb of Michigan."

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Busy Bees of the Maccabees

Reported by Alice B. Locke,

Assistant Supreme Commander, Woman's Benefit Association of the Maccabees.

IN almost every county the full burden of the work of the campaign has fallen on a handful of women. In many cases women who accepted appointments on the various county committees failed utterly to do their share, but the county chairmen as a whole rallied around them the faithful few and to them, to the press and to the many splendid men who have stood by us and helped us through the heat of the battle, the women of Michigan owe their enfranchisement.

Every county in the sixth district, with the exception of Livingston County, was 100 per cent organized. In October Mrs. A. J. Parker was appointed chairman, with good results. Special mention is due the *Flint Journal*, the *Flint Labor News* and the *Lansing State Journal* for their splendid support.

This district was not placed under my supervision until July, but the women responded nobly to my request for an intensive campaign. The women of Oakland County are especially deserving of praise.

Mrs. Mary E. Craigie, National worker, spent a week in the Sixth District and a week in the Seventh.

The success of the Campaign in the Seventh District is due to the untiring efforts of Miss Lola Trax, National organizer.

Mrs. Cote saved the day for St. Clair County, and much credit is due her for the energetic campaign which she put under way immediately after her appointment in September. The W. C. T. U. in the Seventh District also assisted very materially in the campaign.

Mrs. Jno. Lungerhausen, County Chairman of Macomb County, proved herself an able general in the face of almost unsurmountable difficulties.

IN the Ninth and lower Eleventh Congressional Districts the work of organizing was placed in charge of Miss Marie Ames, National organizer, and as twenty counties were included in her territory, her task was not easy. Two counties, Grand Traverse and Leelanaw, declined any assistance, and insisted on being permitted to carry on their work in their own way. No petition work was done in Leelanaw County, and only a small per cent in Grand Traverse. Owing to poor transportation facilities in several counties—Lake, Missaukee, Montmorency, particularly—the work of organizing was done under special difficulties.

Mrs. Mary E. Craigie, National worker, spent about two and a half weeks in the Ninth District. Her dates in the lower Eleventh Dis-

trict were cancelled owing to the ban on all public gatherings on account of the epidemic.

In the Tenth District every county organized except Alcona, where, owing to the resignation of the chairman, and the fact that the epidemic prevented all public gatherings, it was impossible to complete the work.

Oscoda County, which has no railway, could be only part organized.

In Mecosta and Osceola Counties the feeling was so strong that the men would carry the amendment out of appreciation of the splendid war work activities of the Michigan women that it was impossible to secure an aggressive campaign committee.

In Bay County an effective campaign was conducted and great credit is due Mrs. Kelton, Mrs. Miller, Mrs. Jennison and Miss Ballou for their unfailing loyalty to the cause. To Mr. Gustin, editor of the *Bay City Times*, the Tenth District owes a debt of gratitude for splendid co-operation.

For the upper Eleventh and Twelfth Districts every county in the Upper Peninsula was organized for the campaign except Menominee County. There the women refused to organize because they felt the men of the county owed it to the women to carry the amendment in recognition of the excellent work done by the women in all war activities. In Dickinson County a "silent" campaign was promoted.

HOUGHTON COUNTY was exceedingly difficult to handle, owing to local conditions, but in spite of all obstacles a fairly aggressive campaign was conducted during September and October.

Miss Sigrid Von Zellen, County Chairman of Marquette County, did wonderful work. Alger, Gogebic, Luce, Iron and Chippewa Counties were well organized. Delta County was 100 per cent efficient and we owe our victory there to Mrs. T. E. Strom, Secretary and Petition Chairman.

In fact almost every county took up the campaign with a determination to win, and while influenza hampered the work, that work was on the whole very satisfactory.

The greatest difficulty was to raise funds. In many counties the County Chairman paid the incidental expenses out of her own pocket.

In thirty-two counties in the state Mrs. Droelle and I organized the campaign without any assistance from national suffrage organizers or speakers, hence, while a great majority of the counties have failed to raise their quota of funds, they have not been a load upon the state treasury.

In closing I desire to say that it has been a very great pleasure to the Woman's Benefit Association as well as to me personally to have had the privilege of so materially aiding the suffrage cause in Michigan.

Bay County's Victory

Reported by Marie B. Ames

TODAY is election day, and the Bay County Equal Suffrage Association is sure of winning. Our cause is suddenly popular. Men who were pronounced opponents before are now cordially predicting victory. They have made a pleasant discovery. They have found that women are patriotic and can and will take responsibility, and they could not show more surprise and pleasure if the family cat developed a fondness and aptitude for taking care of the furnace. However amusing this attitude is, it is pleasant to those who took part in the two previous campaigns to be able to bask in the sunlight of apparently unqualified approval.

We began our campaign in Bay City in early spring when Mrs. Alice B. Locke, the organizer for the Tenth Congressional District, blew into town. The expression will be pardoned by all who know Mrs. Locke, because of its appropriateness. That first afternoon sufficed for her to interview the leading suffragists and the editor of the chief paper. The next day, we had a fine editorial on equal suffrage as a war measure, the argument for which had been suggested by Mrs. Locke, and we had started plans for a district convention. This materialized in due time, and was successful from every point of view. The work during the summer was the circulation of the suffrage petition, which was extremely valuable as furnishing opportunity for propaganda. Some of the posters were placed in the summer, but the intensive poster campaign began the first week in October. Headquarters were opened the middle of the month, and have been used as a place for meetings and for giving out and displaying literature. For the last ten days we have advertised vigorously in the newspapers. Not only have we had all the paid advertisements we could afford (including one-half page) but we have had much space donated us by the merchants of the city. This advertising seems to have been effective, as the men on the street corners can be heard repeating the arguments we have advanced. The newspaper men have entered heartily into the game and have seemed to enjoy injecting some surprise into the usual pabulum furnished the readers of grocers', butchers', and clothiers' "ads." We have had several effective editorials in our favor, and we have printed the favorable opinion of leading citizens. Challengers were appointed in due time, and have been instructed in the law, and now that everything is so nearly finished all that has gone before seems easy.

And yet it has been hard, for never have women been so pathetically busy!

We have had the benefit all during this time of Mrs. Locke's valuable supervision and suggestions. We have also had suggestions, timely

and beneficial, from state headquarters. Our own county officers have been devoted and efficient. What they have done is remarkable, when one considers that even more than the average woman, they have been weighed down with war work. Mrs. F. P. S. Kelton, our president, has been the head of the Red Cross Canteen. Mrs. A. M. Miller, vice-president, is the chairman of the local committee of the Council of National Defense, with all that implies; Mrs. G. B. Jennison, our treasurer, has not only been chairman of a day at the Red Cross rooms, but is also the head of the District Nursing System, and just now has personal charge of providing nurses for those stricken with influenza. But in spite of over-work, in looking back upon the campaign, it is difficult to see how things could have been managed much better.

Campaigning in the Third and Fourth

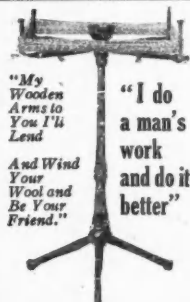
(Continued from page 552)

wish we could mention every woman by name but that is not possible. We must say though, that certain county chairmen have had greater obstacles to overcome than others. Counties in which a large foreign element predominated have not been so easily campaigned. Among these are Berrien, Barry and parts of Allegan Counties. Mrs. Malcolm Smith, of Allegan, has made many tours over her territory. Mrs. Gould has driven 744 miles in Barry County. Mrs. Blakeslee, one of our old workers, has been continuously at the task of bringing her difficult county in line for several years.

We wish that each voter could see our suffrage workers as we see them. Women with two and three stars on their service flags, gold stars among them; women who are Liberty Bond, Food Conservation, Red Cross and War workers, women who are patriots to the core; women of the largest vision, who have served the cause of democracy faithfully, a democracy for both men and women.

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By ELEANOR FRANKLIN EGAN

THERE'S a little place in Mesopotamia that the Tommies called the Hill Station for Hell, until they decided that that was doing Hell an injustice. And that was the Garden of Eden, so they say. Terrible times it saw in this war, but terrible indeed was all the Mesopotamia saw. The British soldiers had all they could do to stand it—yet into this terror went an American woman alone, with no weapon but her pen. But her pen is a powerful weapon, and she has written one of the most vivid, colorful, fascinating books about the war. She traveled in wild places, she went without comfort, she saw bandits, she went into deserts and among people who thought a woman should always be veiled. She was received and welcomed by every conceivable British high official—ambassadors, governors, generals—and she lived for a month in General Maude's own house. More than any other American, she had a chance to study and to know this romantic and heroic man who became a martyr in this wondrous land.

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THE Woman's Land Army has enrolled 15,000 women, with 127 units in thirty states.

IN the city of Mt. Vernon, N. Y., women are replacing men in the street cleaning department.

DISTILLING TNT, one of the highest of the high explosives, is a new woman's occupation in Great Britain.

FIGURES given out by the National War Work Council of the Y. M. C. A. show that up to September 21, 1,106 women had sailed overseas or were waiting sailing orders. Almost a thousand of these were canteen workers, the rest clerks. Of this total, 644 are already on the other side.

A RECENT report of the National Industrial Conference Board on women in the metal trades commends women as more thorough and accurate than men. What they lose in quantity, as compared with men, they gain in quality. The report covers establishments in which almost 50,000 women are employed, side by side with men.

REPORTS continue to come in from the railroads that discrimination is practiced against women workers. The Women in Industry Department of the Ohio Division of the Woman's Committee reports to the effect that "women are used to undercut men. They are now employed in freight yards and roundhouses for 22 cents an hour, while men are paid 30 cents for the same work."

IN St. Louis, a woman, Miss Amanda Harness, has found a job much to her liking. She is running an electric delivery truck. She earns \$17 a week and wears a uniform. She formerly worked inside the laundry at \$12 a week.

She performs all the duties of men drivers, including the collection of bundles and of money. There seems to be nothing experi-

OLD MAN McCARTY had worked on the scrap pile for years and had finally quit because the work was too hard for him. For years his wife had told a pitiful story of his overstraining work. She had also augmented the family income by scrubbing floors in a department store. When the railroad began to take on women, Mrs. Mac at once applied. She was given a job at sorting scrap.

Finally the timekeeper came around and when she gave her name he said, "That's funny, we had an old man McCarty in your place not long ago."

This struck Mrs. Mac all in a heap, she had never thought of her husband as in just this job.

"What!" she screamed, "What! Me feelin' sorry for that old man and him with a graft like this."

mental about her job, as two other women are in training and will likewise take out electric trucks.

APPARENTLY the hardest work is no harder than that which women have always done in the household. The manager of the Atlantic Refining Company says of the ninety women in his employ: "We can't use young women on this heavy work. What we need is the middle-aged, strong married woman accustomed to housework and not afraid of it. Some of our new employees are thirty-five, forty and even older. All have been accustomed to work and take the outdoor labor as a diversion."

FIGURES from the British *Labor Gazette* for June, 1918, show that the number of women employed in specified industries had risen since July, 1914, from 3,275,000 to 4,737,000; 1,442,000 are shown to be directly replacing men. In order to estimate the full number of women working today in Great Britain the *Gazette* points out that the Woman's Royal Naval Service, the Woman's Army Auxiliary Corps, the Women Police and those cutting timber for the Board of Trade should be added. These figures are not yet available.

On the Land

IN Missouri they raise their girls to be farmers, according to rumor. If anyone wants to be shown, ten-year-old Mary Terry, of Pike County, can demonstrate. She has a letter from Governor Gardner, which said that what he heard of her achievements was the "best piece of information" that he had "received for many days in regard to effective enterprise and active patriotism."

She dragged and harrowed a 117-acre patch of ground for her father, who gave her one acre for her own use, the product of which she has offered to the Red Cross.

IN Topeka, Kansas, they have no weather man; she is a weather woman, Helen Claypole, who is replacing a man at the job. Nor is this the only unusual thing Kansas women are doing. Many have become, in the words of the Topeka *Capital*, "pill rollers" and "jayhawkers." In Leavenworth alone a dozen women are replacing or taking an apprenticeship in order to replace their husbands as drug store clerks. Thirteen "jayhawker" tractorettes made a journey in a tractor-pulled prairie schooner to the Kansas Fair, at Topeka, recruiting among girls for the tractor service, for "it will be up to the girls to plow the fields next spring." The girls form a unit of the Women's National Agricultural Legion.

FROM the *General Federation Magazine* comes the following account of the curb vegetable market managed by women in Miami, Florida. The plan was worked out by the agent of the U. S. Department of Agriculture and the State Agricultural College, together with several of Miami's public-spirited women, in order to give fairer prices to both the housewife and the producer. A committee cooperates with near-by truckers in arranging for the produce. The truckers are planting every two weeks in order to guarantee the women a constant supply of fresh vegetables. Fruit, eggs, butter, cottage cheese and poultry are also sold. A fee of 25 cents goes into a fund for advertising and keeping the street clean.

In the 9th and Lower 11th

Reported by Marie B. Ames

THE campaign for the 9th and lower 11th Congressional Districts of Michigan was officially launched at the congressional district conferences held last May. Mrs. Frank Shuler, Campaign Manager for the National Association; Mrs. Percy J. Farrell, President of the Michigan Suffrage Association; and Mrs. Huntley Russell, Vice-President, attended these conferences and presented to the women in attendance the plan of campaign for the state.

That the women of Michigan do want the vote was proved absolutely by the splendid reports of petition signatures which came in from these twenty northern counties. Although in many cases the women lived in scattered rural districts many counties exceeded their quota of signatures. The first to go "Over the Top" was Oceana County, under the leadership of Mrs. Edith C. Munger, then came Otsego County with its efficient chairman, Mrs. J. Lee Morford. Excellent results were also obtained by Mrs. A. M. Wardell, of Cadillac, Wexford County, who did suffrage work in addition to her many war work activities, and by Mrs. Herbert Howe, Chairman of Alpena County, and her enthusiastic co-workers.

The essential spirit of service was set forth by the indefatigable worker, Mrs. E. M. Allen, Chairman of Missaukee County. Unable to secure a suffrage speaker for a large patriotic meeting she rose to the occasion herself, and although trembling inwardly, delivered an address that was pronounced a great success and which won many votes. This is the spirit which, multiplied by hundreds, won Michigan.

IN the varied work which the women of these twenty counties have done special mention should be made of the admirable publicity work. Mrs. O. C. Zook, of Ludington, Chairman of Mason County, and Mrs. A. P. John, Publicity Chairman, not only covered meetings of every description throughout the county, but won, by their charming personalities, the loyal support and admiration of the Ludington Chronicle.

In the face of great difficulties the women of Manistee, under the leadership of Mrs. J. E. Wilkinson, rolled up a huge vote for that county. This was largely due to the team work of the women on election day. Believing in efficiency, Mrs. Wilkinson and her assistants, Mrs. Harry Musselwaite and Mrs. Geo. Hart, and many other tireless workers, were out bright and early on election day, assisting as watchers and electioneers at the polls. The women were courteously received by the voters, many a man saying as he came away from the polls, "Well, lady, you got my vote."

The campaign work conducted by Mrs. H. Van Zalingen and Mrs. Fred Neumeister, of Muskegon, resulted in the rolling up of a substantial majority for that county.

BECAUSE it has been very apparent throughout the state campaign that the men were anxious to place their women on a plane of equality with themselves special mention should be made of the help given us by them. Mr. Perry Powers, editor of the Cadillac Daily News and a suffragist of long standing was untiring in his assistance, Mr. Harry Musselwaite, editor of the Manistee News Advocate, Mr. J. W. Saunders, editor of the Benzie Record-Banner, and Mr. H. Hinckley, editor of the Petosky Evening News, contributed largely to the success of the campaign.

Of great help was the loyal support of Mr. J. S. Stearns, of Ludington, Mr. Filer, of Manistee, of the Rev. Francis Paskowski, of the Polish Catholic Church at Cheboygan, of Mr. C. S. Reilley, Mayor of Cheboygan, and of Dr. E. J. O'Brien.

MRS. LOCKE'S HELP

Because no campaign may be won without a strong and efficient organization the 9th and lower 11th districts were particularly fortunate in having as Chairman, Mrs. Alice B. Locke, Assistant Supreme Commander of the Benefit Association of the Maccabees. Through her untiring efforts and magnetic personality Mrs. Locke was largely instrumental in developing the vigorous organization which worked so effectively in these twenty northern counties.



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A WRITER'S RECOLLECTIONS

By MRS. HUMPHRY WARD

THE author of these recollections is the daughter of Doctor Arnold of the Rugby of Tom Brown's day. The poet Matthew Arnold was her uncle, and Mrs. Ward has lived her whole life in the heart of that part of English society from which the best literature of her day proceeded and has been personally acquainted with most of the great authors of the Victorian period. At her father's home, Fox Howe, she met with many well-known figures, such as Wordsworth, Arthur Hugh Clough, Walter Pater, the Brownings, Benjamin Jowett, Bishop Gore, Henry James, and others. In these surroundings Mrs. Ward started on her own literary career when still almost a girl, and tells in these pages what influence her surroundings have had on her work. The book is illustrated with portraits and photographs of many of the well-known people of the day who figure in Mrs. Ward's life.

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liamentary Law.

Mrs. Nanette B. Paul, LL.B., President,
Author of "Paul's Parliamentary Law"
and "The Heart of Blackstone"

Downing the German Vote in Saginaw

(Continued from page 549)

were up against, and they said: "By all the Saints in the suffrage calendar, by Saint Jeanne d'Arc and Saint Carrie Chapman Catt, they shall not steal the vote from under our noses." Then they buckled fast their Sam Brown belts and put on their gas masks and went to work.

Here are some of the things they did: They got copies of the election law—Edna Wright says she learned hers by heart—and they went around with them in their hands all the while for the two weeks before election. They would

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just happen into the clerk of election's office when he had a group of politicians within ear-shot and ask the clerk solicitously to interpret certain phrases of the law. This would, of course, lead to an open statement of the naming of the rules governing elections.

The ignorance of these women about the Michigan election law was only equalled by their thirst for information. They were like the Ancient Mariner "who stoppeth one of three. By thy long gray beard and glittering eye," what does this law say? was their cry. Until finally it became known to every politician that the suffragists had the election law from A to Izzard at their fingers' ends. Every day the newspapers emphasized some choice bit of the law and commented on it. The County of Saginaw was never so well informed before about voters' rights at the polls.

STILL the pessimists shook their heads. They asked what is the use of the law, anyway, since when the small group of men, crooked enough to steal an election, gets to work its methods are unabashed? And it looked as if the pessimists were right, for it was discovered that about two-thirds of the election officials who had been appointed were Germans and "wets."

The "flu" was on and all public assemblies were off, but by chance the War Board had called a council of clergymen. The women of Saginaw laid their case before these ministers. They said: "It doesn't matter what are your political opinions nor whether you are suffragists or not, an unrighteous deed is about to be done under your noses. As good and honest citizens can you stand for it?"

The conference declared it couldn't and wouldn't stand for political thievery, and so it appointed a committee of five ministers—"corking men, too," Miss Wright says—to work with the suffragists.

Together they persuaded twenty good men and true to be challengers. Men who caught the contagion and grew singularly arid for information upon election rulings, men who conspicuously bore printed copies of the laws with them everywhere they went as if it were their shield and buckler.

On Election Day the suffragists were ready for action. The challengers had promised to let them know wherever there was the least infringement of the law. The woman policeman

was stationed at headquarters. She was for order and a fair count. The perfectly drilled suffrage squad visited each precinct, making the rounds of Saginaw County about once in two hours.

WHEN the challengers sent in word that it was reported that the ballots were being passed out to voters with the separate suffrage ballot omitted, a suffrage official and the police-woman appeared before the election officials like an awakened conscience. When another challenger reported that other ballots were being handed out without the official initials, there again appeared the policewoman and the suffragists.

"How did you know these things happened?" muttered the angry officers of election. "Some one telephoned it in to us," was the innocent reply. Before noon scared election officers were sitting up and taking notice. They had the fear of God and the suffragists within them, and suspected that the eyes of both were "in every place beholding the evil and the good."

But by noon that day every man in Saginaw County was wishing himself a suffrage challenger when at each polling place was delivered a lunch tied up in patriotic red, white and blue. In the lunch were pieces of miraculous baked ham, fresh apple pie an inch thick with the real thing in cheese and Thermos bottles of hot coffee.

BY nightfall the suffrage committee sprang something new on the scared-to-death election officials. They brought around awe-inspiring official cards asking for the count on the suffrage ballot. "We pretended that we wanted these signed so as to check up on our own challengers," chuckled the suffrage committee. "We didn't exactly ask them to count our ballot first, but we think they did. They just about had a fit of desperation by that time and were so glad to wash their hands of us for fear of what we might do next that before midnight we had rounded up our total vote and carried it to the newspapers.

"We were the first people in Saginaw to get an official count to the press."

Thus the war against suffrage came to an end in Saginaw County, and thus the German vote went down to defeat along with its anti-democratic prototype across the sea.

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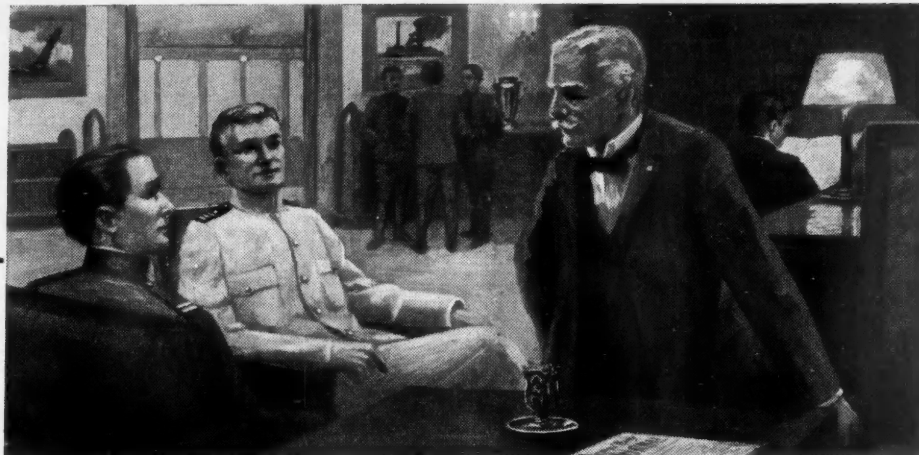
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The Last Word About the War

And How Colonel Sibley Was Helped to Write It

SCENE: (Army and Navy Club, New York, where Commander Ellsworth, U. S. N., and Captain Trowbridge, U. S. A., are having a conference and an after-dinner cigar in the Club Library and are joined by Colonel Sibley, U. S. A., retired)

The Colonel: Well, comrades, I win!

The Commander: Been fighting again, Colonel? Who says you're retired?

Colonel: I was retired, but now I'm in action again or soon will be, and this time with the pen instead of the sword.

Captain: How's that?

Colonel (Drawing closer to the table and glancing around): Well, comrades, I don't mind telling you in confidence that I just signed up with the Editor-in-Chief of a big magazine (name censored for the present) to write a series of articles on the Great War.

Commander: Tell us about it.

Colonel: Well, it's going to be a long campaign. The Editor, whom I have just left, wants an extended series of articles, to begin with an exhaustive survey of the causes which led up to the War.

Captain: The causes? All of them? Well, you've sure got your work laid out for you.

Commander: I should say you had.

Colonel: The Editor feels that way

himself. He's now concerned chiefly about what has happened up-to-date and the authority upon which my statements will be based. The Editor's a big gun in the business, you know, and his rivals will be getting his range if he exposes himself. He wants to secure a strategic position so that he can't be successfully attacked on anything he prints.

Captain: Well, what did you suggest?

Colonel: I'll tell you. While he was talking I was thinking and I finally told him that what he wanted as a reserve-force was some late general reference work of recognized reliability that he could fall back on. "That's it," he said, and then asked: "Which one?"

Commander (Turning his head and glancing at a set of The New International Encyclopaedia in its special case): I'll bet I can tell which one you named.

Captain (Glancing at the set): Ours, of course.

Colonel: You're both good guessers. Of course I named The New

International and the Editor nodded his head and said: "That's the very work I had in mind, not only as an authority on the causes of the War and what has already happened, but when peace comes I hear the publishers are to bring the war-volume down to date at once and are to send it to all subscribers in exchange for the war-volume now in their possession so they'll know the last word about the conflict."

Commander: Well, that settled it, I suppose.

Colonel: Yes, I told the Editor that the selection of The New International as our authority simplified the problem and he added that it not only simplified the articles, but solidified them and made them so authoritative that he would be able to follow out with safety his plan to publish the series of articles in book form.

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The Woman Citizen

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December 7, 1918



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Entered as second class matter, June 13, 1917, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

THE WOMAN CITIZEN

Founded June 2, 1917

Published every Saturday by

The WOMAN CITIZEN CORPORATION
at 171 Madison Avenue, New York

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VOL. III DECEMBER 7, 1918 No. 28

PUBLISHED by the Woman Citizen Corporation, in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

The directors of the Corporation are Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, and Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore.

Alice Stone Blackwell is a special contributing editor.

Rose Young is the editor-in-chief.

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AS we enter upon the home stretch of the circulation subscription contest we note with interest increased activities all along the line. State associations that have not met their subscription pledges, made at the national convention, are working toward that end, and other states that long ago met their pledges are striving to see how far beyond they can go.

"A splendid magazine in every particular. I wish, with all my heart, we could put it in every home in Kentucky. With the continuation of such forceful editorials, I believe it will win its way," is the word of praise that comes to us from Mrs. J. Howard Murray of Frankfort.

"I certainly enjoy reading the *Woman Citizen* and hope the time will come when we will have the right which is rightly ours," is the way Ida E. Williams writes from Ozone, Florida.

"I like the paper and heartily endorse everything appearing in the same," is the word from Mrs. F. R. Wright of Texarkana, Texas.

Another southern state is heard from through Mrs. Harvey G. Wilson of Charleston, South Carolina, who writes: "I regard the *Woman Citizen* as the finest thing of its kind and feel lost without it."

What we get from messages like these is testimony to the fact of the practical value in the *Citizen* as a source of information. No woman who is interested in having a voice in the government, in being counted as one in the political affairs of her country, can fail to need the sort of woman's political weekly that we try to supply.

"I need the *Woman Citizen* to keep me cheered up in midnight black Pennsylvania," says Caroline Van Gilder of Philadelphia.

"I never allow a copy of the *Woman Citizen*, with its 'golden treasury of information,' to be idle, but keep it on its mission, and only wish I could send it to every friend that does not take it," writes Mrs. Margaret E. Watson of Dunreith, Indiana.

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Story

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1. A pledge will constitute an entry.
2. No entries will be accepted after December 1, 1918.
3. Contest closes January 1, 1919.
4. In case of a tie for any one premium, the prize will be awarded to each qualifying contestant.
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To the County Association that sends in the highest numbers over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the State Association, and would help to swell the state's total.

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To the Local Club that sends in the highest number over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the County Association into the State Association, and thence to the *Woman Citizen*.

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Relative Position of State Leagues in the *Woman Citizen's* Circulation Contest:

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November 30th

- | | |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Iowa | 1. Iowa |
| 2. South Dakota | 2. South Dakota |
| 3. Georgia | 3. Georgia |
| 4. Indiana | 4. Indiana |
| 5. Michigan | 5. Michigan |
| 6. Minnesota | 6. Minnesota |
| 7. New Jersey | 7. New Jersey |
| 8. Wisconsin | 8. Wisconsin |
| 9. Massachusetts | 9. Massachusetts |
| 10. Virginia | 10. Virginia |
| 11. New York | 11. New York |
| 12. Ohio | 12. Ohio |
| 13. New Hampshire | 13. New Hampshire |
| 14. Alabama | 14. Alabama |
| 15. Missouri | 15. Missouri |
| 16. Maryland | 16. Maryland |
| 17. Texas | 17. Texas |
| 18. Pennsylvania | 18. Pennsylvania |
| 19. Maine | 19. Maine |
| 20. Kentucky | 20. Kentucky-West Virginia |
| 21. West Virginia | 21. Tennessee |
| 22. Tennessee | 22. Louisiana |
| 23. Louisiana | 23. Connecticut |
| 24. Connecticut | 24. South Carolina |
| 25. South Carolina | 25. Arkansas |
| 26. Arkansas | 26. North Dakota |
| 27. Washington, D. C.—North Dakota | 27. Washington, D. C. |
| 28. Rhode Island—Illinois | 28. Rhode Island |
| 29. Nebraska—Oklahoma | 29. Illinois |
| 30. Washington—Mississippi | 30. Nebraska—Oklahoma |
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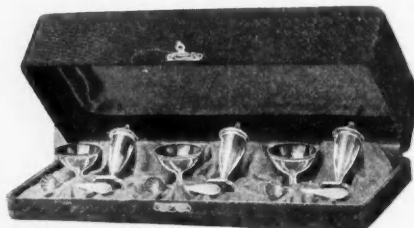
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The Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

A Journal of Democracy

December 7, 1918

"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

Before Christmas

TOMORROW, December 8, at the National Theatre in Washington, D. C., the N. A. W. S. A. will hold a meeting which is the central link of a chain of meetings that will bind the women of the most distant parts of the United States in a common effort

to secure an affirmative vote on the Federal Suffrage Amendment in the United States Senate before Christmas.

The meeting, though called by the National, is to be primarily a meeting of women war workers, women who happen to be suffragists as well as war-workers.

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, President of the National and International suffrage associations and a member of the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense, will preside. The speakers will include Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, honorary president of the Na-

tional Association and Chairman of the Woman's Committee, Council of National Defense; Mrs. Josephus Daniels, who will appear in her uniform of the Young Women's Christian Association; Mrs. F. Louis Slade of New York, wearing her uniform as Chief

of the Division for assembling of women for service with the Young Men's Christian Association; Mrs. Charles Tiffany of New York, representing the Community War Service; Mrs. Raymond Robins of Chicago, representing women in war industries. Delegations of women war workers will further mark the meeting as an appeal by women for a voice in reconstruction problems.

When the United States was about to enter the war the National Association called a meeting in Washington to offer its services to the government. War has come and gone.

Cut This Out and Keep It

THERE are now 15 full suffrage states and one territory. These states are (in order of their suffrage victories) Wyoming 1869, Colorado 1893, Utah and Idaho 1896, Washington 1910, California 1911, Kansas, Arizona and Oregon 1912, Alaska Territory, 1913, Montana and Nevada 1914, New York 1917, Michigan, South Dakota and Oklahoma 1918.

The number of women of voting age in the 15 states is 7,353,288. In addition four states, Illinois 1913, North Dakota, Nebraska and Rhode Island 1917, have presidential suffrage—all but the last having given women a municipal vote also.

THESE 19 states, with Arkansas (1917) and Texas (1918), where women have full primary suffrage, give women a voice in 213 electoral votes out of a total of 531.

The total number of women over 21, therefore, in states where women have a voice in choosing the President of the United States is 11,016,964. The total number where municipal questions are voted on by women is 11,145,292.

THE total area of the United States in which women have full or presidential, primary or municipal suffrage is now 1,938,585 square miles, or 64 per cent of the total United States without Alaska. With the addition of Alaska—where women have full suffrage, and Vermont, where they have full municipal suffrage, but no voice for the President—2,459,412 square miles, or 69 per cent, of continental United States, are suffrage territory.

THE total number of women over 21 in the Union is 27,238,187. Now more than one-fourth live in state where women have full suffrage and 40 per cent in states where they may vote for the President of the United States.

Has the Association lived up to its pledge? Can the government deny women political recognition in after-war problems?

It is not difficult to forecast the answers that the women will give on Sunday. They will be the same that women the world over have given all during the war period; the same that the leading statesmen of Europe and America have given; the same that the governments of European countries have given; the same that the people of six states of the Union have given on those occasions when the question has come to them directly.

So inevitable are the answers and so isolated is the United States Senate in being victimized by its minority of Senators who refuse political recognition to women, that sanity itself prompts the belief that the 65th Congress means to redeem itself by passing the Amendment before Christmas.

"Bum Sportsmanship"

From the Oklahoma Times of November 25, 1918

THERE will be little sympathy, it is believed, with the eleventh hour effort of the anti-suffs to block the equal suffrage amendment. In all probability most people believe the measure carried as the returns indicated. The turmoil and expense of contesting it, should it come to that, will not be welcomed by people in general, if one may rely on opinions based on the average election contest. Apparently the anti-suffs are grasping at technicalities to prolong a contest the state had hoped was settled, and such action will be viewed as the hall mark of bum sportsmanship.

Assuming that the measure was adopted, letting it stand at that would mean that the suffs have the ballot, and that the anti-suffs are free to remain away from the polls, without endangering the safety of democracy, or anything. The importance of equal suffrage is apt to be overestimated by women who tackle it from either angle.

Those who rally beneath its banner affect to see in it the hope of humanity, and a panacea for political ills. Those who oppose it and go up and down the land viewing it with alarm, visualize such a measure as a home wrecker and a power to pull woman from her pedestal of purity and domesticity.

Observers of politics where equal suffrage is, and where it is not, will agree that it is neither the paragon of perfection its champions would have us believe, nor the unmitigated evil it is painted by those who make opposition to it their life work. Briefly, their opinion is apt to be that it doesn't matter much, one way or the other; that purity in politics will remain an iridescent dream, regardless of votes for women, but that the social fabric won't be torn to tatters because women happen to vote.

Feeling that way, they will incline to accept it gracefully, as the easiest solution of the argument. Indeed, one might say that is the only solution of the dispute, for the controversy is certain to continue until enacted, either now or later. And the poor loser is something of an abomination in politics or any other game, a fact which is certain to win friends for the suffragettes, in this new phase of the *melée*.

The protest filed by the attorneys for the anti-suffs is far from being convincing. As intimidated by members of the election board, the counties failing to make a separate report of the soldier vote undoubtedly included such ballots in the total, and separating them from civilian votes can have no particular bearing on results. It seems reasonable to assume that the figures compiled by an unprejudiced election board are as reliable as those tabulated by an organization actively antagonistic to the amendment.

Now that the armistice is signed, and hostilities ended in Europe, it would be only kindness on the part of the anti-suffs to permit peace to prevail at home.

Equal Suffrage Chivalry

IN spite of the fact that women in New York State have the vote they are not to be deprived of "reasonable regulations for their comfort." Thus spoke the Court of Appeals last summer sustaining the right of women to unmolested use of a trolley car for travel to their day's labor.

This decision settled a five-year-old moot question, begun when equal suffrage was about as likely to occur in New York State as in Prussia. That two previous adverse court decisions, when the tide ran less strongly in favor of justice to women, were set aside, and indicate that where women have attained the greatest degree of justice they approach the greatest degree of consideration.

Incidentally, the court's final decision vindicated a knight errant whose zeal in the protection of working women led him into a drive against the enemy.

In October, 1913, this knight errant—a Mr. Berger, inspector of the Sauquoit Spinning Company at Capron, New York—protected a group of women employees in their rights to seats in a car running to Utica.

The car was a special, leaving at 5:55, to be followed in seven minutes by a regular car. As the special car stopped in front of the crowd of operatives, Mr. Berger took a position at the foot of the steps and directed that the women be permitted to get on first. But one of those self-christened "Dear Alphonses" who expect the rest of the world to say, "after you!" wouldn't stand for this. He wait for a bunch of women? Not much! And he didn't wait. Neither did Mr. Berger, who took hold of his coat, led him to the car step and kicked him off.

The trial court was all for protecting the male truculence of Alphonse—whose legal name was Garricott—by fining Mr. Berger for assault and battery, and the Appellate Division confirmed the verdict. But the Court of Appeals held this as an error.

"The men of the highest court," according to an editorial on "enforcing courtesy to women" in *Bench and Bar*, was that "a common carrier has the right to make reasonable regulations and directions for the conduct of its business and the safety, convenience, and comfort of its passengers, and that when a person presents himself at the entrance of a standing street car, with the disclosed and recognized purpose of entering it as a passenger, the relation of passenger and carrier exists. With respect to the particular direction in question, the court said: 'The direction of Berger was reasonable. A crowd of people, many of whom were women, stood waiting and eager to board the car. It was proper and necessary, both for the defendant and for the people, that order and decorum should be maintained while they entered the car. Order was essential to the expeditious and safe loading of the car. In the struggling and pushing crowd, women were at a disadvantage in gaining entrance to the car and in protecting themselves against harmful and discomforting treatment.'

"We believe it is well that it be established as a part of the law of our state that a carrier can make and enforce reasonable regulations for the comfort of women. Anyone who has observed the terrific conditions of travel in New York City must realize the necessity of some such regulations. We thoroughly approve of the action of Inspector Berger in insisting that the rule of 'women first' should be observed; we commend him for his courage in forcibly preventing disregard of his directions; and though he may have somewhat exceeded his proper functions, we cannot find it in our heart to blame him because, when he ejected the man who thrust women aside in his effort to board the car first, he 'gave him a kick at the same time.'"

The Editors to the Senators

(Recommended to the Consideration of the 65th Congress Which Has Just Reconvened at Washington)

A SENATOR who goes behind the constitution for defense of his vote against equal suffrage is animated by some other motive which he dare not put forward. Such a Senator may not complain later if the women of his state fight him out of public life—may not complain if the women of other states campaign against him to the limit of their ability.—Sioux City, Ia., *Tribune*.

EQUAL suffrage by amending state constitutions is so difficult as to make it impossible to bring about a country-wide condition by that method. Hence the campaign for action by amending the Federal constitution.

Besides, since voting on President, Senators and Representatives in Congress is a national matter that ought to be uniform through the states, Federal action is the right procedure because it will do away with the anomaly of having women full citizens in one state, and ranked politically with criminals, idiots and the insane in an adjoining state.—Duluth, Mich., *Herald*.

ONE of the sure signs that woman suffrage, however long it may be deferred, is certain to come eventually, is the attitude of the leading Southern newspapers. Although Southern Senators were responsible for the defeat of the suffrage resolution, the leading newspapers of the South have seen the light and are now favoring woman suffrage. Not long ago the Louisville *Courier-Journal* declared unequivocally for suffrage, although Henry Watterson had written and spoken against it for a generation. Now the *Atlanta Constitution*, commenting upon the defeat of the resolution in the Senate, says that "whatever 'arguments' there may have been in the past against the right of woman to the ballot, and whatever doubt there may have been in the past as to her qualification for the ballot and her ability to properly and intelligently employ it, have all been totally swept away by experience in the suffrage states, together with her splendid performances during the current war; and now opposition to the enfranchisement of woman is limited to reasons that are largely the products of bigotry, reactionaryism or archaic prejudice." The most ardent suffragist could hardly desire a more emphatic declaration than this.—W. Adams, in Mass., *Transcript*.

NEW ENGLAND'S antagonism to suffrage is not quite so transparent. To explain it we must remember that the most virile blood of Massachusetts and her sister states has been draining off westward for two generations. What is left consists mainly of "first families" surrounded by immigrants, French Canadians and Southern Europeans.

The "first families" have gone to seed. Their scions live on the glory of the past. They spend most of their time counting up their ancestors and compiling pedigrees. Their minds are sterile. Their bodies are anemic. We dare say that, if the truth were known, Senator Lodge's principal reason for opposing suffrage is that Cotton Mather would not like it if he were still alive.—Portland, Oregon, *Journal*.

IN all its bearings the temporary defeat of the amendment will have the effect, not improbably, of hastening the triumph of the equal suffrage cause. President Wilson has taken a position so aggressive that he cannot recede from it, and he knows that that stand is necessary for his party because it is in line with pub-

lic sentiment. Therefore, he will realize that he must add to his declaration an active championship of the measure. The Republicans, on the other hand, recognizing the political nature of the administration's undertaking, will be as intent upon seeking political advantage for their side. So with the principle involved removed from controversy, the only conflict will be as to which party will extract the greater credit for advancing the movement, a rivalry which cannot fail to produce at an early date the action which progressive Americans demanded six years ago.—Philadelphia *North American*.

ALTHOUGH the Democratic leaders are attempting to make it appear that they are not to blame for the defeat of the suffrage resolution, there is no way they can twist the figures so as to escape the responsibility of this action. They are the majority party in the Senate, and as such have it within their power to pass any legislation. Instead of their party "standing by the President," 21 of their numbers opposed him and of these 21, 19 came from south of the Mason and Dixon line. There is no way to escape the conclusion that the South was in the saddle driving an offensive attack against a resolution which the president had asked as a war measure.—Trinidad, Colo., *News*.

THERE are 34 American Senators who defeated the suffrage amendment. It is to be regretted that eighteen of those Senators represent southern commonwealths—where the men boast of their chivalry, where they say that woman occupies a proud place on a pedestal and yet hasn't sufficient intelligence to cast the ballot of a freeman or become an active participant in the political affairs of the republic. A dozen Republican stand-patters, Senators who are reactionaries, linked with the ancient group of exploiters of the wealth of America, cast their ballots against the suffrage amendment. It is to be regretted that John Bull had to point the way to these American statesmen who say they represent the freest thought in the freest country the world has ever known.—Fort Worth, Tex., *Record*.

NO greater reason was ever given for the adoption of the Federal Suffrage Amendment than the simple fact of its defeat in the Senate. When thirty-one men in the United States Senate are so blind to the trend of events as to vote against the extension of the franchise to American women at a time when nations all over the world are admitting women to the full rights of citizenship, it shows the imperative need of the very influence that is now denied expression. . . .

The opponents of suffrage in the Senate not only betrayed their provincialism by their failure to keep abreast of the times, but they make it clear that they do not yet grasp the ideals at stake in this war. . . .

The obstructionist Senators who placed themselves athwart the path of progress are men of limited vision. They have yet to grasp the full meaning of justice and freedom. They want liberty for themselves and for a few of their friends, but not for all. Some of them may see more clearly when the Suffrage Amendment again comes before them. The rest will pass into that kindly oblivion that hides those who were born too late. Meanwhile the President will give them no rest.—*The Public*.

Women as Citizens

Want to Know His Record

WHEREAS, women are just entering upon their political life in the great Empire State, and their duty to the state demands that they seriously consider the best methods of rendering the highest and best service to the state of which they are capable, and,

Whereas, we feel that the greatest need of a democratic government is an enlightened and intelligent electorate, and, mindful of the fact that under present laws and conditions, both the men and women of the state are seriously handicapped in the discharge of their duty as citizens, because of the haphazard and unreliable methods by which political information is disseminated, and,

Whereas, we consider it bad business of state to allow such a chaotic condition to longer continue, and, furthermore, are unwilling that the new electorate be subjected to such handicap, be it

Resolved, that the New York State Federation of Women's Clubs in convention assembled endorses the plan proposed by the Woman's Practical Law Association, and pledges its support to the passage of a bill in the next Legislature by which authoritative facts concerning all candidates for office, and both sides of every measure to be submitted to the voters of the state, shall be sent to every voter in the state according to a plan similar to that adopted by, and now in force in the state of Oregon; furthermore, be it

Resolved, that this federation authorizes its legislative committee, in co-operation with the Woman's Practical Law Association and other women's organizations, to report some comprehensive plan which shall provide for placing before all voters, at nominal cost, information on all important pending legislation, including arguments for and against, to the end that the will of an informed and intelligent electorate may be effectively written into the laws of the state, and to the end that legislators may be able to rely upon the inspiration and aid of an informed and thinking constituency.

THE Oregon law provides that the Secretary of State shall send to each voter a printed pamphlet giving facts concerning all candidates for office. Each candidate or political party furnishes own material, and pays a stated sum for such service. The im-

"It is sometimes asserted that women now have a great influence in politics through their husbands and brothers. That is undoubtedly true. But this is just the kind of influence which is not wholesome for the community, unaccompanied by responsibility."—SUSAN B. ANTHONY.

portant point is that data from all parties and candidates, concerning men and measures (for and against), is printed in one pamphlet and sent to every voter. That there be no unnecessary printing, each county has its own pamphlet—presenting men and measures before the voters of that county. There is a similar plan for cities.

Before nominating elections or primaries, a similar pamphlet is issued for each political party, giving facts for and against the candidates for nomination. Such pamphlets are sent to the registered voters of each party, Republican pamphlet to Republicans and Democratic pamphlet to Democrats, etc. In all these pamphlets, any person or organization may also, over responsible signatures, give reasons why a candidate should not be elected.

Under the Red Cross

THE City Council of Los Angeles recently adopted a resolution to the effect that equal suffrage has proved a success in California and that it is the consensus of opinion that the people are better satisfied since women were given the privilege of the franchise. The vote on the resolution was unanimous.

The occasion of this action on the part of the Council was the celebration of the seventh anniversary of equal suffrage in California. The celebration was under the auspices of the Red Cross Association.



LEARNING CITIZENSHIP
Children of Frances Nelson Tillman of Baltimore. Mrs. Tillman is Suffrage Publicity Chairman for Maryland

Citizens

Women in State Legislatures

As far as heard from the following are the women elected to the various state Legislatures this year:

Arizona

- *Mrs. E. B. O'Neill, Phoenix, Assembly.
- *Mrs. Rosa McKay, Cochise, Assembly.

California

- Miss Esto Broughton, Modesto, Assembly.
- Mrs. Anna Saylor, Berkeley, Assembly.
- Mrs. Grace Doris, Bakersfield, Assembly.
- Mrs. Elizabeth Hughes, Crofield, Assembly.

These are the first women elected to the California Legislature.

Colorado

- Dr. May F. Bigelow, Denver, Assembly.
- Mrs. Mabel Ruth Baker, Denver, Assembly.

Idaho

- Dr. Emma Drake, Payette, Assembly.
- Mrs. John White, Twin Falls, Assembly.

Montana

- *Mrs. Maggie Smith Hathaway, Stevensville, Assembly.
- *Mrs. Emma A. Ingalls, Kalispell, Assembly.

Nevada

- Mrs. Sadie D. Hurst, Reno, Assembly.

Utah

- **Mrs. Elizabeth Hayward, Salt Lake City, Senate.
- Mrs. Anna T. Piercy, Salt Lake City, Assembly.
- Mrs. Delora E. Blakeley, Salt Lake City, Assembly.
- *Dr. Grace Stratton-Airey, Salt Lake City, Assembly.

New York

- Mrs. Ida Sammis, Huntington, L. I., Assembly.
- Mrs. Mary M. Lilly, New York City, Assembly.

Oregon

- *Mrs. Alexander Thompson, Dalles, Assembly.

Washington

- Mrs. Francis M. Haskell, Tacoma, Assembly.

State Superintendents Public Instruction

- *Mrs. Mary C. C. Bradford, Colorado.
- Miss Lizzie E. Wooster, Kansas.

* Reelected.
** Mrs. Hayward was in the Utah Assembly last term.

MRS. ANNA C. WILLIAMS of Greenville, South Carolina, has been appointed United States Commissioner for Greenville County. Mrs. Williams is at present deputy clerk of the Federal Court for the western district of South Carolina, a position she will retain, as Attorney-General Gregory has approved of her serving in both capacities.

Notes and Comments

By Alice Stone Blackwell

An Object Lesson

IN the state Legislatures the objections that will be made to ratifying the Federal Amendment for nation-wide woman suffrage will be singularly like those which have been urged in the past against equal suffrage for men. Most of the younger generation do not realize what a new thing manhood suffrage is, even in countries that are looked upon as advanced. Up to 1867 three-quarters of the men in England had no votes. To this day most European nations have not yet adopted the principle of "one man, one vote." In Prussia the former Kaiser objected almost as strongly to equal suffrage for men as to equal suffrage for men and women.

In a recent issue of the *Reichscottes-Boten*, a German religious publication, a conservative clergyman gave expression as follows to his satisfaction at the defeat of the proposal to grant equal suffrage to male subjects of the King of Prussia:

"It was a grand thing when a majority of fifty-two men of different parties was found in the Prussian Landtag for the rejection of universal equal suffrage. We cannot regard it as anything else than a saving act of God. In this matter we have no partisan interests, nor even political viewpoints, but only the interests of faith. We believe that it is in opposition to every divine order to value all men upon an equal basis, and that such an act of irreligion would be bound to bring a curse upon us.

"Furthermore, we believe that it is a gross injustice to force through such an important decision now, in the midst of the severe world conflict. And, finally, we know very well that this suffrage law would put the reins of power into the hands of the anti-Christian spirits, and we should like to see our people safeguarded from this as long as possible, because of our most profound and pure love for our people."

This sounds uncommonly like some recent manifestoes of American anti-suffragists. But the belated Prussian pastor and the belated American antis are alike doomed to see their undemocratic systems swept into the discard, and that very shortly.

Considering the Women

THE added consideration that has come to women with the ballot is visible in every country where they have obtained it. A striking example is the recent report made to Dr. Addison, the Minister of Reconstruction in England, by a committee appointed to consider the possibilities for adult education, other than technical or professional. There, as here, plans to give grown persons a chance for education have largely left the women out. But in England there is now a change. The committee, of

which the Master of Balliol College is chairman, point out that with the extension of the franchise to six million women, it has become highly desirable that the women of the poorer class should get some education; but that the economic and industrial conditions which hinder adult men from studying bear doubly hard upon women.

One of the obstacles is bad housing. In addition to the care of young children, a woman's difficulties are increased by the cramped, ill-arranged dwellings, without conveniences or labor-saving devices. Before the war, nearly half the population of England and Wales were living in houses with more than one person to a room, and nearly one-tenth in houses with more than two persons to a room. The report declares that an adequate system of housing reform is of vital importance to women, and that upon it will largely depend their power to play their part in public affairs, and to develop social and intellectual interests.

THEY recommend for men as well as women, a shortening of the normal work day, so as not to exceed eight hours; a still further shortening in the case of heavy, and exhausting labor; reduction of overtime to a minimum; prohibition of night work for both men and women, except where absolutely necessary; an effort to offset the evils of monotonous work by alternating employment, by opportunities for initiative, and by establishing shop committees; steps to guarantee more security of employment to offset fluctuations; a village institute or hall for every village (in many the men have no meeting place but the public house, and the women none at all) and that the preparation of schemes of housing and town-planning should be accelerated; that they should be drawn up in consultation with the best expert advice, and in co-operation with representatives of the people for whom they are intended; and, particularly, that representatives of women, who are the persons most concerned (since they are in the house all day) should be included in the housing and town-planning, public health and other committees.

Most of the report deals with the needs of men; but the definite and emphatic recognition of the needs of women is new and refreshing. It is one of the pleasant and wholesome fruits of "votes for women."

THE number of women who have served in the Legislatures of our different states up to the present time is fifty-one. It was given incorrectly in a recent editorial.

ONE item of current news deserves more attention than it has yet received. It marks a really extraordinary change.

Out of the 253 Democratic County Conventions recently held in Texas, 223 endorsed the Federal Amendment for woman suffrage. Yet it is only a little over two years since the Texas delegation in the National Democratic Convention led the opposition to endorsement of woman suffrage in any form, even as a recommendation for action by the separate states. Now the Texas Democrats go for Nation-Wide suffrage, by an overwhelming majority. Several things add to the significance of this event. Texas is a far southern state and the South has long been looked upon as a stronghold of opposition on this question. Moreover, it has always been easier to secure endorsement of a reform from a minority party than from one that is the majority. But in Texas the Democrats have so tremendous a majority that Texas is practically a one-party state.

What is the cause of the striking change? Partly, no doubt, the sagacity of some of the political leaders. Almost everybody prefers a band-wagon to a hearse. Partly the wisdom and tact of certain Texas women. Partly the powerful influence of President Wilson. But especially and above all the fact that Texas women with the primary vote had already secured practically full suffrage, and the way they were using it had convinced most of the men that their women would be no more a "menace" in the state than in the home.

The object of Texas, too, is going to have weight when it comes to getting the Federal Amendment ratified. The last hope of the opposition has been that the solid South, with a few intensely conservative eastern states, would stand firm as a barrier against ratification. With the loss of Texas in the South and New York in the East, that barrier is visibly crumbling away.

The New South

THE close vote on the suffrage amendment in Louisiana shows afresh the truth of Mrs. Catt's words that all woman suffrage needed in the South was one Southern State from which to spread. The object lesson of women actually voting in Texas and Arkansas was so reassuring that suffrage carried Louisiana outside of New Orleans, and was only beaten there through the power of that city's corrupt political boss. Five years ago—even five months ago—who in the North would have dreamed that in Louisiana woman suffrage would come within 2,000 votes of winning? President Wilson's great influence, too, was undoubtedly a factor in securing the large vote.

Victory Map



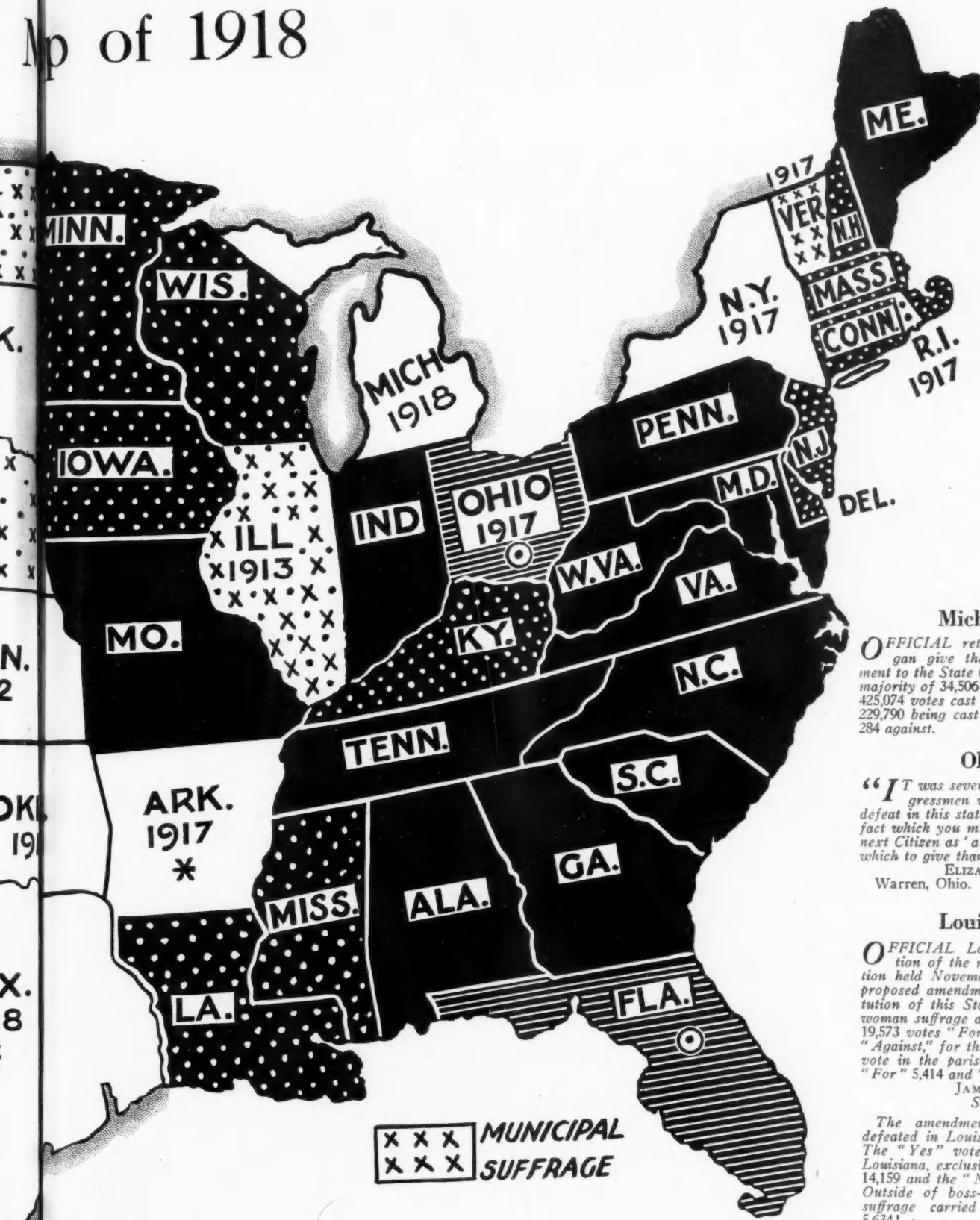
Belated Official Returns

Oklahoma

OFFICIAL returns from Oklahoma show the suffrage amendment to have received a total of 106,909 votes in favor and 81,481 against, on November 5, a plurality of 25,428 in favor. Senator Owen ran ahead of his ticket. Inclusive of his vote, the total highest vote cast on candidate or measure was 197,613. A majority of this figure (one more than half) is 98,807, so that suffrage went over the top in Oklahoma with 8,102 votes to spare, in spite of Oklahoma's perfectly awful constitution.

Since the total highest number of votes cast was 197,613, if you will subtract the total suffrage vote, 188,390, from this, you will get 9,223, as the number of men who voted on candidate and didn't vote on the amendment one way or the other. These men constituted the "silent vote" on the amendment. It will be seen, therefore, that the yes plurality on the amendment itself covered the silent vote, with 16,205 votes to spare.

Map of 1918



Michigan

OFFICIAL returns from Michigan give the suffrage amendment to the State Constitution a clear majority of 34,506 votes. There were 425,074 votes cast on the amendment, 229,790 being cast in favor and 195,284 against.

Ohio

"IT was seven anti-suffrage congressmen who went down to defeat in this state, instead of five, a fact which you might mention in the next Citizen as 'a little bit more' for which to give thanks."

ELIZABETH J. HAUSER.

Warren, Ohio.

Louisiana

OFFICIAL Louisiana promulgation of the returns of the election held November 5, 1918, on the proposed amendments to the Constitution of this State, shows that the woman suffrage amendment received 19,573 votes "For" and 23,077 votes "Against," for the entire state. The vote in the parish of Orleans was: "For" 5,414 and "Against" 14,552.

JAMES J. BAILEY,

Secretary of State.

The amendment was, therefore, defeated in Louisiana by only 3,504. The "Yes" vote for the State of Louisiana, exclusive of Orleans, was 14,159 and the "No" vote was 8,525. Outside of boss-run New Orleans, suffrage carried in Louisiana by 5,634!

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The Book Stall

Clara Barton, Humanitarian

IT seems especially appropriate at this time when the

By Ida Husted Harper

formed a permanent friendship with Princess Louise, Grand

activities of the Red Cross have reached a magnitude never before dreamed of that an authentic account of the founder, Clara Barton, and her work should be given to the public. *Clara Barton, Humanitarian, from Official Records, Letters and Contemporary Papers*, is published by the Columbian (D. C.) Historical Association and prepared by one of its members, Mrs. Corra Bacon-Foster, Historian in the United States Office of Indian Affairs. Mrs. Bacon-Foster brought to this work not only a mind trained in historical research but a life-long friendship for Miss Barton and a strong desire to place her official acts beyond future controversy.

This volume of less than a hundred pages sketches briefly Miss Barton's childhood and girlhood; refers to the fact that she was the first woman who ever received an appointment in the Department Service of the Government (in 1855); and reviews her work during and following the Civil War. This began in April, 1861, and lasted not only through the war but for many years after the return of peace, while she was conducting her remarkable search for the records of 20,000 missing soldiers, which were not in the Government archives. Miss Barton was idolized by the Grand Army of the Republic and was many times a guest of honor at their annual meetings. The official character of this search has sometimes been questioned, but pages of Government orders issued to her during this time prove that she enjoyed its full recognition. An account is given of her work during the Franco-Prussian War, when she

Duchess of Baden, the only daughter of King William, of Prussia, and also her work with the International Red Cross after the fall of the Paris Commune.

The official documents, in some instances photographed with the signatures, establish Miss Barton as the founder of the American Red Cross so conclusively that it must be recognized as a historical fact beyond dispute.

DESCRPTION is given of the many activities of the American Red Cross in calamities by land and sea during the more than twenty-three years of her presidency, and here also official documents are quoted which must set at rest all carping criticism. The work of Miss Barton and the Red Cross in the Spanish-American War is described in a convincing manner. In 1889 the United States Senate officially thanked Miss Barton and the Red Cross for the relief given to the Armenians, as did the Texas Legislature for her help after the great tidal wave at Galveston.

In 1900, when the Red Cross was placed under a Federal Charter, Miss Barton submitted her resignation as president, but it was not accepted and she was elected president for life. A few years later the persecution began which ended in her sending to the Board of Trustees in 1904 her final and absolute resignation. It closes by saying: "It is a pride as well as a pleasure to hand to you an organization perfectly formed, thoroughly officered, with no debts and a sum from \$12,000 to \$14,000 available to our treasury as a working fund." Her mantle fell upon the shoulders of Mrs. John A. Logan, the first vice-president, who was Miss Barton's strongest friend and defender during the rest of her life.

Although Miss Barton herself refused always to comment on the causes which led up to her resignation, a quotation is included in this book from "Under the Red Cross, or A History of the Spanish-American War," by Henry M. Lathrop, M.D., which begins: "The Red Cross up to this time had been kept clear of political rings and uncontaminated."

A touching interest is added to this comprehensive and loving sketch by a single sentence at the end, which states that "on January 26, 1918, one month after the manuscript had been presented to the Historical Society in the form of a paper, Mrs. Bacon-Foster crossed to the Great Beyond." The paper was put into book form for private sale by her daughter, Miss Violet Bacon-Foster, The Marlboro, Washington, D. C., and may be had for a dollar.

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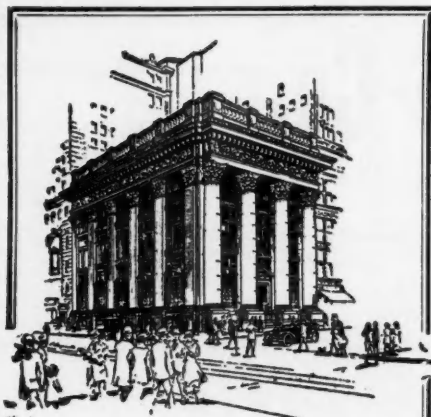
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Women in Industry

AGITATION
for a min-

Better Days for Manitoba Girls

In the fac-
tories an almost

imum wage for women and girls divided the Parliament of Manitoba in 1918 into two sharp divisions—not on party lines, for some members of the Government were in one camp, others were lined up with the Opposition and Independent members. Both sides claimed they were in favor of the principle of minimum wage, but differed on the nature of the proposed act. A flat rate of \$10 per week for girls of seventeen and over, versus a rate determined by a Commission, was the bone of contention. The manufacturers supported the Government side (Cabinet), while organized labor was supported by the Opposition, Independent members and certain members of the rank and file of the Government side, and on the strength of a majority vote a Commission was appointed. The Commission is composed of a man and a woman recommended by the Manufacturers' Association, a man and a woman recommended by the Trades and Labor Council, and an Independent Chairman.

Up to date the Commission has ordered a minimum wage of \$12 per week for girls of eighteen years and over employed in retail stores—adult learners being allowed to start at \$9 for the first six months, \$11 for the second six months, and after one year's selling experience to come into the full minimum of \$12 per week. Minors are to be graded according to age, starting at \$7 for girls of fourteen and fifteen years of age and increasing a dollar a week for each year. The proviso was also inserted that after a girl served one year at selling, no matter what age, she come into the full adult minimum, the stipulation of amounts according to age being put in for the benefit of departmental stores which engage many young girls as parcellers, messengers, etc. It was found that very few merchants cared to employ girls as saleswomen who were less than eighteen years of age, so it was felt that no undue hardship was imposed in ordering that after a girl had one year's selling experience, no matter what age, she be entitled to the full adult minimum. To prevent child labor and to obviate the possibility of minors replacing the adults, in times of business depression, a clause was inserted that under no circumstances could minors exceed more than one-fourth of the total number of female employees.

It was also ordered that stores keeping open late Saturday night should give their employees an afternoon off each week, also that those remaining open on Sundays should give their female employees one entire day off each week.

Hours in stores have been reduced from as high as seventy-nine hours per week (where a restaurant license was held) to somewhere in the vicinity of forty-eight per week, depending on the nature of the store.

general minimum of \$10 per week for girls over eighteen has been ordered, with proportional reductions for adult learners and minors. Here again the hours have been shortened to the neighborhood of forty-eight per week.

In all their findings the Board made no effort to compel a high wage for the very young girl, realizing that this might be a strong temptation to the parents to take the girls from school; but, to protect the young girl that has to start young, a general clause was inserted that after a girl has worked from one year to a year and a half, depending on the industry, no matter what age, she would come into the full adult minimum wage.

During the winter of 1917 the Government had an industrial survey made, and it was found that over seventy-five per cent of the girls employed in stores and factories were earning less than \$10 per week, so the workings of the Board begin to promise "better days for Manitoba girls."

Further information will be cheerfully furnished to those who communicate with the Labor Representative on the Board, Lynne M. Flett, 609 Lipton Street, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.

In Austria

SHALL we emulate Austria? Labor papers state that employers in some states are planning new attacks on the state child labor laws. Reports in the *Arbeiter Zeitung* (Vienna) as reported in the U. S. Employment Service Bulletin, show what such a policy leads to.

"More than one-third of all school children are engaged in some kind of work. In some districts all the children of school age are working. Out of every 100 school children between 6 and 8 years, 18 are at work; between 9 and 10, 35; between 11 and 12, 50; and between 13 and 14, 52. Two-fifths of these children have been working from the time they were 5 or 6 years old. Out of every 100 children, 95 worked during the school year, as well as during holiday periods. Nearly three-fourths of all the children are employed 52 weeks in the year. About one-fourth are engaged in night work."

Munition Workers

IN its final report on health conditions among workers, the British Ministry of Munitions summarizes the situation in regard to women workers in this trade. No breakdown in health is reported. "It is probable, however," says the report, "that the strain has been greater than is at present apparent, having been hitherto counteracted and disguised by certain factors,

(Continued on page 577)



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OUTCASTS in Beulah Land by Roy Helton (Henry Holt) is the collected practical work of a southern mountaineer come to northern cities. He writes of what he sees and brings with him a new and observant eye.

"**I**S I a anti-suffragist?" asked Aunt Jemmy, smoothing her apron over her capacious form. "You bet I is, honey. Ise anti de men's votin' eve'y time. Give de wimmin de right to vote, sezzi. Dee's got jedgmint, en cool heads, en dey is peaceable-inclined. Dey's used to rulin' ovur dey househol's. Dey spen's ninety pur-cent of all de money dat's spent in dese New Ninety States. Dey kin enduah pain en fatigue dat'd kill a man in less time den it takes to tell it; en dee don' nevuh lose dey heads de way men does. But de men! Lawsy, chile, dey aint nothin' but chillun, and dey aint fitten fuh nothin' but to be looked arftuh en watched ovuh en taken keer uv. Dar aint a ma'ied 'oman on uth day dunno dat, en all de single ones has gotter larn it ef'n dee wants to git along wid de man pop'l'ation. * * * Naw, chile, cyarn govern deysefs, let alone govern de country, en dat's de reason why I 'lows dat dat juty had a heap bettuh be pufformed by de wimmin folks whar has been used to governin' men sence Cain was a baby."—CALLY RYLAND.

The Book Stall

(Continued from page 572)

THERE are all sorts of campaigns won by women who have put up many a good fight. One of the oddest, described merrily by Annie Marion McLean in *Cheero* (The Woman's Press), is "a campaign for cures" This is the story of an invalid who refused to be down and out even with arthritis, and was equally ashamed to grumble or confess resignation.

The story of her mental poise and indomitable courage is given with real humor. The last word of cheer recorded of this suffering but valiantly smiling invalid is that she has "achieved peace without victory, but knows that the world will sometimes be made unsafe for arthritis. In the meantime even the humblest invalid can help in some way or other to make it safe for democracy." Her motto is, "Keep a stiff upper lip. Stiff joints will take care of themselves."

AT a meeting of the Oldest Inhabitants' Association, held at Washington, D. C., a copy of the *Washington Daily Morning Chronicle* of January 26, 1872, was presented to the association by George Spransy. Much interest attached to the copy because it contained an account of the appearance of Susan B. Anthony before Congress in behalf of the woman suffrage cause.

MEMORIES, GRAVE AND GAY

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THE well-known author, lecturer, and daughter of Julia Ward Howe tells here the story of her interesting life. She grew up in Boston in an international atmosphere, and knew, among others, Kossuth; Thackeray; Longfellow; Charles Sumner; Kane, the Arctic explorer; Arthur Hugh Clough; Charlotte Cushman; Frederika Bremer; Edwin Booth; George Bancroft; Oliver Wendell Holmes; Emerson; William Hunt; the Agassizes; the two James brothers, William and Henry; William Dean Howells, and the Storys. Of all of these she has interesting stories and reminiscences to relate.

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Calling in the Married Teachers

NOW that 27,000 teachers are needed in the United States, objections to the married woman teacher are slipping through the fingers of the male boards of education.

Dr. Philander P. Claxton, Federal Commissioner of Education, has indeed been cordial to calling in the qualified married women for sometime.

Local boards, like that of New York City, have been hugging provincial prejudices as long as possible. Now they too must fall into line if the schools are to escape the disaster of filling vacancies with the unfit.

"The shortage means that many places will have to be filled with unqualified persons," said Dr. Claxton. "Young women, today, cannot better show their patriotism than by qualifying to hold such positions.

"Schools first felt the strain when the first draft law went into effect. Many of the teachers in high schools were young men and few of them were married."

Young women teachers began to leave their places next. Thousands of them are in Washington holding Government positions. Others took up Red Cross work, went into munitions plants, and many took regular business jobs to fill the places of men who were drafted. Added to the shortage caused by the diversion into other lines is an increase in the number of new teachers needed. The school registration of the country shows growth, and more teachers than usual would have been needed even if the war had not taken so many of them into other lines of work.

"The shortage will be met," declared Dr. Claxton, "by calling back into the teaching profession women who have had previous experience, and by granting temporary certificates to women who can pass perfunctory examinations.

"The cities that have barred married women from their teaching forces have said they would make no discrimination this fall. Even New York is going to give married women a chance to teach school—but only those married women whose husbands are soldiers.

Concerning Education, Teachers, and Colleges

"A general increase in salaries throughout the country is needed also. One or two places have reported that they have increased salaries 50 per cent. And there are few counties and districts that have not made at least a 10 per cent raise. The average is about 15 per cent increase over the old salaries."

The College Girl After College

BEFORE the war the college girl—equally with the college boy—was something of a problem, emerging from college with no business preparation or experience and with a general sense of intellectual superiority to the rest of the world that unfitted her to learn.

Since the war the college girl has made good to a noticeable degree; has distinguished herself by hard and useful work, done in a spirit of humility and self-sacrifice.

The census of college women taken by the Association of Collegiate Alumnae in co-operation with Barnard, Bryn Mawr, Mt. Holyoke, Radcliffe, Smith, Vassar, Wellesley, Wells and Cornell, at the outbreak of the European war is therefore especially interesting, as showing the vocational material these college war-workers are made of.

The census covers 16,739, or 71 per cent of the living graduates of these eight colleges. For the whole period of years covered by graduates it shows that the large majority (69.7 per cent) of college women were gainfully employed; 58.2 per cent of graduates had at some time been teachers; 22.8 per cent has been, either throughout their working career or at some time at employment other than teaching.

In 1915, 70.3 per cent of those gainfully employed, who represented 42.7 per cent of the graduates at that time, were teachers, 29.7 per cent were distributed over a wide range of occupations, including civil service, professions, sciences, library work, business, the arts, agriculture, domestic sciences. The larger number were in religious or social work.

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"AFTER six weeks' motoring through Colorado, Wyoming and Montana, I have brought back a new understanding of the different kind of world that you will live in after the great changes that will follow the reconstruction period at the close of the war have taken place. It will be a world in which special privilege will have disappeared, in which people will stand or fall on their own merits, in which every one, women as well as men, will have a job to do, a world of friendliness and brotherhood. The West shows us a little of what is coming in the new world, what those of us who are older have missed in the old world, and what you will have. In this new socialized world that is coming, I can think of nothing more needed than wise intelligent trained leadership. Your generation must supply this. You must save art, letters, learning and research. You must see to it that ability, not mediocrity, is in the saddle; that the great mass of the people are levelled up and not levelled down. Leaders are desperately needed, and where can your generation look for leaders, if not to the girls now studying in colleges like Bryn Mawr? . . . I wish that it had been possible for the Government to draft the women in our colleges into a vast student body and put them under military oath to study their hardest and best. You must draft yourselves. If the war continues, remember that the girls now in college who study faithfully and well will be the most highly educated intellectual leaders of their generation."

(From the address by President Thomas at the opening of the 34th year of Bryn Mawr.)

SO important in war service have the colleges become that the American Council on Education has created a Committee on War Service Training for women college students. Elizabeth Kemper Adams, of the United States Employment Service, is chairman. Among the other six members of the committee are Virginia C. Gildersleeve, Dean of Barnard College, and Gertrude S. Martin, Executive Secretary of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae.

Women in Business

SECRETARY OF COMMERCE RED-FIELD'S woman secretary was the first woman chosen for—or close to—the cabinet; now comes Lillian Arvath O'Neill, the first woman officially on the executive staff of the White House. She succeeds a man as secretary to the Secretary to the President.

Can't Beat 100%

OF the 500 women now in the selling service of the United Cigar stores just 500 have been commended for ability as saleswomen. A special department for the employment of more saleswomen has been established under the charge of Miss A. Entenstle at 44 West Eighteenth Street, New York City. Preference in employing women has been given to wives and sisters of men in the service.

In the Banking World

MISS CALLY RYLAND, fifth vice-president of the Equal Suffrage League of Richmond, and one of the best known journalists in Virginia, is to head the department of new business, American National Bank, in Richmond. In the banking world this is a new departure from the established business, especially in the South, and it is understood that Miss Ryland will be the only woman in Virginia and one of the few in the United States to head such a department. For some years Miss Ryland has edited, in one of Richmond's afternoon dailies, a page entitled "Of Interest to Everybody," which has lived up to its title. "Aunt Jemima's" (Miss Ryland's philosophical newspaper column) invariably proves refreshing reading, as do other articles by the editor. The Southern Woman's Magazine calls Miss Ryland "that rare and beautiful thing—a successful woman journalist."

Women in Industry

(Continued from page 574)

such as improved food and better factory environment, welfare supervision, and the dropping out of the physically weaker. The committee consider that certain conditions of employment are essential if the risk of future breakdown is to be avoided, including short hours of work conveniently arranged, medical supervision (including rest rooms, first aid, etc.), careful selection of workers, good food, a favorable factory environment, with sympathetic management and supervision.

"In the case of married women their employment should be confined, as far as possible, to 'light' work, and, if possible, some relaxation allowed at the beginning and end of the day and also during the dinner interval. Night work for women should be avoided unless absolutely necessary."

THE Wisconsin Department of Labor has recently ruled, according to the Union Labor Bulletin, that women must not be employed as breakers in mines, nor at night work on street car lines.

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State Conventions

Connecticut

THE suffragists of Connecticut committed themselves whole-heartedly to a program of reconstruction in which women will have an equal part with men, at their annual session in November at the Hotel Taft, New Haven. The 300 delegates present gave enthusiastic endorsement to the resolution calling for a woman representative at the peace conference and to the resolution endorsing President Wilson's proposed League of Nations.

In reviewing the work of the Connecticut Association during the past year, Miss Ludington, the president, said, "This is the first state suffrage association to inaugurate a definite policy of training women for the vote in advance, and of interesting them in the political parties, and bringing the parties and the women into close contact, in view of the fact that they would soon be citizens."

"As a non-partisan organization, the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association is training its members to be intelligently partisan so they can work, as men do, through the medium of parties and make themselves practically felt in the political life of the state and the nation."

The address of welcome at the opening session of the convention was given by Mrs. Henry Townsend of New Haven. Mrs. Grace Thompson Seton, wearing a French military uniform, the costume of those in the service of Le Bien-Etre du Blessé society, gave the response. Mrs. Seton, who is vice-president of the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association, has just returned from six months' active service in France, where she has been organizing a motor corps for the society which she represents. Mrs. Seton is now in this country to secure more women ambulance drivers and expects to return to France very soon.

The treasurer reported that the gross receipts and expenditures for the past year had been over \$30,000 and aroused hearty applause when she announced that Connecticut had gone over its quota in the amount to be raised for the Overseas Hospitals, Connecticut's quota being \$3,000.

One of the important reports was given by Miss Selden. Starting with the big delegation sent by Connecticut to the National Convention in Washington, Miss Selden traced the work of the organization from the campaign which brought pressure to bear on the securing of the passage of the Federal Amendment to the more recent campaign which had for its object the securing of a Legislature favorable to the ratification of the amendment. In the endeavor to obtain expression of Connecticut sentiment favorable to the Amendment, over a thousand letters and telegrams were sent to United States Senators McLean and Brandegee, together with petitions, requesting the Senators' support of

the amendment, signed by over a thousand men.

A discussion by John T. King, National Republican Committeeman, and Homer S. Cummings, National Democratic Committeeman, as to the relative merits of the major political parties and their respective claims for the support of the woman vote, featured the annual suffrage dinner. Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore of New York, member of the New York State Republican Committee, presented the matter of joining a party from a woman's point of view, emphasizing that good government is a great cause and would be regarded as such by the women voters who "were going to see just the kind of men who are going to run the government," and then vote accordingly. Miss Caroline Ruutz-Rees of Greenwich, Conn., presented a good case in support of why she is a Democrat in politics.

Something over \$13,500 was pledged in the convention for the state work. Miss Ludington will again lead the Connecticut suffragists, having been unanimously re-elected president.

New York

THE fiftieth anniversary of the New York State Woman Suffrage Party and the first anniversary of the admission of New York women to full fledged citizenship was celebrated at the annual convention of the State Party held at Albany on December 2 and 3. The problems facing the women during the reconstruction period, the urgent need that the Senate pass the Federal Amendment and establish a democracy at home, and the relation of the State Party to the political life of the state and nation, were the vital matters that came before the convention for discussion.

A feature of the convention program was the address by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt in which she presented the idea of a "Woman Voter's Council, State, National and International," in which the interests of all women citizens would be welded together in one great association for the fullest possible participation of women in government, such an organization to be non-partisan in character, to function along broad, progressive lines, and to serve as a potent factor in bringing about the speedy enfranchisement of all women.

As shown by the reports at the convention the State Party has accomplished much along the line of educating the new citizens for their new duties in Americanization work, and in aiding and promoting legislation affecting the welfare of women and children. The program of war service work made a highly creditable showing.

Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw, who during the absence of the State Chairman, Mrs. Norman de R. Whitehouse, has filled the position of chairman of the State Association, has also been one of the most active women in war service work. Mrs. Laidlaw is Chairman of the Col-

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The opening session of the convention, with Mrs. Laidlaw presiding, brought the following reports of Chairmen of Committees: Miss Alice Morgan Wright, New Amendments to the Constitution; Mrs. William Belknap, Organization; Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw, Congressional; Mrs. Helen M. Leavitt, Legislative and Intelligence Committees. Mrs. Charles Noel Edge presented Recommendations of the State Committee.

The evening session with Mrs. William Belknap presiding, brought reports from Miss Mary Garrett Hay, chairman of the Woman Suffrage Party of New York City; Mrs. Frederick Edey; Miss Mary E. Drier, Americanization; Mrs. Victor Morawetz, Educational; Mrs. Maud Swartz, Labor; Mrs. Willis G. Mitchell, Rural Problems; Mrs. Frank A. Vanderlip, War Service Committee. Mrs. Ogden Mills Reid, as treasurer, reported for the financial side of the Party's activities.



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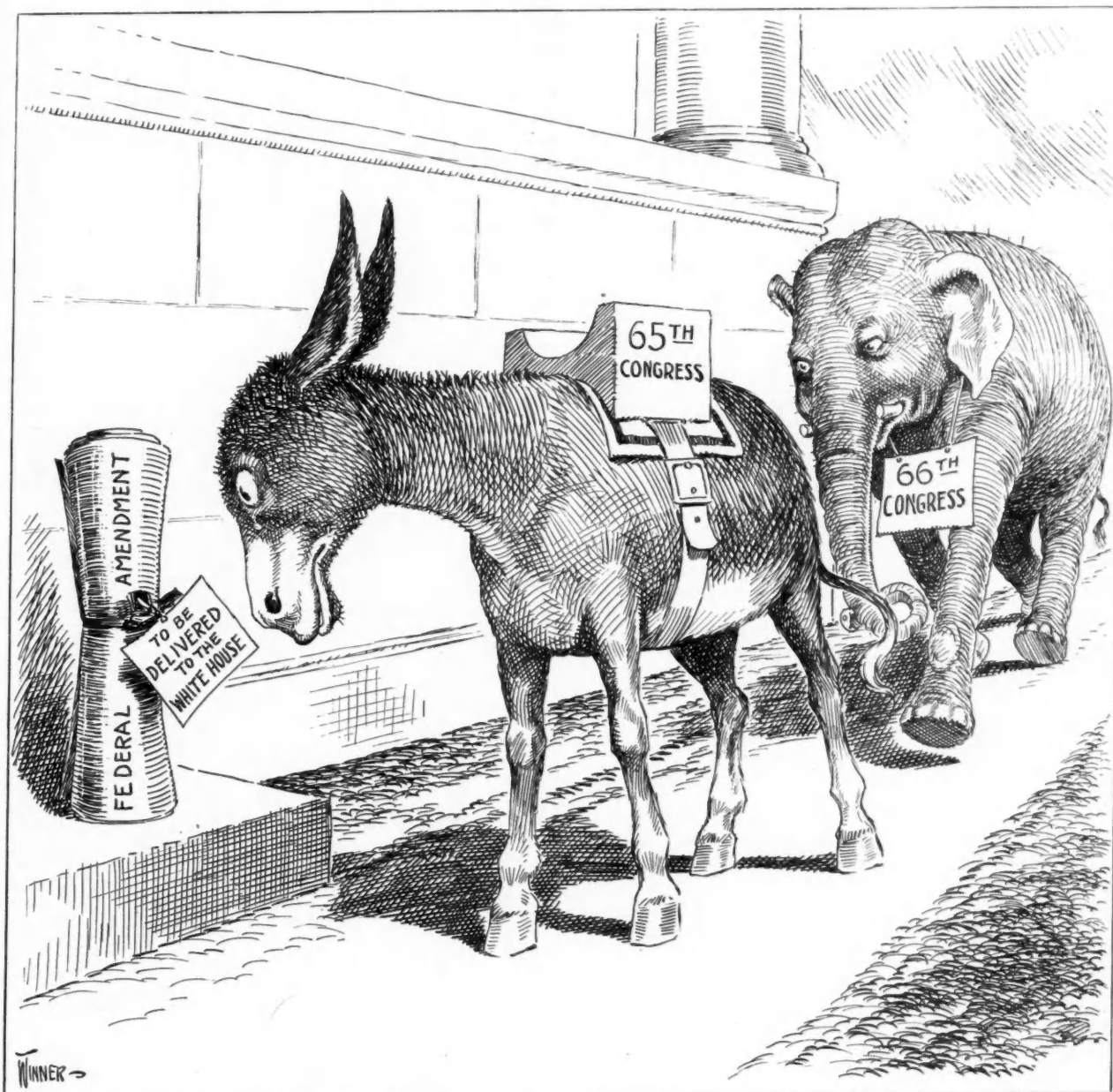
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Entered as second class matter, June 13, 1917, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

THE WOMAN CITIZEN

Founded June 2, 1917

Published every Saturday by

The WOMAN CITIZEN CORPORATION
at 171 Madison Avenue, New York

Ten cents a copy; yearly subscription (52 numbers), \$1.00. Postage to foreign countries fifty cents extra. Entered at the New York Post Office as Second Class matter, under the act of March 3, 1879. Copyright, 1918, by The Woman Citizen Corporation.

VOL. III DECEMBER 14, 1918 No. 29

PUBLISHED by the Woman Citizen Corporation, in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

The directors of the Corporation are Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, and Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore.

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"THE Woman Citizen is the only paper in which I can learn political truths of interest to women," writes Mrs. E. H. Johnson, of Frederick, Wisconsin.

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Louisiana: Mrs. Reuben Chauvin, Houma
Maine: Mrs. Dora H. York, Augusta
Maryland: Mrs. E. W. Rouse, Jr., Baltimore
Massachusetts: Mrs. George Shaw, Sharon
Michigan: Mrs. John Waite, Ann Arbor
Minnesota: Mrs. I. E. Rose, St. Paul
Missouri: Mrs. W. F. Freudenberger, Jefferson City
New Hampshire: Mrs. Annie L. Sawtelle, Manchester
New Jersey: Mrs. F. H. Colvin, East Orange
North Dakota: Mrs. Katherine L. Brainerd, Hebron
Rhode Island: Miss Hope Gorton, Providence
South Carolina: Mrs. J. T. Gittman, Columbia
Tennessee: Mrs. J. M. Grainger, Nashville
Texas: Mrs. Helen Moore, Galveston
Virginia: Miss Helen Stockdell, Richmond
West Virginia: Mrs. P. C. McBee, Morgantown
Wisconsin: Mrs. Charles Mott, Milwaukee.

Story

Circulation Contest

1. A pledge will constitute an entry.
2. No entries will be accepted after December 1, 1918.
3. Contest closes January 1, 1919.
4. In case of a tie for any one premium, the prize will be awarded to each qualifying contestant.
5. Only actual paid subscriptions will be counted in the awarding of premiums.

First Cash Premium FIFTY DOLLARS

To the State Association that sends in the highest number over 200 (paid new subscribers). The net price per subscription to the State Association is .70, the .30 to go into the state, county or local treasury, as may be decided by arrangement between the state and its branches.

Second Cash Premium TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the County Association that sends in the highest numbers over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the State Association, and would help to swell the state's total.

Third Cash Premium

TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the Local Club that sends in the highest number over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the County Association into the State Association, and thence to the Woman Citizen.

Fourth Cash Premium

TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the co-operating Subscriber who sends in the highest number over 50. This would be independent of state, county and club circulation activities, would apply to states that do not take up the circulation work in an official way, and would come directly to the Woman Citizen. The net price per subscription is \$1.00. No discount.

Relative Position of State Leagues in the Woman Citizen's Circulation Contest:

November 30th	December 7th
1. Iowa	1. Iowa
2. South Dakota	2. South Dakota
3. Georgia	3. Georgia
4. Indiana	4. Indiana
5. Michigan	5. Michigan
6. Minnesota	6. Minnesota
7. New Jersey	7. New Jersey
8. Wisconsin	8. Wisconsin
9. Massachusetts	9. Massachusetts
10. Virginia	10. Virginia
11. New York	11. New York
12. Ohio	12. Ohio
13. New Hampshire	13. New Hampshire
14. Alabama	14. Alabama—Maryland
15. Missouri	15. Missouri
16. Maryland	16. Texas
17. Texas	17. Pennsylvania
18. Pennsylvania	18. Maine
19. Maine	19. Kentucky—West Virginia
20. Kentucky—West Virginia	20. Tennessee
21. Tennessee	21. Louisiana
22. Louisiana	22. Connecticut
23. Connecticut	23. South Carolina
24. South Carolina	24. Arkansas
25. Arkansas	25. North Dakota
26. North Dakota	26. Washington, D. C.
27. Washington, D. C.	27. Rhode Island
28. Rhode Island	28. Illinois
29. Illinois	29. Nebraska—Oklahoma
30. Nebraska—Oklahoma	30. Washington—Mississippi
31. Washington—Mississippi	31. Kansas
32. Kansas	32. North Carolina
33. North Carolina	33. Vermont—Florida
34. Vermont—Florida	

B. Altman & Co.

THE LACE DEPARTMENT

has opened an entirely new Section (on the First Floor), which is devoted exclusively to the display and sale of

SEMI-MADE LACE NOVELTIES

such as collars, jabots, aprons, boudoir caps, opera bags, chemises, camisoles, babies' dresses, pillow tops and other useful and decorative articles, all beautiful—and "different."

Cut from lovely laces and embroideries (including many of hand-work) all of these interesting things are most cleverly cut and trimmed, being pinned or basted in such fashion that the least expert of needlewomen can easily add the finishing touches. The prices range from \$1.00 to \$15.00 each.

The opening of this Section offers a splendid opportunity for the selection of the individual gift, and for purchasing it at a price which would be out of the question were the article completely finished.

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OVINGTON'S



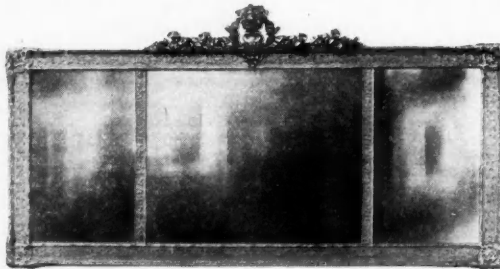
622
Very quaint candlesticks finished in antique gold, decorated with a carved design in polychrome colors; 12 in. high; candles to match candlesticks. Complete, per pair, \$12.50.



525
At only \$7.50, this double vegetable dish is a most exceptional value. Wrought of polished Sheffield in a King James design. Handle of cover removable to form two open dishes. 7 3/4 in. x 10 3/4 in. \$7.50.



501
This jolly jar is just for jam. Crystal, decorated with heavily engraved flowers and stripes, it is 4 in. high and 3 in. in dia. The cover and spoon are of Sterling silver. Jar and cover \$5.00; Spoon \$1.50. Complete, \$6.50.



589
This attractive mantel mirror has a frame finished in antique gold decorated with a tooled design of flowers and leaves. The three panels are of plain plate glass. Measures 19 1/2 in. wide x 34 in. long. Low price for mantel mirror, \$27.50.

Christmas comes but once a year, but a Christmas like this one of 1918 comes only once in a life-time! With peace assured, it's a regular Thanksgiving, Christmas and Fourth of July rolled into one. And we are ready with the gifts to help you celebrate it.

OVINGTON'S
The Gift Shop of Fifth Avenue



568
This glass vase is 8 in. high and 5 in. in dia. It is exquisitely decorated with a garland of roses in natural colors, and edged with gold around the top and bottom. \$2.50.



509
These teapots of exceptional beauty are from Japan. They are decorated with either a black, green, pink, or yellow background with colored birds and flowers. Capacity, 6 to 8 cups. Shape No. 1, \$2.50; Shape No. 2, \$3.50; Shape No. 3, \$5.00.

641
The salts which you will put inside this bottle will be no more refreshing than the Sheffield holder which we have placed inside. It makes the bottle so entirely different from the average. Dutch silver design. 6 in. high. \$2.50.



312-314 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK, N. Y.

The Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

A Journal of Democracy

December 14, 1918

"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

To Organize the Women Voters of the World

SO nearly is the struggle for woman suffrage over in the United States of America that the National American Woman Suffrage Association is already looking ahead to the day when it shall schedule itself to go out of business.

To this end the Association has voted to extend an invitation to the women voters of the fifteen states in which women are fully enfranchised to meet in conjunction with the Association's next Annual Convention, the date of which is to be announced later. The objects to be served by the meeting are:

1. The organization of a non-partisan National Council of Women Voters to take the place of the National American Woman Suffrage Association when its work is finished, in order that there may be an auxiliary from the United States to the International Woman Suffrage Alliance.

2. To discuss and adopt a national charter of Women's Civil Rights which, when written into the laws of the several states, will unify, correct, modernize and improve the laws which especially concern women.

3. To discuss and adopt a charter of Children's Rights which, when written into the laws of the several states, will unify and improve the laws which especially concern children.

4. To discuss and adopt a program of forward movements whereby women voters may aid effectively in improving and in unifying election methods, campaign usages, so-called Americanization work, and other lines of political action, as proposed.

Similar organizations will undoubtedly be effected in other countries wherein women have been enfranchised; and the International Alliance may see fit to

divide itself into similar sections. This international group of women voters, including, as it will, women of the United States, England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Hungary, Austria, and probably France and Italy, will be able to wield an enormous influence in the establishment of woman suffrage in other European countries which are now struggling toward some form of representative government.

The women voters of the world have a unique opportunity at this time to render a signal and immortal service to the liberty and welfare of humanity. It is an opportunity which will not come their way again. The call comes for help from the distressed nationalities of middle Europe struggling forward to representative institutions over the obstacles of prejudice and tradition, upon the one hand, and conflicts for mastery between groups holding special theories, upon the other. It is not the first time this has happened. History is only repeating itself. If it continues to repeat itself, the promise of coming liberty for men and women may end in as sorrowful a disappointment as before. The opportunity now offered to women voters is the prevention of history's repeating itself.

When the Napoleonic World War came to an end, it was followed by a fine impulse to democracy. The masses of the people were straining under the burden of taxation to pay the bill for Napoleon's ill-fated ambitions. There were mutterings of discontent on all sides. Thrones tottered and universal suffrage for men became a possibility. It was already set up in Spain, and was a very probable institution in France and Italy. But there was no international organized group of sympathizers with democracy to extend either spiritual or

material comfort. On the other hand, the kings and aristocracies of Prussia, Austria, Russia and France, banded together and, entering into the secret Treaty of Verona, agreed to use their united influence to suppress representative institutions wherever they existed in Europe, and to prevent their establishment where they did not already exist. At the point of the bayonet, Europe was quieted, constitutions, suffrage privileges and the freedom of the press were suspended and leaders of democratic uprisings were beheaded or intimidated into silence. "The fruits of Waterloo," as Dr. Basset calls them, were lost.

A hundred years have passed and the world has moved forward far since that day. Yet, the autocracies, the Tories of every land, our own included, are as frightened of real democracy and as determined to prevent its establishment as ever they were. They may be fewer in number, today, but they still possess dangerous and unmeasured power. They still attempt unjust exclusions. Note, in illustration, the mental operation of the man who holds that God has equipped him with the ability to vote and blessed him with the right of self government, and yet believes that women have neither the ability nor the right to a voice in their own government. Such mental operation is only a modified form of that of the ex-Kaiser, who declared himself the instrument of God and that the rule of men was impossible. There can be no just, well-balanced, permanent representative government which leaves women out.

The women voters of the world, and they number millions, united, insistent, can do for the women of those struggling new republics what no men ever have done for them. The leaders among them may be encouraged and aided in unnumbered ways. From the experience of women voters, much may be contributed to embolden the timid, to convince the doubting and strengthen the morale of the entire movement.

If an intelligent, alert democracy is in truth the only safeguard against world war, and no one has suggested any other, women voters should know that their opportunity is more than an open door; it is a command to action.

THERE is an obviously important national, as well as international, program for women voters. The great diversity of laws which concern women and children in our several states is a continual menace to the safety and welfare of the unfortunate and uninformed.

The average woman cannot be expected to know the peculiarities of the laws in forty-eight different states. She cannot be expected to know that the age of consent for her daughter is eighteen years in Wyoming and ten in Florida; that she will herself become possessed of half the estate of her intestate husband in California and one-third in New Jersey; that she is an equal guardian with her husband over her children in Illinois, but that she has no claim upon them at all in Louisiana. She cannot be expected to know that if her husband beats her, is disloyal, guilty of non-support, plus all other causes which in different countries and states are held as sufficient for divorce, she could not possibly secure one from him in South Carolina. She is not likely to know that in Colorado she may legally demand an eight-hour working day, but that she could be compelled to work sixteen hours in Alabama for her daily wage; that her children could not legally be employed under the laws of Oregon, but that no law will protect them in the event their father desires to hire them out in North Carolina.

She would not be apt to know that in Idaho, for example, the state is expending nearly fifty cents per \$100 of wealth to provide competent schools which are scattered over the state every two miles and that at the same time a compulsory educational law

will, in that state, compel her children to take advantage of the good schools provided; but that in Alabama only eighteen cents per \$100 of wealth is expended on public education which means that good schools are rare, and that no compulsory educational law would compel her children to attend any school. In the one case her children would grow up prepared to take their place in the world and in the other they might be mere illiterates. The average woman would not be apt to know that in every state where women vote there is a mother's pension for the widow left with children to support and without means of her own, whereas in a good many states no such provision is made.

THE laws of the states could be unified and improvements added even in the states more liberal in their laws if women voters would agree upon a proper constructive program. It is a fact so obvious that it needs no demonstration that if one section of the country is much behind the times in education and legal protection to women and children, its civilization is bound to prove a deterrent influence over the whole nation. Therefore, it becomes the duty of all forward looking people to see that the laws of the whole nation are unified and that the standard by which to measure the proper program for each state is the code of laws of the most advanced states.

More, if the United States is to become the teacher of the world in applied democracy, it must wipe some blots from its own escutcheon. That votes are still bought upon occasion, ballot boxes stuffed and candidates and measures counted out, is well known. More careful attention to the selection of election officials and still more careful attention to their training would contribute the most important corrective agency. Women teachers, bookkeepers, clerks, and many stenographers have the especial training for this work. A skilled examination into the election and the corrupt practices laws would reveal many a loophole through which the unscrupulous may escape. A unification of these laws will go far to make elections respectable and respected, where neither condition is now the case.

Women voters should contribute more to their nation and to the world than they can do when acting from a localized viewpoint. "Those who live in the valley do not know what is to be seen from the mountain top." The opportunity to climb the mountain and to view all humanity in its struggle upward toward permanent democratic institutions and consequent permanent peace is here. The opportunity to extend a helping hand to those who are likely to find the path rough and thorny is here. The woman voter with the vision of coming freedom for the race in her soul will not hesitate to offer her service. C. C. C.

For Your Information

THAT was a tremendous meeting held at the National Theatre in Washington last Sunday, December 8th, under the direction of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, for the purpose of paying tribute to American Women War Workers. And the war workers on their part made the meeting memorable as the occasion for an appeal to the United States Senate to "speed the coming of universal woman suffrage in this country by the immediate passage of the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment."

One effective feature of the meeting was the appearance of delegations of uniformed women, representing about every branch of war service. Mrs. McAdoo was there, representing the Liberty Loan Campaigners. Mrs. Josephus Daniels and Mrs. F. Louis Slade were there with their respectively brilliant records as Y. W. C. A. and Y. M. C. A. workers, to adorn a tale, the moral of which was, as Mrs. Daniels pointed out, to get the ballot

into women's hands so that women may help make the world safe for boys and girls. Mrs. Richard Aldrich was there and Mrs. V. Everitt Macy, Mrs. John Hays Hammond and Mrs. John B. Henderson, Mrs. Charles L. Tiffany and Mrs. Raymond Robins.

Mrs. Catt presided. Hundreds who could not get into the theatre massed outside and listened to speeches from speakers sent out from the platform inside to talk suffrage gospel.

In the result it is believed that the campaign to secure the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment before Christmas received a big forward impulsion.

THEY are voting in London today—the women. They are voting in Dublin, in Glasgow, in Cardiff. They are voting down in Devonshire and they are voting up in Lancashire. They are voting in Donegal and Kerry and Cork.

Six million British women in all are privileged to vote in the parliamentary elections being held in Great Britain this day of grace December 14, 1918.

"A momentous event in British history—An astonishing step in advance for Great Britain and the world at large," that's the sort of day this is, according to the Right Reverend the Bishop of Oxford, who thus characterized it in a forecast included in a recent public utterance in this country.

And the British women are not only voting. They are being voted for. After having been ruled out on their ambition to sit in Parliament, they were subsequently ruled in, and fourteen of them are listed in today's race for parliamentary seats. Prominent among them are Mrs. Frederick Pethick Lawrence, former editor of *Votes for Women*; Miss Christabel Pankhurst, and Miss Mary McArthur, president of the National Federation of Women Workers.

THERE is just one redeeming feature about the situation with regard to the Cleveland women who were importuned into the street railway service at the call of country and have now been dumped by order of the War Labor Board at the behest of the men employees of the street railway service. The women, according to the best available information, were not under-bidders. They were paid the same as men for the same service. They did not seek the jobs. The jobs sought them. As in other cases where women were wanted to take men's places during the war, the most impassioned rhetoric that patriotism can command was used to line up the women in this, for them, unusual calling. The employers used it. The Government used it. Organized labor itself, speaking through American Federation of Labor leaders, used it. "Meet the war emergency. Come over into the munitions, the ship-building, the fields, the transportation service. Fine work for women. Back up your country."

And now the war ends and women are to remain passive, while in this short sharp way the ground is to be cut from under the working woman's feet, ground on to which her feet were persistently coaxed?

We mentioned one redeeming feature in the situation—it is that women in general don't intend to stand it.

Many men labor leaders are to be counted among those who think women should not stand it. For evidence turn to the adequate and balanced consideration of this whole question of sending women back home as presented by James M. Lynch, New York's Industrial Commissioner, on page 594 of this issue.

The National Women's Trade Union League is taking the matter up, other women's organizations are sure to.

The *Woman Citizen* will shortly be in a position to present authoritative arguments on both sides of the case and to them it bespeaks careful consideration.

"Proclaimed" in Oklahoma

O H joy!

Governor Williams has "proclaimed" woman suffrage as established in Oklahoma by constitutional amendment, and last week the proclamation was spread upon the records of the state. That ends it. After trying in every conceivable way to "count suffrage out," after filing a protest against the certification of the election returns, after threatening and blustering and backing and filling ludicrously, anti agitators and attorneys have had to give up. It simply couldn't be done. Suffrage not only carried in the state of Oklahoma on November 5, it carried hands down. As Governor Williams, himself an anti, said: "Any attempt to defeat this through technicalities after the people have said they want it in their constitution is almost enough to cause a revolution."

So it's all settled. You may be sure it's all settled, because Edna Annette Beveridge has left the state. When Mrs. Frank Shuler, who managed the Oklahoma campaign, came back to New York, worn to a frazzle, a ghost of her former self, she apparently left Miss Beveridge, her trusty lieutenant, glued to the Oklahoma map. Day by day and week by week, Miss Beveridge has remained in Oklahoma, waiting—and watching.

There were really two Oklahoma campaigns—one to win suffrage and one to keep it won—foil the antis in their effort to circumvent the suffrage victory. The second campaign was waged by just two women, Mrs. Shuler guiding and directing from New York; Miss Beveridge, watchful-waiting incarnate, carrying out instructions in Oklahoma. Suffrage has been forcibly counted out in state elections before this. That it wasn't counted out in Oklahoma credit to the astuteness, the tact, the patience of these two, who ate, slept and drank Oklahoma until the proclamation below went into the state record.

Gratitude is due, as well, to the law firm of Ledbetter, Stuart and Bell, of Oklahoma City, whose skilled services were placed at the disposal of the suffragists without remuneration, and whose expert advice was an invaluable asset throughout the campaign.

The Governor to the People of Oklahoma. Proclamation No. 540.

"At this general election, held on the first Tuesday in November, 1918, a constitutional amendment was submitted in accordance with Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 5 (1917), which provides:

"For the submission of a proposition to amend the Constitution enfranchising women, defining the qualifications of electors, and providing for an election thereon."

Then follows a recapitulation of the amendment.

Continuing, the proclamation says:

"It appears that said amendment received in its favor a majority of all voters voting in said election and I so declare.

"Done and dated at the State Capitol in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, this third day of December, A. D. 1918."

THE GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA.

Attest:

Secretary of State.

*The National Suffrage Association to the Governor of Oklahoma.
December 4th, 1918.*

Governor Robert L. Williams,

State Capitol, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

The National American Woman Suffrage Association, representing two million women, congratulates you upon having been the agent through whom the proclamation of Oklahoma's great democratic victory has been promulgated and thanks you for your just and prompt action.

NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION,
NETTIE R. SHULER, Chairman Campaigns and Surveys.

Giant Mass Meetings Appeal to Senate

By Marjorie Shuler

WASHINGTON, December 11.—In the early days of the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment, Susan B. Anthony once said, "We ask that the question of equality of rights for women shall be decided by the selected men of the nation in Congress." Last Sunday that appeal was repeated on a Washington street corner by the wives of two cabinet members. Southern women both of them—and Southern women have been said in the past not to be interested in woman suffrage. One of them is the daughter of the President of the United States. And they spoke, following a slender slip of a girl munitions-maker, thus demonstrating that democracy among women which is one of the greatest gifts of suffrage.

The appearance of Mrs. William Gibbs McAdoo and Mrs. Josephus Daniels on the steps of the National Theatre was unexpected. The National American Woman Suffrage Association had arranged a meeting for women war workers within the theatre, the central meeting in a series which the state associations are having to urge the passage of the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment. How the war workers responded! Girls in uniform and girls in civilian clothes. Representatives from every state in the nation who had answered the wartime call of the government! Eagerly they joined in an appeal to those other representatives from every state in the nation who sit in the United States Senate.

Half an hour before the hour scheduled for the meeting the theatre was packed to the doors. The vestibule and steps were jammed. The crowd extended across the street to the park and in a solid wedge up and down the street for half a block. And still they came, hundreds of war workers, mingled with Senators and their wives who were special guests of the day. It was with some difficulty that sundry Senators and Congressional ladies were extracted from the crowd and piloted through the stage entrance.

Then an overflow meeting was started and the speakers began a double schedule, speaking inside the theatre and on the street. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt presided at the indoor meeting, wove the connecting links which united the varied talks and presented a resolution to the Senate which all the speakers endorsed.

Mrs. McAdoo, chairman of the National Women's Liberty Loan committee, said, "The history of American women during the months of the great war is the last word, the direct and conclusive proof of their fitness for self-government and for full citizenship in the business of the nation and of the world. It is a sad commentary that women have been required to make this proof of their capacity for citizenship, and that we of this generation must demonstrate such capacity not only for ourselves but for all the thousands who come after us. The goal of political freedom that we have looked toward so long is truly in sight. It will be here possibly in a few weeks, perhaps in a few months. I do not envy those who hold it back, even for a little time. I do not envy the position that they will occupy in the world's esteem if they oppose justice to the women citizens of America."

Mrs. Josephus Daniels in her uniform of a Young Women's Christian Association worker described the association activities. She said: "Can it be possible that a greater work could come to woman than to help make the world, which has been made safe for democracy, a safe place in which the boys and girls may live? The ballot will materially assist women in accomplishing this task."

IN her speech, Miss Jane Delano, director of the department of nursing of the American Red Cross, said:

"Martial courage has in many of our minds been held as a masculine attribute, but the nurses who have served in the front line hospitals and evacuation tents, with the whistle of the shells always overhead, have helped to establish a new tradition for bravery in action. Many nurses have shown great bravery and have been awarded the highest honors which the world has to offer, *croix de guerre*, special military mention, decorations of royal orders, medals, and other insignia of military rank. Of the 75,000 graduate nurses in the country, more than one-third volunteered for active duty. Of the 10,000 graduate nurses who have been sent overseas with the army alone, only about 50 have been returned to this country for any reason whatsoever during the last eighteen months, less than one-half of one per cent."

There were two speakers for the women in industry. One, Miss Hannah Black, told of the service which she has witnessed during her four years as a mechanic in the munitions factories of three countries, including our own. The other, Mrs. Raymond Robins, President of the National Women's Trade Union League, reviewed the industrial achievements of the women of this country during the war, closing with these words, "We will win the Federal Suffrage Amendment, we will win it before the new year, we will win it because the liberal forces of America are rallying to the greatness of the hour. The truth for which we have labored and suffered—the right of individual freedom and self-government—the whole purpose of our armies and all those fighting in the Allied cause—must be triumphant at home."

Mrs. F. Louis Slade, in her uniform as head of the women's personnel department of the Young Men's Christian Association, repeated heart-stirring incidents of the overseas service of women. Mrs. Charles Tiffany filled a double place. According to the program, she spoke for the War Community Service, but of course she talked as well for the Women's Overseas Hospital, the National Association's own detail of war work which she has so ably headed.

The summary of the speeches was made by the Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, Chairman of the Woman's Committee, National Council of Defense. Every word of her speech was an appeal for the one vote needed to pass the Federal Amendment and included these memorable sentences: "No group of women in the United States has been more faithful than the National American Woman Suffrage Association, the first national association to pledge its service to the government even before we entered the war. It has loyally kept that pledge, helping in the world struggle for the same fundamental principle which has underlaid its half century of endeavor. This is our answer to those who have not had sufficient vision to understand the motive underlying our work for suffrage for the purpose for which our country entered the war. Now the war is won and there lies before us a vaster work than ever before. The cooperation and service of women are necessary to its accomplishment."

At the conclusion of her speech the following resolution to which the speakers had spoken, was unanimously adopted:

WHEREAS, There has been brought to a peaceful termination a world war fought for the same fundamental principle of self-government for which the National American Woman Suffrage Association has labored for nearly 50 years, and

WHEREAS, in the conduct of the war women have demonstrated that they are equally concerned with men in national affairs and

(Continued on page 589)

Notes and Comment

By Alice Stone Blackwell

THE world has many wars, all going on at the same time. They are wars to get rid of this and that evil, to bring in this or that improvement. Some are just beginning, some are in the thick of the fray, some are now nearing their close. Two that are drawing to an end at the same time are the war against Germany and the war against disfranchisement. Slowly but steadily the suffrage has been widened in the teeth of all sorts of obstacles, until now, in the United States, women are almost the only grown persons who have not been admitted to it.

The women are to be enfranchised. This is acknowledged by practically everyone whose opinion is worth counting. The promise is written in the platform of every political party. The only question is how it is to come—by a nation-wide measure, or by scores of piecemeal and laborious campaigns. Remembering all the arduous work that has already been put into the struggle for this branch of human freedom, we can say to our Senators, as Lloyd George said the other day to the British people:

"Timidity is fatal to great action, and these are days when great action is required. Do not let us approach this great task confronting us in the spirit of huckstering or seeking to put off trouble at the cheapest price. The foundations of the new world, with which we are confronted have been well and truly laid by millions of heroic men and women. When so much precious marble has been already built into fabric, do not let us, I entreat you, finish it with shoddy."

SOME years ago, a professor of the University of Chicago addressed a gathering of suffragists, taking as his text, "Reform or Revolution?" He maintained that women were inclined to be in favor of reform, but opposed to revolution; and he seemed to think that this was a defect in the feminine character. In view of what is now going on in Europe, the question may well be asked whether it may not prove to be a source of strength.

The persistent refusal of needed reforms is what leads to revolution. Progress is the universal law, and if it is not allowed to come by peaceful means, it comes at last by violence. Women's organizations have been urging humanitarian reforms with so much earnestness that it has undoubtedly stiffened opposition to equal suffrage on the part of all the great predatory interests. But most women hate violence and bloodshed. They much prefer to obtain the needed change by orderly and peaceful means. Whether these changes are to come peacefully or by violence is one of the interesting questions that the next few years will solve. The vast majority of women may be expected to be on the side of peaceful and legal settlement.

Now that the Czar and the Kaiser are down and out, the most dangerous autocrats left are the profiteers. They are taking the same attitude that the Czar and the Kaiser did, when they hung on to their autocratic power long after it had become an anachronism in the light of the Twentieth Century. They will bring invisible pressure to bear on the Peace Conference to secure such a settlement as will strengthen their power to plunder the people. They should heed the words addressed to the last Czar of Russia, at his coronation, by a distinguished Mexican poet:

"You have been blessed and crowned, consecrated magnificently amid unequalled pomp. Hear me, then; listen to the counsel of one who came to the festivities without your leave: I am Liberty!

"You command a hundred million servants; ten thousand cannon, vomiting lightnings, break into thunder at your triumphant voice; four seas, slaves of your sword, kiss your imperial feet; but—I am Liberty!"

"Be kind, be just, for the wrath of God is growing; he loves these people who are stirring at your feet with the latent ebullition of a volcano; persecute me no more, give me your hand, hold it out to me; if not—Tremble, tyrant! I am Liberty!"

THE resistless advance of equal suffrage makes its opponents wilder and wilder. The recent election added three new full-suffrage states to the list and showed that even a state so far South as Louisiana was almost ripe for this reform. Above all it insured a two-thirds majority for the Federal Amendment in the next Congress, if the measure does not pass before. It is no wonder that the dwindling band of antis should feel somewhat distracted and that the acuteness of the danger should stimulate the tendency of their national organ to call names—a characteristic of most persons whose cause is weak in legitimate argument. A man of little education was once appointed a magistrate in India, and his decisions were so uniformly right that an acquaintance asked him confidentially how he did it. He answered: "I make the plaintiff and defendant argue their own cause before me, and I notice which man gets mad first and begins to call the other names."

At present the anti-suffragists, in common with all the other reactionaries, are denouncing as "Bolshevism" every proposed change which they do not like. They should remember that what paved the way for the Bolshevik movement in Russia was the blind and obstinate resistance of the Czar's government to legitimate reforms. The pendulum naturally swung to the opposite extreme. The real inciters to Bolshevism in America are the ultra-stand patters, the people who mean to resist every modern movement for popular welfare, to the last ditch. The people who are taking the best course to ward off the excess of Bolshevism are those who are trying to bring about the redress of all legitimate grievances of peaceful and orderly means and with the smallest possible delay. The denial of suffrage to women is now acknowledged by every political party, in the country to be legitimate grievance; and the shortest way to get rid of it is by the Federal Amendment route.

(Continued from page 588)

have given service of equal importance to the safety of the nation, and

WHEREAS, Woman suffrage has been given or promised by our Allies and even some of the Central Powers as a result of the greater understanding which the war has brought of the principle of self-government and the service of women, and

WHEREAS, Our work as women of the nation and the service of our men as soldiers of the nation have given us a greater sense of national unity than ever before, making it especially fitting that we should address ourselves to the representatives of the nation, therefore

Be It Resolved, That we, citizens of the United States, in mass meeting assembled at 3 o'clock on the afternoon of December 8, 1918, in the National Theatre, Washington, D. C., appeal to the Senate of the United States to speed the coming of universal woman suffrage in this country by the immediate passage of the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment.

The same resolution, changed only in the words which referred to the place of the meeting, was passed at the overflow meeting in the street. There the resolution was read twice. The crowd was invited to ask questions or make comments. A silver-haired man took off his hat and said, "I move the adoption of the resolution." A soldier in uniform seconded the motion, and the resolution was adopted without a dissenting voice.

ITALY TO GIVE WOMEN BALLOT

November Parliament to
Grant Legal Freedom.

SUFFRAGE WILL FOLLOW SOON

War Has Wrought Political
Wonders.

Evening Star 11/21/18

ROME, Nov. 5.—With the reopening of the Italian Parliament in November Italy will grant to its women that legal recognition of equality that almost every allied country has been forced to give as a consequence of woman's contribution to the war.

A law to this end has been favorably passed upon by the proper parliamentary committee and unquestionably will be adopted before the close of the year with little if any opposition.

The acknowledgment thus won by Italian women constitutes an unusual tribute to them, inasmuch as the question of equal rights was not nearly so far advanced in Italy before the war as in most countries.

The Whole World And the United States

The coming session of the Italian parliament is expected to grant women legal equality, in recognition of their services during the war.

WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE STEPS IN JAMAICA

10/8/18
Movement Takes on Definite
Form and Newspapers Are
Friendly—Measure to Come
Before Legislative Council

By special correspondent of The Christian
Science Monitor

KINGSTON, Jamaica, B. W. I.—For the first time the movement to gain woman's suffrage has appeared here in a definite form. The Hon. H. A. L. Simpson, O. B. E., who represents Kingston, the capital of the island, in the Legislative Council, has announced his intention of bringing forward a measure that will provide for giving the vote to women. The newspapers are friendly to the step and the proposal is being discussed with vigor.

House Votes to Seat Women in Parliament

Commons Passes at the Third
Reading Bill Backed by
British Peeresses

LONDON, Nov. 7. — The House of Commons, to-day passed, on third reading, the bill permitting women to sit in Parliament.

The agitation which has resulted in the passage of this bill began last April when a number of Peeresses petitioned the House of Lords to pass a clause in the reform bill so they might be permitted to vote. This is a privilege which the Peers themselves do not possess, the right to a position in the House of Lords being considered compensation for disfranchisement. Wives and widows of Peers who suffered the same disability without any compensation demanded the franchise.

The Franchise in Canada

THE Canadian House of Commons passed House Bill No. 3, an act to confer the electoral franchise upon women, amid a calm, matter-of-fact approval from all corners of the nation that is a commentary on the strange differences between northern North America and the United States.

The bill was a government bill, far more immediate in its effect and more generous in its provisions than the Federal amendment now before the United States Senate. Its smooth course in passage was enough to make an American suffragist wistful for the simplicity of British procedure in legislative bodies.

Tribune 3/11/18

British Women Get Full Suffrage

THE women of all nations are bound to take a special, but not exclusive, interest in the new franchise law which had just gone into effect in Great Britain. This law gives women the right to vote for members of parliament, and places Great Britain almost on a level with the Australian commonwealth in respect to woman's political recognition. Generally speaking, there remains but one step for Great Britain to take, and that is to bestow upon its women the right to become members of parliament as well as vote in parliamentary elections.

It cannot but be pleasing to Great Britain's allies in the war for world democracy that she is proving her democracy not by mere words but by deeds of this inspiring sort. We in America have not gone as far as the British now have in womanhood's political emancipation. And our democracy will not be as genuine and as complete as we must wish it to be until we follow the British example.

Pittsburg Dispatch Feb. 5 '18

WOMAN TAKES HER SEAT IN NORWEGIAN PARLIAMENT

By ELLA ANKER

(Staff Correspondent of The Detroit News and the Chicago Daily News)

CHRISTIANIA, Norway, Dec. 5 — Miss Sara Christie has taken her seat in the Norwegian parliament as a conservative representative of the city of Trondhjem. At parliamentary elections in Norway substitutes are always elected at the same time to take the member's place in case of illness or death, so elections to fill vacancies never take place. All members of the storting are engaged in special committees to prepare legislative work or dealing with the government's proposals before they are submitted to the storting. In this way Miss Sara Christie, who is now summoned to take the seat of Prof. Soeland, becomes a member of the defense committee to consider the army

SWEDEN TO GRANT VOTE TO MEN AND WOMEN ALIKE

Declaration of War and Peace Will
Be Placed Under Riksdag's
Control.

STOCKHOLM, Thursday, Nov. 14.—The Swedish Government has decided to carry out, without delay a programme of reforms giving the franchise to both sexes on equal terms and placing control of the foreign policy, as well as declarations of war and peace, with the Riksdag.

Evening World 11/6/18

of universal suffrage without regard to sex throughout its revolutionary upheavals, and Norway, which granted full suffrage in 1907.

In Italy one of the important reforms which Parliament is expected to institute is the granting to women of the right of legal equality. Enfranchisement of Italian women no doubt will be the next step.

In Germany indications point to the extension of full suffrage to men and women alike. In Hungary arrangements have been made for an election at which both men and women will vote upon the question of the form of government to be adopted.

Universal suffrage is one of the basic principles of the Czech-Slovak Republic. In both France and Sweden equal suffrage is imminent.

Dr. Anna Howard Shaw White States Senate Lags Behind!

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE IN INDIA

Special to The Christian Science Monitor
CALCUTTA, India.—The question of woman suffrage was discussed at the All-India Congress, when a resolution was passed, referring the subject to the Provincial Congress committees. One of these, the Punjab Committee, has already passed a resolution that no distinction of sex be made in the coming reforms. The recent meeting of the Madras Provincial Conference was presided over by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. The significance of the fact that an Indian woman should preside over a public gathering is commented on by New India, which says that her presidency "marks the coming of a new great force into modern Indian political life—the Indian woman." It was Mrs. Sarojini Naidu who at the meeting of the Bombay Provincial Conference held in May, moved a resolution supported by over 100 educated ladies of Bombay recommending the extension of the franchise to women at the same time as to men, under suitable conditions. 9/24/18

Paris to Ask Suffrage Law..

PARIS, Nov. 13.—The Municipal Council of Paris will request Parliament to adopt a law granting suffrage to women, according to Le Petit Parisien. 11/18-18

WOMEN VOTE FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THE HISTORY OF THE COUNTRY

For the first time in the history of Mexico, women are to be permitted to vote, the State of Guanajuato enjoying this privilege. The newly adopted constitution of that State confers the privilege of suffrage in all municipal matters upon women, the only restriction being that they must be of reputable character. Such elections are to be held shortly, and it is re-

40,000,000 Germans To Vote, Says Berlin

BERLIN, Dec. 5.—"By the end of the month there will be between 39,000,000 and 40,000,000 Germans on the voting list," according to Berlin newspapers. "Of these, 18,000,000 are men, more than 21,000,000 are women. Of this list can be added 500,000 war prisoners, now abroad, who are likely to be in the next election."

WOMEN TO VOTE WITH MEN ON A HUNGARIAN REPUBLIC; REFERENDUM NEXT MONTH

Evening World 11/14/18
Both Sexes to Have Same Rights in Deciding Future Form of Government for Their Country.

LONDON, Nov. 4.—The population of Hungary a month hence will take a public vote to decide on the question of a Monarchy or a Republic, according to an Exchange Telegraph despatch from Copenhagen to-day. The balloting the women will have the same electoral rights as

Women Celebrate Suffrage Victory In Three States

Dr. Anna Howard Shaw Calls on Men to Aid in Senate Fight

Progress Is Described

Workers Tell How Michigan, South Dakota and Oklahoma Were Carried

Tribune Washington Bureau
WASHINGTON, Nov. 24.—It is time for men who favor woman suffrage to take up the fight. This is Dr. Anna Howard Shaw's belief, expressed this afternoon at the victory celebration at the National American Woman Suffrage Association headquarters over the success of suffrage in Oklahoma, South Dakota and Michigan.

"Every new democracy springing into being gives women equality and justice," said Dr. Shaw. "The United States has led the world in democracy too long for it to lag behind now. We women have worked hard and long. I wish that every man who believes in woman suffrage would come forth and work as the women have done."

Dr. Shaw told of the long years she had worked for suffrage. The campaign that bore fruit in the winning of the vote in Michigan was started by Susan B. Anthony in 1874. Dr. Shaw, a college girl at that time, was converted to the cause, to which she has devoted herself.

The winning of South Dakota, Oklahoma and Michigan brings the total of full suffrage states to fifteen. As an answer to one who says he favors suffrage by state action and believes women should be content with winning state by state, Dr. Shaw pointed out that our men who went to fight in France were not content with taking fifty yards or one trench. So, she maintained, the women of this country were not content with winning suffrage state by state.

"Just as our soldiers wanted the enemy's surrender, the suffragists want surrender," she said. "In the early days woman suffrage had few friends. I remember years ago when sixteen men in the Senate voted for the amendment and were known afterward as the 'sweet sixteen.' Now woman suffrage has nothing but friends everywhere except in the United States Senate."

"If in the Senate it had been a matter of winning only a majority, we would have won long ago. Now for the necessary two-thirds margin we lack only one vote. Personally I would just as soon win by one vote as by twenty."

Part of the celebration was devoted to an appreciation of the work for suffrage of Senator Shafroth, of Colorado, who was defeated in the last election by Mr. Phipps. Senator Shafroth made a short address and said that he believed the Federal amendment would pass before March 4.

Dr. Caroline Bartlett Crane, of Michigan, described the last campaign in Michigan and outlined some of the work that the women in that state expected to help put over with their newly acquired vote.

Senator Sterling sent a message expressing gratification at the passage of the citizenship amendment by which South Dakota enfranchised its women and disfranchised its aliens.

"It was the silent vote turned talkative that put Oklahoma women across," said Miss Marjorie Shuler, who campaigned in Oklahoma with her mother.

BADEN WOULD BE REPUBLIC

Grand Duke Renounces Power
National Assembly Called
Post 11/24/18
BASEL, Saturday, November 16.—The former Grand Duchy of Baden will come a republic, according to a dispatch from Karlsruhe. The government is in the hands of the Provisional Government, the Grand Duke has renounced his leadership. A National Assembly to fix definite the form of Government will meet on January 5, and will come within ten days after the election. The voting will be by secret ballot and both sexes twenty years of age and over will be eligible to vote.

LITTLE DISORDER IN AUSTRIA NOW

Formation of Republic Effected Without Much Violence—Old Empire Restrictions Abolished.

VIENNA, Nov. 18. (via Geneva, Associated Press).—One of the most notable political changes has been the granting of equal franchise to women. In the republic all done away with. No passports are required to travel nor must one have a residence permit.

Times 11/20-18

BERNE, Dec. 4.—A bill providing for election in January of a Constituent Assembly to convene March 1 has been published by the Provisional Government of German Austria, according to despatches received here to-day.

This body will be elected on the basis of one Deputy for each 48,000 inhabitants. Women will vote, also all males of 24 years old or over.

The Catholic party has issued a manifesto formally endorsing the republican form of government. This is regarded as a death blow to the Hapsburgs' hopes.

113 LOST WITH SCOUTSHIP

Within the Organization

Catching Up with Indiana Women

THE State Board of Election Commissioners of Indiana gave it as its opinion that any Indiana citizen of German, Austrian or Hungarian birth not having completed his naturalization papers should be disfranchised in the last election, or at any other time while our country was at war with the Central Powers.

The Woman's Franchise League of Indiana points out that two years ago, in the attempt to get a constitutional convention the suffragists urged the importance of amending the state constitution so that the vast population of alien citizens within the state must become naturalized American citizens before they were given the ballot. The suffragists realized the importance of adopting such a measure, and had the voters of the state been equally alive to the situation the state would now, in all probability, be safeguarded by a new constitution which would give them the protection now so necessary.

INDIANA women took a very active part in the working out of the reconstruction problems in that state at the Reconstruction Conference held at Indianapolis, recently. Governor James P. Goodrich was urged by resolution to appoint a commission of nine or more members to represent the chief interests and activities of the state. The speakers at the conference represented all the interests of the state; manufacturers, education, women's organizations, labor, chambers of commerce, religious bodies, banking and shipping interests and other bodies.

One of the active members of the conference was Mrs. Richard Edwards, state president of the Woman's Franchise League of Indiana, who in an address urged that the women and girls employed in war work be given the same consideration as that given the soldier in working out plans for the return to peace conditions.

"These girls are the enlisted women of America," said Mrs. Edwards. "They have shown the same patriotism, often giving up much better positions to serve the Government, and should have the greatest consideration now."

MRS. RICHARD E. EDWARDS, President of the Indiana Woman's Franchise League, who has been acting manager of the Peru Chair Works during the absence of her husband in the United States service, has the distinction of being the first woman who ever attended the national meeting of chair manufacturers. Mrs. Edwards attended the annual gathering of that body in New York in November,



MISS GRACE A. VAN HOESEN
President of the Grand Rapids Equal Franchise Club which played a prominent part in the suffrage campaign which put suffrage over the top in Michigan with 35,000 to spare.

took an active part in the convention proceedings, and won praise from the men members by her contributions to the discussion.

Wisconsin

THE absurdity of the political inequality that exists between the sexes in Wisconsin was cleverly brought home to the voters of Milwaukee on November 5. On that day, by courtesy of the local County Council of Defense, each voter, after casting his ballot, was presented with a tag—a badge of honor—which bore the legend, "An American Citizen. I have voted."

In sharp contrast to the voters' tags were the tags worn by thousands of Milwaukee women on that day, bearing the words, "I am an American. I would vote if I could." These tags were the happy inspiration of the Milwaukee County Woman Suffrage Association. Hearing, about four days prior to election, that the voters were to be presented with tags which would announce their Americanism and the fact that they had lived up to it by voting, the suffrage organization had 25,000 tags printed and distributed among the women, to be worn on election day. Industrial plants, business offices, theatres and other gathering places were visited in the distribution of the "I-would-vote-if-I-could" tags.

Nowhere did the little tags carry their message home with greater force than in the Fourth Ward where, at the request of the Council of Defense, the women worked all day long, passing out to the voters their badges of full citizenship, not forgetting to display their own "I-would-vote-if-I-could" tags.

Oklahoma

IN the recent report of the Oklahoma victory, the name of Miss Isabella Sanders was inadvertently omitted from the list of suffrage workers who whitened Oklahoma on the map. Miss Sanders made a record for effective service as the executive head of the suffrage headquarters in Oklahoma City and as Director of the Speakers' Bureau.

Ohio

THE present tax law has worked great hardships to Ohio cities and most of them are in debt and some of them in great financial distress, according to the Ohio Suffrage News Bulletin. East Cleveland with a population of 25,000 has paid up all bills and has \$3,000 left in its treasury. But then, of course, the women of East Cleveland have municipal suffrage.

The Woman Suffrage Party of Greater Cleveland celebrated the completion of its enrollment work on December 3. They have now 78,000 names of Cleveland women who believe that women should vote on exactly the same terms as men. Mrs. C. H. Simonds was chairman of the Committee. Mrs. Harris Cooley as ward leader, secured the largest number of names in her ward.

The Ohio wet organization has served notice that it will ask the Governor to enjoin the Secretary of State to refuse to transmit the national Prohibition Amendment to the Legislature for ratification. If this proves true the question of national amendments and state Legislatures will be considered by the courts.

Michigan

THAT the women of Michigan, who were granted full suffrage on November 5, do not intend to wait long before making their influence felt in state political affairs is indicated by newspaper reports telling of the proposed plan to choose a woman state superintendent of schools in the spring elections next year. As more than 85 per cent of the state's teachers are women—there being seven women teachers to every man—the suffragists believe that the state's school affairs should be conducted by a woman. Although the election is still some months away, politicians in both parties are paying considerable attention to the movement, as more than one-half million women will be entitled to participate in the next election.

"THE Urge of Equal Suffrage," a new suffrage campaign song, made its appearance during the Michigan campaign. It was written by Mrs. Faye Wilder of Morenci, Michigan, to the tune of "The Urge of Liberty Loan," also written by Mrs. Wilder.

What the States Are Doing

Iowa

THE Food Administrators of Iowa, representing the 99 counties of the state, when in conference at Des Moines, on November 26, unanimously passed a resolution urging the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment by the Senate and its ratification in the Iowa Legislature. On the same day the Women's Committee of the Iowa Division of the Council of National Defense also passed a similar resolution urging early action by the Senate. The vote was 114 to 1, every county in the state being represented at the Council Meeting.

Miss Anna B. Lawther, President of the Iowa Equal Suffrage Association in a letter of appreciation to Honorable J. F. Deems, head of the United States Food Administration for Iowa said in part:

"The endorsement of the Iowa Food Administrators is especially valuable, for all these men have had experience in working with the women of ninety-nine counties in carrying out the plans of the Food Administration and I have no doubt they are more than willing that women shall take an active part in the government of our cities, state and nation."

To Mrs. Francis Whitley, Chairman of the Woman's Committee of the I. D. C. N. D., Miss Lawther, in expressing the appreciation of the Iowa Equal Suffrage Association, wrote:

"It is our firm belief that in any representative body of women in any part of the state the vote would stand in the ratio of 114 to 1 in favor of such a resolution. You no doubt are as pleased as we are that the Food Administration at their meeting the same afternoon passed a similar resolution. These men from ninety-nine counties expressed their appreciation of the co-operation and work of the women of Iowa, and no doubt wish to enfranchise the women of our state so that Iowa may be as progressive as New York, Michigan, and thirteen other free states."

Massachusetts

MASSACHUSETTS suffragists rejoiced over the unequivocal declaration for equal suffrage contained in the Democratic platform adopted at Worcester. The plank read, "The women of the United States are entitled to political equality with men. Their sacrifice has pressed home better than ever their just claims, never greater than now, and while the suffrage amendment to the Federal Constitution is temporarily defeated, we urge its adoption upon the Congress of the United States." Straight-flung words and few, but they put the Democratic party of Massachusetts in line with the progressive spirit of the time.



MRS. DAVID A. WARNER

As Chairman of Organization for Grand Rapids Mrs. Warner was an important factor in the success of the Michigan campaign

Minnesota

THE Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association has sent out its call to the thirty-seventh annual convention of that organization to be held at Indianapolis December 12th to 14th at the Hotel Radisson. The Call, which is signed by Mrs. Andreas Ueland, State President, and her board says, in part:

"Women will be partners with men in the reconstruction as they have been in the sorrows and labors that are past. They will need mightily the tool—the ballot—that will make their aims and opinions effective, that will give power to the viewpoint of mothers and teachers and industrial workers. The end of the long road of our suffrage association is in sight. Our cause is gaining momentum day by day. As with the end of the great war, our victory, when it comes, will come suddenly."

"The Federal Suffrage Amendment is pending in the United States Senate, having been passed by a two-thirds vote in the House of Representatives. The recent elections indicate the final passage of the amendment in Congress before many months. We must see to it that our Minnesota Legislature does its share in helping to enfranchise the women of the country by duly ratifying the amendment."

Virginia

THE women of Virginia are appealing to Senators Martin and Swanson to reconsider their recent vote on woman suffrage and to vote in favor of the Federal Amendment.

At a recent meeting of the Suffrage League of Richmond, a resolution to this effect was passed unanimously, the resolution being proposed jointly by Mrs. B. B. Valentine, President of the State Suffrage League and also of the City League and Mrs. G. Harvey Clarke, chairman of political study and research. The resolution reads:

"WHEREAS, The greatest war in history, just brought to a successful conclusion, vindicates the principles of human liberty for which it was fought, and,

"WHEREAS, This hour of triumph ushers in a new order wherein is founded 'a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself free,' and,

"WHEREAS, In this future concert of peoples not only are the victorious Allies of America truly free, in that they have freed their women, or stand pledged to do so, but even the defeated nations are embodying woman suffrage in their new constitutions, THEREFORE, BE IT

"Resolved, That the Equal Suffrage League of Richmond, rejoicing in the victory of the great principles of democracy, and hoping for its extension at home, respectfully requests Senator Thomas S. Martin and Senator Claude A. Swanson, of Virginia, to reconsider their recent vote on woman suffrage, and to vote to submit to the several states the amendment to the Constitution enfranchising the women of the United States of America."

"The women of Virginia trust that you will thus assist in removing them from the humiliating position of being less politically free than will be the women of the defeated countries when peace is established."

EDITH CLARK COWLES.

Texas

THE proposition to give the women of the Southern Methodist Church equal laity rights with the men was adopted at the North Texas Conference by a vote 151 to 1, when that body was in session at Dallas in November. This was the proposition handed down by the last general conference to be acted upon by the various annual conferences. If the measure receives a two-thirds majority in all subordinate conferences it will give the women the right to hold any lay office and to act as delegates to the district and general conferences. The women of Dallas and North Texas warmly supported the measure.

Women in Industry

Shall Women Go Back Home?

By James M. Lynch

(Former President International Typographical Union; New York State Industrial Commissioner)

WE may expect many reconstruction programs. Some so far promulgated are more or less humorous. One plank coming to my notice demands that "the same patriotic appeals which were responsible for the entry of so many women into industry during the period of the war should be continued after the war to induce women workers to vacate positions accepted during the war emergency." If any one with authority and responsibility should make such a "patriotic appeal," the answer from women wage earners would be obvious and emphatic.

Most certainly I do not desire that women shall abandon their new place in industry. Rather should they remain, and if eventually there is an excess of workers the remedy lies in a reduction of hours.

Women in industry should be accorded fair wages and decent conditions, and men should assist in establishing these standards. As a prominent woman recently stated in a newspaper interview:

"It is time to reestablish wages on the basis of occupation and not on the basis of sex."

If women are to be opposed simply because they work, even though in so doing they have made recent incursion into the industries hitherto occupied by men, they will become through resentment a distinct menace to enlightened industrial standards.

On the other hand, if they are welcomed and assisted they will be a most powerful and forceful asset in the crusade for better and still better conditions of labor and citizenship.

Labor's crusade must not degenerate into a struggle for the job but must continually rest on the higher plane of demand for a greater share of the product.

In this demand men are concerned; so are women.

THE Massachusetts minimum wage commission has announced a minimum wage scale for women and girls employed in wholesale millinery establishments to be effective in January. The scale provides for a weekly rate of \$11 for experienced employees and \$6 to \$9 for learners and apprentices, according to the length of employment.

A resolution urging higher pay for women employes of retail stores generally adopted by the Retail Store Wage Board recommends that the minimum wage for experienced workers, nineteen years of age and over, be increased to at least \$10, and that rates for other workers range from \$6 to \$8.50.



TRYING TO CARRY WATER ON BOTH SHOULDERS

The Output

FROM the Association's investigations," says the *Monthly Labor Review*, "conducted in private establishments, it appeared that in many cases the output of women entering industry compared favorably from the first with that of the men whom they replaced. The difference appears where no change in method of operation has been adopted, as well as in processes where subdivision of labor has been introduced. One instance is reported from an engineering shop in Glasgow, in which a skilled man, employed on copper-band cutting, cut on an average 75 bands a day. Under the dilution scheme his daughter was put in his place, receiving from her father such training as was necessary. In a short time she was cutting 137 bands a day. In the tailoring trade in Leeds, however, 14 out of 21 employers reported that the output of the women was less than that of the men they had replaced; of these, two stated that the output was considerably less, and a third that it was two-thirds that of a man. Many of the firms attributed the diminished output to lack of training, and said that no doubt it would increase in time."

"LABOR turnover" is the come and go of workers, the change of employes within a given time, which has always been an efficiency problem of industry. Three Government agencies, says the U. S. Employment Service Bulletin, are trying to reduce this in the case of the war work of women, to a minimum. The Housing Bureau is providing decent living accommodations; the Women in Industry Division is applying standards of working conditions, and the Employment Service is seeing that women are placed only in work for which they are fitted and which is fitted to them.

Personal

ONE of the two stars in the service flag of Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout, president of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, has turned to gold. Three days after the armistice was signed word was received that her nephew and adopted son, Captain George Wilbur Sackett, had been killed in action October 15th.

AMONG the able women who have come to America from other countries that they might study present-day conditions as related to the world war, is Miss Marjorie Collisson of Sydney, Australia. Since her graduation from the University of Sydney in 1916, where she took first-class honors in history, Miss Collisson has been on the lecture platform and engaged in organization work for the Workers' Education Association. In view of the economic changes that must follow the war Miss Collisson felt the need of further research work regarding present-day problems in America and elsewhere. As a public speaker and social worker she has shown unusual ability, and the success of the movement which was started in New South Wales to organize university classes among the women in factories and workshops is attributable largely to the personal work of Miss Collisson. A career of distinction in social and educational movements is predicted for this very interesting lecturer, who is to spend some time in this country.

Winifred Fairfax Warder Memorial

IN a recent issue the *Woman Citizen* published a communication from Mrs. Catherine Waugh McCulloch, of the Suffrage Amendment Alliance, of Illinois, which has in hand the raising of a fund of \$2,000 for a memorial to Winifred Fairfax Warder, one of the Engineer Corps of the Gas Unit of the Women's Oversea Hospitals, U. S. A. Miss Warder lost her life from pneumonia and is buried in the American Military Cemetery in Bordeaux.

Mrs. McCulloch asks the aid of suffragists in raising this memorial fund.

* * * *

NO more fitting memorial could be raised to the memory of Miss Winifred Fairfax Warder, of Illinois, who died shortly after landing in France last month, than the proposal of the Illinois Suffrage Amendment Alliance to raise a fund of \$2,000 in recognition of her civic and philanthropic work for years past and of the work she had entered upon for stricken France.

* ANNA WINNER ROGERS,
Treasurer of the National American
Woman Suffrage Association.

FOES

By MARY JOHNSTON

THE *New York Times* says: "This novel by Mary Johnston is like a beautifully formed crystal, opalescent with many colors. It glows with the miraculous tints of June, glazed with the dour gloom of December, dappled like its variegated landscapes with sun and shadow. . . . The ending is worthy the end of the book, crowns it. It is a finely conceived story, taut with deep feeling, and strung with pearls of price."

This is the story of two men—David and Jonathan, people called them—such was the beauty of their friendship. And then came the glorious Scotch Rebellion of the olden days. On that battlefield, in the purple mist of the Scottish moors, these two men came suddenly face to face, hatred, bitter and lasting, kindling between them—hatred where there had been only devotion and friendship. \$1.50

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Bibliographical

"Training Women for War Work" is a bibliography prepared for the *Monthly Labor Review* by Mrs. V. B. Turner. It does not aim to cover the whole field, but gives some of the main sources in France, Great Britain, and the United States, with brief notes as to the substance of the various reports.

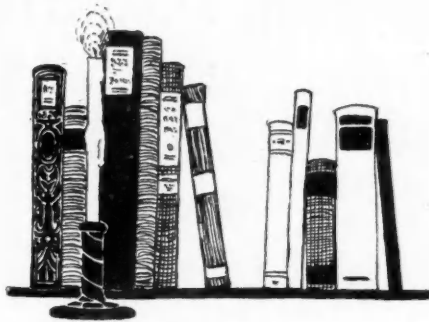
Famous Ghost Stories

Edited by J. WALKER McSPADDEN. With frontispiece. 12mo, flexible cloth, 312 pages, net, \$1.25. Crowell & Co.

TO turn from the breathless horrors of a modern ghost-maker, such as Montague James (*Ghost Stories of an Antiquary*), told without mannerism, with a blunt and matter-of-fact simplicity that lets the terror speak for itself, to this little collection of tales of a former generation, is like stepping from a cold plunge into a tepid bath. Nevertheless, the collection is interesting as a whole, because it affords a view of the older technique of terror, which consisted in preparing the mind of the reader to be horror-struck, rather than creating a horror which would strike of itself.

The range of authors runs from De Foe to Dickens, with Kipling as the contemporary note. Mrs. Gaskell's "Nurse's Tale" and Fitz James O'Brien's "Which Was It?" are among the best. To Lytton's "Haunters and Haunted," which appears to the lay reader an unnatural and unconvincing tale, with no less than two explanations, one physical, one psychical, of the same set of ghostly phenomena, there attaches a special interest, since it is regarded by such modern masters of the morbid as James and Blackwood as the very last word in terror and suspense.

The Book Stall



They Also Serve

TO the indefatigable women whose hands are filled with work for the war sufferers, Mrs. De Lancey Nicoll's "*Knitting and Sewing*" (George H. Doran Co.) offers valuable suggestions.

Her husband's preface tells of the long apprenticeship the author has had in every form of Allied war relief. In 1914 she began, says Mr. Nicoll, a course in nursing and completed it by April, 1915.

In July of that year she went abroad for service in England, but was knocked down by an automobile. Ever since she has lived in London and has been in bed for a large part of her time and is now only on crutches.

During her long convalescence she devoted herself to knitting and sewing, and has collected these rules for every form of garment needed at the front.

All profits from the sale of the book accrue to the American Red Cross.

The Joys of Being a Woman

WINIFRED KIRKLAND'S *The Joys of Being a Woman* (Houghton Mifflin & Co.) is a prattling little book, by one supremely satisfied with her state and who believes that woman is vastly the superior of man and has reason to be thankful for that fact. She takes the suffrage movement and all modern movements tending toward equality as jokes, believing that the status of woman needs no fundamental changing. Nevertheless, the book is written with a certain whimsical humor and is easy reading for an idle—be it said an exceedingly idle—hour.

The Survey

FOR comprehensive information about reconstruction no woman who believes that women should have an intelligent and responsible part in remaking the world can afford to be without the *Survey*. Since the day when peace was declared this magazine has laid open its pages to news of conferences, social and economic reconstruction, publishing discussions,

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Chicago Tribune:—"The Glorious Hope is witty and daring."

Chicago News:—"The Glorious Hope is the most forceful piece of fine writing that I have encountered this autumn."

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programs and platforms in full. The completeness of its reports promises to make its issues for the next six months the recognized source book on this subject.

Though the most spectacular, this is not the first work the *Survey* has done in the field of social effort. Starting in 1898 as a tiny sheet (*Charities and the Commons*) for circulation among charity workers, it changed its name to the *Survey* in 1909, in taking over the working force who had put out the volumes of the unique and impressive study of social and industrial conditions in Pittsburgh.

Since then it has become the clearing house for information on all movements for social betterment, whether conservative or radical.

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Illinois

THE women of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association have centered their efforts on the Federal Suffrage Amendment and on the Constitutional Convention, the latter being practically the only state method through which full suffrage may be secured in Illinois.

They are rejoicing now over the victory at the polls November 5th of the proposition to call a Constitutional Convention in their state. For two years the members of this Association have worked unceasingly for this measure and their efforts continued up to the hour of closing the polls. Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout, state president; Mrs. Albert H. Schweizer, president of the Chicago Political Equality League, and Mrs. J. W. McGraw, state legislative chairman, made a tour of a majority of the precincts in Chicago, and found that in many polling places all the judges and the clerks of election were women. Chicago's chief clerk of election, Dennis Egan, has stated that as a rule he has found the work of the women as election judges and clerks more accurate than that of the men.

Kansas

MRS. MINNIE JOHNSON GRINSTEAD, of Liberal, Kans., has the honor to be the first woman elected to the Kansas Legislature, having received a flattering vote at the polls on November 5. Mrs. Grinstead has done valiant service in suffrage campaigns and in the cause of temperance. She is also a minister of the Baptist faith.

California

CALIFORNIA is laying claim to the youngest woman Legislator ever elected. According to that state, Miss Esto Broughton, who has just passed her 26th milestone, has the right to claim this distinction. Miss Broughton is a practicing attorney in Modesto.

All Together

ONE woman was elected a state Senator this year and 21 women were elected to state Assemblies.

Texas

TEXAS has taken another forward step in its recognition of women by appointing Mrs. Thomas E. Kennedy to serve as deputy sheriff of Dallas County. The general program of work which Mrs. Kennedy is expected to follow covers the following points:

Investigate, advise, and co-operate with the officials in their handling of cases of interned women; general censorship of conduct in all the public amusement places; investigating the enforcement of such laws as the anti-cigarette, compulsory education and laws effecting the youths of the city; general supervision of working conditions of youths and girls.

Clearing House

A SURVEY of polling places is being made by the New York City Woman Suffrage Party, based upon reports sent in to Headquarters by leaders who toured their districts on election day or whose captains inspected the polling places. This is in keeping with the action taken by the City Party, which pledged itself as an organization to secure clean and commodious polling places.

The City Suffrage Party has outlined a program for the coming months which includes the forming of a Congressional Committee to work for the passage of the Federal Amendment, its ratification by the New York State Legislature and the assistance of other states less strong.

Another line of work will include the organization of a Legislative Committee to work in co-operation with other societies in introducing bills, which will further the cause of women and children and to help form public opinion in favor of any good bills introduced. A Bureau of Political History will be established which will furnish information about candidates, political parties and allied subjects to the women voters. A close watch will be kept and reports made by district organizations as to the way city affairs are handled in the various assembly districts.

Pennsylvania

THE extension of suffrage to the women of Pennsylvania is presaged by the recent entrance of women into a quasi-political activity, that of governmental efficiency. At any rate the action of the board of trustees of the Bureau of Municipal Research of Philadelphia in electing four women to their board is one straw which shows the way the wind of popular opinion is blowing.

The new members of this board are all active in civic welfare, and their presence will undoubtedly strengthen its movement for efficiency and democracy in municipal government at a time when its importance was never greater or more clearly seen.

Miss Florence Sibley, active in the Association for Women Workers and the Pennsylvania School for Social Workers, now with the American Red Cross in France, is one of these women.

Mrs. George McFadden, a member of the National Board of the War Work Council of the Y. W. C. A., a member of the board of directors of the U. S. Homes Registration Service and chairman of the Commission on Training Camp Activities, is another.

Miss Mary H. Ingham, a Bryn Mawr College graduate, who is chairman of the National Woman's Party for Pennsylvania, is a third. She has been actively interested in housing and public utility questions for some years.

The remaining member is Dr. Martha Tracy, a graduate of Bryn Mawr College, Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania and University of Pennsylvania. Dr. Tracy is now dean of the Woman's Medical College.

Ohio

THE Ohio Women's Newspaper Association at its recent meeting passed a resolution urging Senator Pomerene to vote for the Federal Amendment when it comes before the Senate. A similar resolution was passed at the Cleveland Victory Luncheon.

HOTEL IROQUOIS

MINA E. FRITZ,
President and Treasurer

West 44th St., N. Y.

Arizona

THE Governor of Arizona has conferred a signal recognition upon the women of that state by the appointment of Mrs. Anne E. Sullivan Ladd as a member of the Commission of State Institutions. The following communication from Mrs. Pauline I. Colodny, of Phoenix, carries the story:

"An appointment that cannot fail to bring a glow of pride to women everywhere, on the theory that 'What blesses one blesses all,' is the appointment of Mrs. Anne E. Sullivan Ladd to succeed her husband, who died recently, as member of the Commission of State Institutions, by Governor G. W. P. Hunt, of Arizona.

"The commission is second in importance and power only to the office of Governor. It took a man of Governor Hunt's calibre, a man who has been a life-long friend of woman suffrage, a man who has devoted his public career to the emancipation of mankind to make this momentous appointment.

"This is the highest recognition accorded a woman by Governor Hunt since he assumed the gubernatorial chair. Numerous other women have been appointed to various state offices, members of the Board of Regents and to the State Board of Education, but none to a position of such importance.

"The commission of state institutions is directly in charge of the management of all state institutions, such as the Pioneer Home at Prescott, the State Asylum in Phoenix, the State Prison at Florence, the State Industrial School at Fort Grant, the two normal schools, the University of Arizona and other institutions. All purchasing for these institutions is done by members of the commission, and improvement work on all structures is also guided by this commission. As a member of this commission, Mrs. Ladd will have greater powers than ever before vested in a woman in this state.

"Mrs. Ladd is the wife of the late Lerby A. Ladd, who was for many years Secretary to Governor Hunt, and for the past year Chairman of the Commission of State Institutions. Mr. and Mrs. Ladd enjoyed that type of home life where there is but one interest and that a common one. Her knowledge of the needs and conditions of the various institutions gathered first hand when making trips with her husband over the state and from their talks together made her the logical appointee. The only regret her friends have is that her husband's term of office expires January 1, 1919, and it is an open question as to whether the new Governor will have the courage to continue a woman in this high office."

TWO women were elected to the office of Justice of the Peace in Seattle, Wash., on November 5th.

Nevada

AS the *Woman Citizen* may want some of the data enclosed, I submit the following: Nevada went between four and five thousand over the top for "Dry." Nevada reelected Governor Emmitt D. Boyle. Also reelected Senator Henderson, defeating Congressman E. E. Roberts and Anne Martin. Chas. R. Evans was elected to Congress. Dry Legislature.

The Reno W. C. T. U. created a powerful woman's dry machine for the late campaign by asking every woman's club, organization and even the churches to cooperate with us for "Nevada Dry." We asked them to send three representatives to us at headquarters to form a Woman's Dry Campaign Committee. This effort met with results far beyond our greatest expectation.

Soon we had a woman's committee honeycombing the city for the dry woman's vote. They were urged to register, and literature was given out freely. On election day a captain was placed at every poll with six or eight helpers. Every vote was checked by card system. A paid challenger was placed at the worst places besides. When the woman's vote got slow, autos were used to bring them down near the polls.

Everybody seemed to be determined to help make Nevada dry. Teachers from the public schools were at every poll. Boys and girls on roller skates circled the precincts giving out the dry buttons, dry tops, and No. 1 dry petition card. Even babies, two and three years old, begged to help, and, although it was a raw, cold day, mothers bundled up their little ones and let them peddle our dry cards two and fro between the marks at the polls—and we feel sure their baby voices asking everybody to "vote dry" (wets alike) won many votes.

The Reno W. C. T. U. has planned for a big jubilee and banquet for its members to be given on Dec. 3, in which to celebrate the dry victory, the national victory and the victory that Reno voted too for dry.

Reno, Nevada. BESSIE R. EICHELBERGER,
Chairman Suffrage Dept. Reno W. C. T. U.

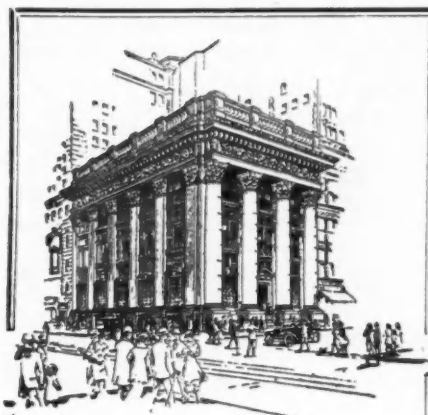
P. S.—The "wets" conceded the women put up the best organized campaign ever seen by them.

B. R. E.

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Women Before the Law.

THE case of *Rex vs. Lizzie Cyr* (alias Waters) (Supreme Court of Alberta, Canada, Appellate Division), is given in full in the *Women Lawyers' Journal*. It is both interesting in itself and interesting for the historical precedents it quotes. Lizzie Cyr was convicted of vagrancy by Alice J. Jamieson, a police magistrate in the city of Calgary. The decision was attacked on the ground that as a woman Mrs. Jamieson was "incompetent and incapable" of holding her appointment as magistrate. The decision sustains the appointment, though it is provided for by no specific law of Alberta. It quotes noble ladies and ladies of lesser degree who have served in this or some other public office without specific law to cover their case.

Queen Eleanor, wife of Henry III., performed the duties, both judicial and ministerial, of Lord Chancellor. Anne, Countess of Pembroke, held the office of hereditary sheriff, sitting at the assizes with the judges on the bench.

"Another woman," says the decision, "is shown by the reports to have rendered an award as arbitrator at an early day, and as her competency does not seem to have been questioned there is nothing to show that this was deemed extraordinary. Other offices held by women are described in various cases as keeper of prison, keeper of workhouse, governor of workhouse, custodian of castle, overseer of the

poor, sexton of the parish, forester, commissioner of sewers, constable of England, great chamberlain of England and marshal of the court of King's Bench.

"The simplest statement of the common-law situation is that while women did not generally hold office, and the question of their competency was not well settled, they did in fact hold various offices, some of which were of great importance; that some, but not all, of these were hereditary and the duties thereof were often performed by deputy; and that in every instance in which a woman's rights to any office was questioned prior to the present generation she was held to be competent, although the court often took occasion to say that women were not competent to hold all offices.

"In addition to the fact that some of the offices they held were hereditary, and that they sometimes exercised their functions by deputy, it is doubtless true that some of the offices were somewhat obscure, and were exercised, in the words of Lord Esher, 'in a remote part of the country where nobody else would have been found who could exercise them.' In view of all these facts the conclusion as to the common law of the subject is that women did not generally hold office, and that in every contest of a woman's right to any particular office her right was sustained. The authorities on the subject which are directly against women are all very recent, although the recent authorities are by no means unanimous against them, and there is a marked tendency in modern statutes to enlarge the rights of women in this respect."

Women Police

THE District of Columbia may not have a vote, but it has a woman assistant Police Commissioner. In addition, Major Pullman has appointed a woman, Mrs. Marion Spingarn, as director of the woman's work in the department.

Mrs. Spingarn is the wife of an army officer, Captain Arthur B. Spingarn of the Surgeon General's office. She was formerly connected with the Fosdick Committee in investigation of army cantonments. For eight years she was connected with the New York Probation and Protective Association, serving as its director for five years. Previous to that time she was doing settlement work. Under her appointment, Mrs. Spingarn will have charge of investigations by woman employees of the police department and of various lines of welfare work.

With the appointment of Mrs. Spingarn as director of women's work, Major Pullman intimated that by the first of next year more than two score women would be added to the department.

The division of women's work is a department just created. The additional female employees of the police department will be appointed under this division.

Overseas Hospitals

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Kentucky Equal Rights Association.....	\$45.00
Proceeds Entertainment, Greenwich, Conn.....	755.00
L. L. Kimball.....	2.00
Pennsylvania Woman Suffrage Association.....	2,146.39
Iowa Equal Suffrage Association.....	82.15
Mrs. E. H. Koch.....	100.00
Mrs. J. F. Jersey.....	100.00
Woman's Franchise League, Indiana.....	10.73
City Club, Glen Cove, N. Y.....	25.00
1st A. D. Monroe Co., N. Y.....	3.00
Woman Suffrage Party (Lackawanna Co.), Pennsylvania.....	3,030.00
Mrs. Samuel Corle.....	4.14
A friend—U. S. Navy.....	90.00
Louise M. Keese.....	10.00
War Chest Campaign, Laredo, Texas.....	21.75
Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association.....	1,500.00
National Congressional Committee.....	45.75
Equal Franchise League, District of Columbia.....	351.36
Kansas Equal Suffrage Association.....	20.00
V. J. D. Kearney.....	212.51
New Jersey Woman Suffrage Association.....	5.00
Woman's Franchise League, Indiana.....	21.50
South Carolina Equal Suffrage League.....	50.00
Wisconsin Woman Suffrage Association.....	200.00
Harold Karp.....	1,465.85
Helen L. Koch.....	2.06
North Carolina Equal Suffrage League.....	5.00
Public School Children, No. 3, Bronx.....	32.00
Allegheny County W. S. Party.....	10.00
Katharine T. Moore.....	50.00
Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association.....	100.00
Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association.....	1,500.00
	3,167.04
	\$15,086.23

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

I am glad to give you a full and final account of our Benefit day for the Women's Oversea Hospitals. Our W. S. P. had been busy for a year in Red Cross work till in the summer of 1918 our attention was called to the fact that the National W. S. Association was doing a "stunt" all by itself—that is, they had organized and sent to France two hospitals with doctors and nurses all equipped and were sending a third specially for gas patients—this appealed to us, but there were so many drives that the auspicious time did not arrive till September 14th, when, having obtained the necessary permit, the tags and the workers, we carried on a most successful tag day—receiving in gross \$3,851.97

The expenses for the day were..... 287.78

Net receipts..... \$3,564.19

We sent Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers..... \$3,000.00

To Mrs. R. K. Beach for State Assessment..... 328.11

\$3,328.11

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Bought muslin for sheets and pillow slips—paid for box and express to New York..... 206.08

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which we sent to Mrs. Rogers. We also sent a large knitted afghan.

Although our offering was late we still hope that it will all be used for the unfortunate soldiers in France. Respectfully submitted,

(Mrs.) JULIA A. SEARS,

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¶ All the way along the main object has been to furnish a medium of authoritative political information from the suffrage viewpoint at a nominal cost to the subscriber.

¶ It seems to be generally conceded that this object has been attained.

Meantime

¶ The price of all items of manufacture has soared unbelievably—10%—25%—35%—50%—and still mounting!

¶ The price of the *Woman Citizen* must mount likewise.

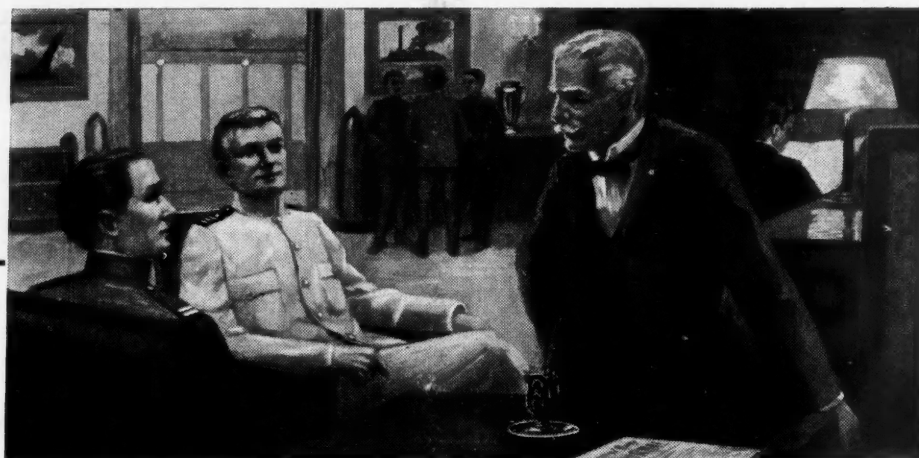
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The Last Word About the War

And How Colonel Sibley Was Helped to Write It

SCENE: (Army and Navy Club, New York, where Commander Ellsworth, U. S. N., and Captain Trowbridge, U. S. A., are having a conference and an after-dinner cigar in the Club Library and are joined by Colonel Sibley, U. S. A., retired)

The Colonel: Well, comrades, I win!

The Commander: Been fighting again, Colonel? Who says you're retired?

Colonel: I was retired, but now I'm in action again or soon will be, and this time with the pen instead of the sword.

Captain: How's that?

Colonel (Drawing closer to the table and glancing around): Well, comrades, I don't mind telling you in confidence that I just signed up with the Editor-in-Chief of a big magazine (name censored for the present) to write a series of articles on the Great War.

Commander: Tell us about it.

Colonel: Well, it's going to be a long campaign. The Editor, whom I have just left, wants an extended series of articles, to begin with an exhaustive survey of the causes which led up to the War.

Captain: The causes? All of them? Well, you've sure got your work laid out for you.

Commander: I should say you had.

Colonel: The Editor feels that way

himself. He's now concerned chiefly about what has happened up-to-date and the authority upon which my statements will be based. The Editor's a big gun in the business, you know, and his rivals will be getting his range if he exposes himself. He wants to secure a strategic position so that he can't be successfully attacked on anything he prints.

Captain: Well, what did you suggest?

Colonel: I'll tell you. While he was talking I was thinking and I finally told him that what he wanted as a reserve-force was some late general reference work of recognized reliability that he could fall back on. "That's it," he said, and then asked: "Which one?"

Commander (Turning his head and glancing at a set of The New International Encyclopaedia in its special case): I'll bet I can tell which one you named.

Captain (Glancing at the set): Ours, of course.

Colonel: You're both good guessers. Of course I named The New

International and the Editor nodded his head and said: "That's the very work I had in mind, not only as an authority on the causes of the War and what has already happened, but when peace comes I hear the publishers are to bring the war-volume down to date at once and are to send it to all subscribers in exchange for the war-volume now in their possession so they'll know the last word about the conflict."

Commander: Well, that settled it, I suppose.

Colonel: Yes, I told the Editor that the selection of The New International as our authority simplified the problem and he added that it not only simplified the articles, but solidified them and made them so authoritative that he would be able to follow out with safety his plan to publish the series of articles in book form.

W.C.
914

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Entered as second class matter, June 13, 1917, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

THE WOMAN CITIZEN

Founded June 2, 1917

Published every Saturday by

THE WOMAN CITIZEN CORPORATION
at 171 Madison Avenue, New York

Ten cents a copy; yearly subscription (52 numbers), \$1.00. Postage to foreign countries fifty cents extra. Entered at the New York Post Office as Second Class matter, under the act of March 3, 1879. Copyright, 1918, by The Woman Citizen Corporation.

VOL. III DECEMBER 21, 1918 No. 30

PUBLISHED by the *Woman Citizen* Corporation, in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

The directors of the Corporation are Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, and Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore.

Alice Stone Blackwell is a special contributing editor.

Rose Young is the editor-in-chief.

Mary Ogden White, Mary Sumner Boyd, and Rose Lawless Geyer are associate editors.

Our

"NOW that we have won in Oklahoma, and I am rejoicing every day over the victory, I am anxious to put the *Woman Citizen* in the hands of every woman possible. I feel it will help them to become better citizens and educate them up to a point that will enable them to vote intelligently," writes Mrs. Lucy B. Ford, of Beaver, Okla.

It is gratifying to know that the *Woman Citizen* had a part in the campaign victories and equally gratifying to note the eagerness with which the new citizens turn to their magazine for aid in meeting their responsibilities.

From Mrs. Sarah W. Georges, of Ypsilanti, Mich., we read: "with special appreciation of the cheer and strength which the *Woman Citizen* gave us in our recent successful campaign; also to express our admiration for Miss Alice Stone Blackwell for her mental alertness and unflinching courage."

California adds its testimony in a letter from Mrs. Minnie Reed, of Los Angeles: "I wish I could send you ten subscriptions instead of one, but there have been so many calls for War Work of various kinds. I find the *Citizen* indispensable, however, and always pass it on to several other people who need the message."

Mrs. Ella Hawley Crossett, of Warsaw, New York, a former president of the State Woman Suffrage Party, writes with enthusiasm: "I would not know how to get on without the paper as it has been a most welcome visitor for over twenty-five years. Surely we will get the Susan B. Anthony Amendment passed by the Senate soon."

"I could not get along without your excellent paper," is the word from Mrs. Charles S. Hoffman, of Enterprise, Kansas, who was one of the leaders in the War Fund drive in that State.

"The *Woman Citizen* is eagerly read and re-read by an old subscriber of the '*Woman's Journal*,'" writes Mrs. M. Townsend Carr, of Janesville, Wisconsin. "Hearing many times, and many times being on the platform with Susan B. Anthony, the *Woman Citizen* comes to me as the 'Star of the East,' telling the glad news of added freedom and Liberty, Equity and Justice for woman."

A Merry Christmas to all!

ROSE LAWLESS GEYER,
Nat'l Circulation Chrm.

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Story

Circulation Contest

1. A pledge will constitute an entry.
2. No entries will be accepted after December 1, 1918.
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4. In case of a tie for any one premium, the prize will be awarded to each qualifying contestant.
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To the Local Club that sends in the highest number over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the County Association into the State Association, and thence to the *Woman Citizen*.

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December 7th

1. Iowa
2. South Dakota
3. Georgia
4. Indiana
5. Michigan
6. Minnesota
7. New Jersey
8. Wisconsin
9. Massachusetts
10. Virginia
11. New York
12. Ohio
13. New Hampshire
14. Alabama—Maryland
15. Missouri
16. Texas
17. Pennsylvania
18. Maine
19. Kentucky—West Virginia
20. Tennessee
21. Louisiana
22. Connecticut
23. South Carolina
24. Arkansas
25. North Dakota
26. Washington, D. C.
27. Rhode Island
28. Illinois
29. Nebraska—Oklahoma
30. Washington—Mississippi
31. Kansas
32. North Carolina
33. Vermont—Florida

December 14th

1. Iowa
2. South Dakota
3. Georgia
4. Indiana
5. Michigan
6. Minnesota
7. New Jersey
8. Wisconsin
9. Massachusetts
10. Virginia
11. New York
12. Ohio
13. Maryland
14. New Hampshire
15. Alabama
16. Missouri
17. Texas
18. Pennsylvania
19. West Virginia
20. Maine
21. Kentucky
22. Tennessee
23. Louisiana
24. Connecticut
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26. Arkansas
27. North Dakota
28. Washington, D. C.
29. Rhode Island
30. Illinois
31. Nebraska, Oklahoma
32. Washington, Mississippi, Florida
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The Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

A Journal of Democracy

December 21, 1918

"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

The Word from Washington

WILL the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment carry by the vote of a southern Democrat or a northern Republican? According to leaders of the National American Woman Suffrage Association the amendment will pass this session. All Washington and the country knows one more vote is needed to get the amendment through the Senate. From which party will the vote come?

Last week gossip headed strongly toward a northern Republican. Today the odds are in favor of a southern Democrat. The non-partisan congressional committee of the National Suffrage Association, through its chairman, Mrs. Maud Wood Park, recently expressed the belief that it was not at all unlikely that both parties would give the victory and that the amendment would carry, not by one vote, but by two, one Republican and one Democrat.

Certain it is that both parties realize the national importance to themselves of the vote on the amendment. With the three new states which enfranchised their women at this last election there are now fifteen states in which women have full suffrage with men: Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, Michigan, Montana, Nevada, New York, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Dakota, Utah, Washington and Wyoming. These have a total of 7,303,288 women voters, with 137 members in the Electoral College. Four states, Illinois, Nebraska, North Dakota, Rhode Island, allow women to vote for presidential electors. Their total of women voters is 2,358,996, and they have 47 members in the College. Two states, Texas and Arkansas, allow women to vote in the primaries. Their total of women voters is 1,354,680, with 29 members in the College. Vermont permits women to vote in all municipal elections, its number being 128,328. In the 22 states the total number of women voters is 11,145,292. That is a large number of voters to be watching the stand of 96 Senators, and, with the number of women seeking enfranchisement also watching the stand of the Senators, is sufficient to be a deciding factor in the 1920 national elections.

What with party expediency, and suffrage urging from home, the Senators opposed to the amendment are having a hard time these weeks. One southern Senator, heretofore opposed to the amendment, returned a few days ago from a visit home and frankly said that he found the suffrage sentiment much increased in his state, so much so that he predicted the success of a state amendment by next year. In fact he goes far enough to suggest that a state amendment would have his vote. Like other members of the southern states-rights group he declares his attitude toward the Federal Amendment remains opposed.

The Senators surely are giving the amendment more consideration than usual, which strengthens the rumor that a vote may be expected soon. At National Suffrage Association headquarters the work goes briskly on and the workers say that the Federal Amendment heads their individual lists of Christmas remembrances which they confidently expect to be forthcoming.

A BILL extending the rights of homesteaders, which Senator Jones of New Mexico recently introduced in the United States Senate, is expected to help provide for the returning soldiers and sailors, as many of them are potential homesteaders. Under the existing law no more than one section of land can be taken up as a homestead. Senator Jones points out that in many sections of the country this is not sufficient area for the homesteaders to make a living. Senate bill (S. 5069) would extend the rights of stock-raising homesteaders to lease additional areas of land during the period when they are complying with the homestead law, and when the homesteader has secured title to his homestead he can have an option to purchase the land leased.

The Senate has also passed a bill to extend the use of the special fund provided by the Government for vocational education for injured soldiers in the vocational rehabilitation act. The scope of the fund, which was originally intended to be used entirely in educational work, has been enlarged to permit the Federal Board for Vocational Education to accept private gifts for specific purposes. Funds for tools for the injured soldiers, who are mechanics, necessary outfits for men seeking new jobs—any conditional gifts of which the Board approves—can be administered under the broader provisions of the bill just passed.

Other recent legislation shows the just solicitude that Congress is manifesting in behalf of the Government's debt to its returning soldiers and sailors.

The House, in passing a bill providing for the free transportation home for emergency war workers whose services are to be dispensed with now that the war is over, has taken one step in the interests of the jobless workers, most of whom are women. Paying railroad fares home does not, however, by any means solve the problem of the war worker who has her living to make outside of that home, and that problem is one bound to engage the watchful consideration of women in any and all reconstruction programs. The bill (H. R. 13261) provides free transportation only to those employees whose basic salary is \$1400 a year, or less, and whose term of employment dates from any time after the beginning of the war until March next. The tickets include sleeping car accommodations, where necessary, are nontransfer-

able, and must be utilized within five days of their issuance. Employees dismissed since the signing of the armistice come under the provisions of the bill. It is expected the Senate will approve the bill at an early date.

When a call was sent to the women of America to enlist in their country's service, it was pointed out that their contribution in the field and the factory and the shop was every whit as vital to winning the war as was the soldier's work in the trenches or on the field. The women, therefore, can but feel that in the reconstruction work after the war their Government should safeguard their interests as well as it proposes to look after the interests of its men war workers.

THE Senate Committee on Military Affairs has reported a bill to the United States Senate granting to members of the Army Nurse Corps and Navy Nurse Corps, Army field clerks, field clerks, Quartermaster Corps, and civil employees of the Army pay allowances during any period of involuntary captivity by the enemy of the United States. This bill attempts to right one grave injustice done nurses by the United States Army. Nurses are yet to be given a rank in the Army commensurate with their services, and women doctors are still unrecognized by the Army.

For Your Information

EARLY reports from Arkansas say that the proposed new constitution was defeated by approximately 3,000 votes at the special election on December 14. A stringent prohibition clause is said to have carried the new constitution down to defeat.

The constitution carried a full suffrage clause. The women of Arkansas already have primary suffrage, which is practically full suffrage in that state, so the suffrage status is not greatly affected.

THERE will be approximately 40,000,000 Germans on the voting list by the close of December, according to Berlin newspapers. The reports state that of this number "18,000,000 are men and more than 21,000,000 are women."

Germany lies disrupted, anguished, conquered, economically a ruin, morally an outcast, a monument at once to the incapacity of German men to govern wisely and well, and to a male absolutism that shut women into the kitchen and the church. Yet you may confidently expect reactionaries to point out ere long the "grave danger" to the German state in the superior number of women voters over men voters in the new electorate. It is our firm faith that the German women can do better than the German men have done. It is our grim conviction that they couldn't do worse.

GREAT BRITAIN is as bad as the cow counties of Oklahoma when it comes to the question of getting the official returns on an election in war time. It took two weeks and more to round up returns in Oklahoma after November 5, and it is going to take all of that and more to round up the returns on Great Britain's election held December 14. Along with the uncertainty about the fate of Lloyd George's Government is the uncertainty about the fate of the women candidates for Parliament. At this writing nobody knows whether any of the 14 women candidates were successful or not. One of the most likely prospects, Ethel Snowden, was not listed in the *Woman Citizen's* recent cursory review of the women candidates. Through some oversight it was very generally omitted in the London despatches that came through from England during the days just precedent to the election, though her impending candidature had been announced earlier and everybody knew it for the fact. The *Woman Citizen* published an ex-

quisite picture of her not long ago in this very connection. Mrs. Snowden is the wife of Philip Snowden, M. P. for Blackburn, and is well known in America for her oratorical gifts, generously employed in the suffrage cause, and for her delightful personal attractions. All the pre-election indications were that she would head the poll. Mrs. Snowden is on the Labor Party's ticket which includes four other significant women, Mary MacArthur, Margaret Bondfield, Isabella L. Ford, and Mrs. Bruce Glasier.

"RESPECT for majority rule is something which the anti-suffragets seemingly are quite devoid of. The same charge lies against the attorneys retained in this fight.* For the sovereignty of the voter they don't appear to care a rap. They are willing to belittle the ballot box and deride the mandate of the majority. If anywhere in the court-practice's bag of tricks there is one that will "put this over" no scruple shall stand in the way. Those attorneys may indignantly deny such accusation, but that is their position, nevertheless.

"There is a real menace in this sort of thing. It is the sort of thing that is changing our government from a government by law to a government by the sharp practice of lawyers.

"Democracy as a practical form of government is predicated upon the honesty of electors, upon their acquiescence in popular judgment, upon civic sportsmanship, if you please. These anti-suffragets haven't glimpsed the rudiments of democracy."—*Daily Oklahoman*, Oklahoma City.

MRS. CATT made a noteworthy address at the great gathering lately held by the Rhode Island suffragists to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Rhode Island Woman Suffrage Association. It was a joyous assemblage, for nation-wide victory is now in sight. Mrs. Catt recalled an incident of the Congress held in Buda Pest by the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, just at the breaking out of the great world war. She said:

"There came to our Congress a group of Transylvanian peasant women with shawls over their heads, who had walked all the long way to Buda Pest in order to be present. I thought it the most wonderful and curious thing I had ever seen. They said they wanted to vote. On the same day the Rumanian women asked to present the Alliance with a banner. They came out on the platform with it—two women and a man—and they said that large numbers of women in Rumania wanted to vote.

"This morning's paper says that Transylvania has been joined to Rumania and is to have its first Constitutional Assembly elected by universal suffrage of men and women. Those women who so excited my curiosity and astonishment just before the war, have a vote today, while many of our American women have not. They came to the Alliance because they wanted to see the women of more advanced countries, and mainly because they wanted to see the Americans. And they have won the ballot before we ourselves have secured it! It is the marvel of the ages. When our posterity reads the history of the last fifty years, they will wonder how our republic, founded on ideals, delayed in this matter, and let Europe take the lead."

"The first big job for the United States Senate is to stop its defenseless political juggling with this question and approve the Susan B. Anthony constitutional amendment at the earliest possible opportunity. The country will do the rest—and do it quickly."—*Times*, Indianapolis, Ind.

*Referring to the futile effort of the antis to invalidate the suffrage victory in Oklahoma. The *Oklahoman* was against suffrage, but for fair play from beginning to end.

A. S. B.'s Page

THE foundation of a nation's life is the nation's children. If the health of the children is not safeguarded, the strength of the nation will be undermined. If the children are to be healthy, they must be born of healthy mothers. These points are self evident. Any conditions in industry are undesirable that tend to sap the health of working women, the potential mothers of the future. From this standpoint there seems reason to regard with suspicion a new principle announced by an examiner for the National War Labor Board, Robert N. Buck, in an interview in the *Christian Science Monitor* of November 29th.

Mr. Buck and another examiner were appointed to investigate and establish fair wages among the 4500 employees of a corn products refining company with plants at Argo, Granite City and Pekin, Illinois, and at Edgewater, N. J. They found the employees doing 341 different kinds of jobs. They divided these jobs into four grades, according to the difficulty and responsibility of the work, and regulated the wages accordingly.

In determining the pay of women, Mr. Buck is reported as saying:

"The first time a minimum wage for women has been established which is not based on sex. Hitherto the minimum wage for women set by the War Labor Board has always been ten cents an hour lower on jobs not ordinarily performed by men. The board has definitely recognized the old standard that women were paid less than men on work that men did not do. This time we have got a definite basis, fairer to women."

In the case of the lowest paid women, this is not very evident.

The examiners defined as belonging to the first or lowest grade all jobs that require performance of routine tasks not incompatible with the immature strength and endurance of a boy or girl of legal working age.

We are further informed: This definition applies to services where boys, girls and women are employed. Some women, said Mr. Buck, whose work does not require the strength and endurance of men, are placed in the boys' and girls' class and receive their wage.

"THIS classification," said Mr. Buck, "has great significance as regards women's wages. For the first time, this classification establishes a definite basis for a minimum wage for tasks not usually performed by men. It substitutes, in short, a boy and girl minimum for what heretofore has been a woman's minimum."

The boy and girl minimum, under the new scale, is just three cents higher than the adult woman's minimum under the old scale. In other words the lowest paid women get an increase of only three cents an hour.

Hitherto, in determining a minimum wage for women, it has generally been assumed that it should be at least a subsistence wage—enough for a grown person to live upon. A boy and girl wage is not usually expected to be a subsistence wage.

During the war, even, children have in some cases got very high pay; but after the war this will hardly last. To establish the principle that the minimum for a woman shall be the same as the minimum for a child looks dangerous.

"The first grade included jobs of a routine nature where no experience was required. The second grade included jobs needing a few weeks' training on responsible tasks connected with minor operations. The third grade included jobs requiring considerable skill, intelligence and training, dealing with major operations. The fourth and last grade consisted of jobs of a high grade of mechanical ability."

In the grade above the lowest, the minimum wage for the adult is 45 cents an hour, and some women get an increase of 13 cents. The men's minimum, under the old scale formerly set by the board, had been 42 cents and the women's minimum 32 cents an hour.

This policy of grading the jobs will bear watching. It looks fair on the surface, and may be intended to be entirely fair. But Miss Mary Van Kleek, whose official position enables her to speak with authority, has publicly stated that factories have resorted to every sort of device to evade the rule laid down by the government that women taking men's place in war industries should receive the same pay. As a matter of fact, she says, the women are not generally getting equal pay, nor anything like it. One favorite device is to alter the character of the job just a little, and then to claim that it is not the same.

Let a watch be kept to see that the women do not get crowded in undue proportion into the lower grades.

MR. EVERETT P. WHEELER is one of the "last ditchers" on the suffrage question. In a recent argument against the Federal Suffrage Amendment, he says:

"Until recently the power of the ballot has been given only to men. But America has always been the land of the free. The phrase 'enfranchisement of women' is false. American women have always been free."

Would Mr. Wheeler say that men were free in any country where the women had a monopoly of the suffrage, and the men were obliged simply to obey the laws that the women made for them? He certainly would not, and this no matter how kind and considerate the women might be. Still less would he say that the men were free if every married man's property and earnings were under the absolute control of his wife, and if she had the legal right to lock him up and even to beat him, "in moderation." He might probably deny that men were free in any country where they were rigorously excluded from higher education and from all the learned professions and were limited to a very few ill-paid occupations. Yet that was the condition of women, in America as well as elsewhere, until the equal rights movement came along to modify it.

The truth is the average anti-suffragist lacks the imagination to put himself in another person's place, and does not believe that the Golden Rule really applies to women.

A TOUCHING little story comes from "over there." Released war prisoners and civilians returning to their devastated homes were streaming by thousands along one of the great roads, emaciated and in tatters. Some of them were observed to have slices of white bread in their hands. The observer made inquiries and found that a big American sentry, stationed beside the road, had eaten nothing all day. He had given his food away. "I couldn't eat it with all those starving men coming down the road," he said.

Any American woman or man who is tempted to waste food should think of that sentry. Few Americans—only the worst of us—could eat more than they needed, with thousands of starving people actually passing before their eyes. We cannot see those processions of famished people crawling along the highways over hundreds of miles of Europe, but we should not forget them.

"SUFFRAGE will come. The trend of sentiment is inevitable. The die is cast."—*Sun*, San Bernardino, Cal.

Florida Clubs Support Amendment

AT the close of the successful annual meeting of the Florida Federation of Women's Clubs the observer could well pay enthusiastic tribute to the constructive genius of the women of Florida.

During the three days, from November 20 to 22, the delegates, representing women's clubs throughout the length and breadth of Florida (and be assured that length and breadth mean something in Florida—from Pensacola to Jacksonville it is four hundred miles, and from Jacksonville along the east coast to Key West it is five hundred and twenty-two miles), met, not with the desire of giving the lambs an opportunity to feed each other, an old-order custom which terminated with the passing of the club paper, but for the purpose of devising safe, sure ways and means of enforcing in Florida the scriptural injunction, "Feed my sheep." In other words, these clear-headed women, with growing democratic sympathies and awakened social conscience, got together and took a careful inventory of Florida's educational and social problems—prominent among the latter the humiliating conditions of the Marianna Reform School which, in the mire and muck of politics and controlled by an inefficient board, is a blot on the entire state. They looked their hard propositions squarely in the face and then proceeded to offer constructive programs for supplying state needs and remedying state evils. They left the convention determined that however difficult America's program of reconstruction might be, every particle of their organized cooperation should be enlisted in setting the corners of their own house in order, so securing for Florida the democratic results of victory overseas.



DR. MARY SAFFORD



MRS. FRANK STRANAHAN



MARY B. JEWETT, M.D.

Best of all, the State Federation understands, almost to a woman, that the only efficient way the state can use the vision and constructive ability of the women for the sober business of reconstruction is by means of the ballot. The President of the Federation, Mrs. Edgar Lewis of Fort Pierce, in whose leadership Florida women have great confidence; Mrs. W. S. Jennings of Jacksonville, wife of the former Governor of Florida, a past president of the Federation and at present State Chairman of the Woman's Liberty Loan Committee; Dr. Mary A. Safford of Orlando, a Director of the Board of the National Association and the newly elected president of the Florida Equal Suffrage Association; Dr. Mary B. Jewett of Winter Haven, to whom as chairman of the Political Equality section of the Federation credit should largely go for creating wide interest and enthusiasm among the club women for suffrage, and Mrs. Frank B. Stranahan of Fort Landerdale, retiring president of the Equal Suffrage Association, and at present first vice-president of the organization and chairman of the suffrage legislative work, are all foremost lead-

ers among the club women of the state and are loyal suffragists. With one accord they agree that now is the time to wage a thoroughgoing educational campaign for suffrage in Florida. To help start this campaign and to secure endorsement for it throughout the state, the delegates who at a former annual convention had endorsed the Federal Suffrage Amendment, were almost unanimous in passing among others a resolution censuring the Florida Senators for failure to vote favorably on the Susan B. Anthony bill, and a resolution urging the state Legislature to ratify the Federal Suffrage Amendment when it shall have been passed.

Thus, from far away Florida where direct cross-state transportation has not as yet been achieved on account of the Everglades, and where, in consequence, long distances up and down the state have to be covered in journeying from the east to the west side, the women are getting together, unifying, organizing, growing in vision and giving generously of their service in order that Florida may be in the forefront of progress.

JUSTINA L. WILSON.

Bay State Allied Bazaar

THE Bay State Allied Bazar, held under the auspices of the Ways and Means Committee of the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association at the Copley-Plaza Hotel, Boston, proved a brilliant three days affair. The bazaar brought together all the allied war relief associations in Boston. The funds are to be entirely devoted to war relief and reconstruction.

included the American Fund for French Wounded, Italian War Relief, The New England Belgium Relief, Friends of Poland, British-Canadian War Relief, Serbian War Relief, Comité Franco-Américain pour la protection des Enfants de la Frontière, Women's Overseas Hospitals, Americanization of Aliens, Suffrage Coffee House at Ayr, and Reconstruction.

The decorations for the affair were carried out on an elaborate scale, with the patriotic

colors predominating. This part was in charge of Miss Eleanor Manning.

Mrs. Benjamin F. Pitman of Brookline, Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, is the one responsible for the plan and execution of the bazaar. It was she who had the happy thought of bringing together the various organizations and the vision to carry it out on cosmopolitan lines.

The coming together of the different nationalities residing in Boston to take part in the event was one of the big features of the bazaar, which has come to be a yearly institution in suffrage annals in the Bay State. This special part was carried out under the direction of Mrs. Charles D. Voorhis.

All the allied nations were represented. From the market place in the state suite of the hotel to the ball-room booths the gay costumes created an ever-changing color picture.

The All American Parade brought out all the representative nations of Europe, even to the newest republic, Czecho-Slovakia. China and Japan were represented by Chinese and Japanese children. The parade was led by "Miss America," impersonated by Miss Eleanor Robinson, who was escorted by a soldier, a sailor, and a marine.

The cosmopolitan effect of the bazaar was further emphasized in the operatic and patriotic concert on the last evening. Madame Tamaki Miura, the Japanese prima donna, and Mr. Theodore Kittay, the Russian tenor, provided the operatic section of the concert, which brought together the society and suffrage leaders of the city. The patriotic feature of the concert was arranged by the musical aides of the Northeastern Department of the United States Army and Navy, fifty soldiers and as many sailors taking part in the program.

Women and Reconstruction

Query Politicians

AN indication of the deep interest of women in problems of reconstruction is given in the attitude of St. Louis women.

A committee of women prominent in St. Louis and state public service, headed by Mrs. Philip N. Moore of St. Louis, sent a letter to the newly elected congressmen, immediately after election day, asking their views on international problems which will come before them. The committee is composed of Mrs. Philip N. Moore, Mrs. David O'Neil of St. Louis, Mrs. George A. Still of Kirksville, Mrs. W. K. James of St. Joseph, Mrs. Frederick J. Tausig, Miss Mary E. Bulkley and Mrs. Percival Chubb of St. Louis.

After congratulating the congressmen upon their recent election the women say "we know you have a realizing sense of the heavy responsibilities you will be called upon to face. We feel certain that you have given very serious thought to the subjects you will be called upon to help to decide," and ask for an expression with regard to the League of Nations outlined by President Wilson, the method of enforcing the decrees of an international parliament, government or private ownership of munition plants, universal military service in time of peace, government support of private investments in foreign countries and military disarmament after the war. The letter in full is as follows:

"We congratulate you upon your recent election to the Congress of the United States. We know you have a realizing sense of the heavy responsibilities you will be called upon to face. We feel certain that you have given very serious thought to the subjects you will be called upon to help to decide.

"Every one in the state of Missouri, the United States of America, and the world will be affected by the decisions the next Congress will make. Our boys are laying down their lives in a belief that this is a war to end wars. It will be in your power to make this belief true, or to make it a false hope. As women of Missouri, the United States of America and of the world we would be grateful if you will tell us how you regard some of the most vital questions which are engaging all thoughtful minds just now:

(1.) Do you believe in a League of Nations as outlined by President Wilson?

(2.) Do you believe in an international parliament that shall be something more than a court of arbitration? How do you believe the decrees of this parliament should be enforced?

(3.) To whom do you believe this parliament should be responsible?

(4.) Do you believe in putting American foreign policies under direct congressional control?

(5.) Do you believe in government or private ownership of munition plants?

(6.) Do you believe in universal military service in time of peace?

(7.) Do you believe in government support of private investments in foreign countries?

(8.) What degree of military disarmament do you consider feasible?

"No one can deny that much of the world's future course will depend upon the decision of these questions.

"Will you tell us what you think about these subjects?"

Mrs. Philip N. Moore is a member of the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense; Mrs. David O'Neil is one of the prominent suffragists in Missouri; Mrs. George A. Still is president of the Missouri Federation of Women's Clubs, and Miss Mary E. Bulkley is prominent in civic and social work in St. Louis.

Girls Adopt Salute

THE members of the Girls' Division of the War Camp Community Service Workers and of the allied organizations, which bring together a large proportion of the young girls of the country, are pledging themselves not only as a body, but individually, to render suitable tribute to the Stars and Stripes. The salute adopted is that taught in schools and in the Army and Navy, and is as follows:

At the approach of the flag raise the right hand smartly till the tip of the forefinger touches the lower part of the forehead above the right eye, thumb and fingers extended and joined, palm to the left, forearm inclined at about forty-five degrees, hand and wrist straight. At the same time look toward the flag. When it has passed drop the arm smartly to the side.

War Mothers

WAR MOTHERS OF AMERICA is the name chosen for the new national patriotic organization composed of the mothers and wives of soldiers and sailors who have been or are active in the military service of the United States of America in the prosecution of this war. The association held its first national convention at Evansville, Ind., in September and Evansville has been selected as national headquarters. Provision has been made for the establishment of five divisional headquarters, to be known as the Atlantic, Pacific, Southern, Rocky Mountain and Central. Thirty-one states were represented in the convention.

In the Hospitals

THE National League of Women Workers, which organizes self-supporting women in evening clubs, has been making a special campaign to reach young girls and women working in the war industries in this state, in New Jersey, Connecticut and elsewhere. Miss Margaret Rothery, one of the field secretaries of the National League, had been visiting cities in these states, laying plans for girls' recreation when the influenza epidemic became so serious that organization and public meetings had to be stopped temporarily.

On her return to New York the National League of Women Workers sent Miss Rothery, who had had a six weeks' course in home nursing, to the Red Cross to see if she could not help somewhere to relieve the famine in nurses. She was sent to the Italian hospital at 83rd Street and East River, now a war hospital under Government direction. Of 25 nurses the hospital has only 8 on duty. In one ward of 25 patients, where six experienced nurses are ordinarily kept more than busy, one young student nurse and a volunteer were struggling to care for fighting seamen of the allied countries.

"That first day was awful," says Miss Rothery. "I was turned loose in a kitchen of chaos and told to do what I could to diminish the three days' accumulation of dishes. I rolled up my sleeves and pitched in, scrubbing and scouring till dark. The next day was hard, too, but more interesting. I was on my feet continuously for hours, making beds, giving baths, taking temperatures, mixing egg-nogs, fixing meal trays, fumigating the ward and taking doctors' diagnoses. I did anything and everything I could. It was not easy to bathe a real sick patient in bed when the only experience I had ever had was bathing a dummy in a Red Cross class. I felt inefficient, but I was all they had.

The National League of Women Workers, which loaned Miss Rothery's time to the Italian hospital, is rendering the government important service in many directions. The League has a membership of 15,000 self-supporting girls in eight states. The girls are organized in 125 clubs, non-sectarian, self-governing and self-supporting. The clubs as groups and the girls as individuals have given almost every kind of patriotic service women can give, including Red Cross work, supporting war orphans, participation in Liberty Loan and War Savings Stamps drives, war gardening, raising sheep and pigs, entertaining soldiers and sailors in their club rooms and sewing for refugee families.

The president of the National League of Women Workers is Mrs. Bernard E. Pollak of New York. The headquarters are at 35 East 30th Street, New York.

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Tennessee

TENNESSEE suffragists put the question of the support of the Federal Suffrage Amendment squarely up to Senator John K. Shields in a resolution adopted at a banquet held recently at Nashville, in the interest of the Overseas Hospitals. Several hundred prominent men and women of Nashville who were present gave unequivocal endorsement to the following resolution:

WHEREAS, the President of the United States to-day in his peace message has declared that the women of the world must have suffrage, be it

Resolved: That we, the citizens of Nashville, Tennessee, assembled in the interests of the Women's Overseas Hospitals, do call upon Senator John K. Shields to vote for the Federal Suffrage Amendment, now pending in the United States Senate, in order that America may not lag behind other nations of the world in granting freedom to women.

Mrs. Guilford Dudley, Tennessee member of the Executive Board of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, who pre-

sented the resolution said, "The one man who can give us women the right to vote is Senator Shields."

The banquet, a brilliant affair, was arranged in honor of Mrs. Charles Tiffany of New York city who, upon invitation of Mrs. Leslie Warner, President of the Tennessee Woman Suffrage Association, went to Nashville to present the work of the Overseas Hospitals. Mrs. Warner presided as toastmaster and in her introductory words spoke of woman's part in the world war and of the fact that now peace had come woman's special mission would be to show the world the true meaning of democracy. "When the history of the war is written woman's work will stand forth in a hallowed light," said Mrs. Warner.

The spirit of appreciation of women's work ran through the brief talks by the other speakers who preceded Mrs. Tiffany. Among them were Mayor William Gupton, Mrs. Reau E. Folk, a charter member of the Nashville Suffrage Association, Mrs. Guilford Dudley, Mr. John Bell Keeble, who was one of the first of Nashville's men to espouse the suffrage cause, and Dr. John A. Witherspoon, a former president of the American Medical Association. The work of the women doctors and surgeons in the hospitals in France was highly praised by Dr. Witherspoon who said, "I know what these women have done and their work in this war will ever be one of the brightest pages in the history of civilization."

Mrs. Tiffany, in presenting the work of the Women's Overseas Hospitals in her lively and inimitable fashion, gave a brief history of the hospitals, their location and the particular work of each unit. While in Nashville, she addressed the students of Ward-Belmont College, later going to Memphis and other points in the south on behalf of the hospitals, and sweeping her audiences to great enthusiasm wherever she went.

Indiana

THE membership-and-petition campaign, for names of those who want to "sign up for suffrage," as carried on by the Woman's Franchise League of Indiana is so vigorous that the petition feature, which covers the endorsement of the Federal Suffrage Amendment is likely to be completed well in advance of the next session of the Legislature. Many thousands of signatures have already been obtained and the number is being increased daily. The workers of Allen County have reported nearly 9,000 signatures, while Elkhart County has turned in 4,000 signatures to its petition.

A total of 5,000 new members were reported to the state suffrage office in November alone, from the various counties. Carroll County,

Mrs. Charles Quinn of Cutler, chairman, is the first county in the state to reach its membership quota in the campaign for memberships and petition signatures. The membership quota was 850. Nearly 2,000 petition signatures have also been secured and the number is growing.

On the opening of the Legislature in January, the county chairman will put these petitions in the hands of their representatives with the request that the Indiana Legislature urge the immediate passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment by the Senate. Should the Amendment have been passed by the Senate previous to that time the petitions will be used by the suffragists in their ratification campaign. They anticipate no difficulty in being able to convince the Legislature that the great majority of Indiansians desire the immediate ratification of the Amendment.

The Legislature will have every opportunity to acquaint itself with the sentiment for suffrage throughout the state, as the petitions will be on exhibition in the State House for several days.

17,000 North Carolina Farmers Want Woman Suffrage

THE Farmers Union of North Carolina, with a membership of 17,000, has taken a firm stand in support of equal suffrage. Action to this effect was had at the annual meeting of the Union held at Wilson on December 12. The suffragists point out that the politicians of North Carolina, who have been wont to say that only a few persons in the state wanted suffrage, will have difficulty in overlooking 17,000 voters. The suffragists also call the attention of Senators Simmons and Overman to the stand taken by this large part of their constituency.

Seeks More Worlds to Conquer

THE following letter, received by Mrs. Frank J. Shuler, Corresponding Secretary of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, whose guidance and personal work did much to place Oklahoma in the full suffrage column, shows the Oklahoma man's attitude toward suffrage:

"I presume by this time that you know that the Governor has issued his proclamation declaring woman suffrage adopted as far as Oklahoma is concerned. I wish to congratulate you on your victory, and if you know of any other state that needs our attention just let me know and we will proceed to carry it. Any time I can be of assistance to you, please command me.

Yours truly,

BEN F. DAVIS,
Chairman Democratic Committee, Oklahoma Co.

Within the Organization

Rhode Island's Golden Anniversary

THE Golden Anniversary of the founding of the Rhode Island Woman Suffrage Association was celebrated at Churchill House, Providence, on December 11. This Association, with the Rhode Island Woman Suffrage Party and the College Equal Suffrage League, have now merged into the Rhode Island Equal Suffrage Association, with Miss Mary B. Anthony as president. Miss Anthony presided during the program of speeches.

It was on December 11, 1868, in Roger Williams Hall, that the first Rhode Island suffrage convention was held, and one of the most interesting features of the Golden Jubilee was the presence of three guests who were in attendance at the gathering fifty years ago. They included Arnold B. Chace, Chancellor of Brown University; Rev. Anna Garlin Spencer of New York, formerly of Providence, and Mrs. J. P. Tolman of West Newton, Mass.

Chancellor Chace brought that first meeting close by reading from the records of the association at that time and quoting from an address made by his mother, Mrs. Elizabeth Buffum Chace, leader and moving spirit in the early days of the suffrage movement in that state.

Dr. Spencer recalled her part "in that small procession that walked modestly on the sidewalk to the state house to present the first petition presented for suffrage in Rhode Island." During her talk Dr. Spencer said, "The democracy that is safe for the world must have in it no taint of sex autocracy."

Miss Elizabeth Upham Yates, Honorary President of the Rhode Island Equal Suffrage Association, reviewed some of the suffrage hearings at the sessions of the Rhode Island legislature and told of Rhode Island's suffrage progress, it having been the first state on the Atlantic coast to grant presidential suffrage.

That the Federal Suffrage Amendment is still a war measure was a point emphasized by Mrs. Barton P. Jenks, who was president of the Rhode Island Equal Suffrage Association when that state gained the presidential suffrage.

"Just think, here in Rhode Island you women are considered fit to vote for President while we of Massachusetts can only vote for members of the school board, said Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, President of the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association, as she addressed the guests, with a prediction of the near approach of nation-wide suffrage.

Hon. Joseph H. Gainer, Mayor of Providence, congratulated the suffragists upon the work they had accomplished and the leading part they had taken in war service work, and

commended the early pioneers for their foresightedness in the cause of democracy.

An honor guest at the celebration was Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Mrs. Catt prophesied that the Federal Amendment would pass by Christmas and be ratified by the states by May of 1919.

Alabama to Work for Federal Amendment

THAT the South shall redeem itself when the Federal Suffrage Amendment comes up for a vote in the Senate is the determination of the Alabama suffragists. That was the spirit that marked the Victory luncheon held recently at Birmingham to celebrate the victories in the three campaign states. The suffragists called upon Senators Bankhead and Underwood to fall in line and stand by the women in their desire for political freedom.

The Birmingham Suffrage Association has been devoting the major portion of its time throughout the past months to war service work, but with the approach of peace decided to reopen their program of suffrage work. Mrs. W. L. Murdoch, president of the Birmingham organization, reviewed the war work activities of the suffragists and showed they had been conspicuous in all lines of endeavor. Mrs. Solon Jacobs, state suffrage president, was head of the Women's Division of the State Liberty Loan Committee and others filled responsible posts.

The Birmingham Association, without one penny's cost to the students, has given 100 women a business course and equipped them for service, as one phase of the Association's war work. All the students are now filling positions most creditably. The activities of the Association's Red Cross Unit were especially effective.

Miss Amelia Worthington, Field Secretary of the Red Cross, and an ardent worker in both the state and city suffrage associations, stated that in her visit to the counties in her territory she found that all the women leaders in the Red Cross work were pronounced suffragists. Miss Worthington expressed great confidence that the Senate would soon pass the Federal Amendment.

"The Democrats of the South defeated the amendment when it was before the Senate recently," said Miss Worthington, "but I am told we gained one vote in the November election. If the Democrats do not pass it before March the Republicans will pass it after that. Our two Senators, Bankhead and Underwood, voted against it, although President Wilson, in the most magnificent speech ever delivered before Congress, urged its adoption. Bankhead is old

and perhaps cannot learn new things; but Underwood should know better."

Miss Mary Parke London, who worked in Oklahoma throughout the last weeks of the campaign, told the guests at the luncheon the interesting details of the struggle which led to victory there.

Arthur A. C. Crowder, President of the Chamber of Commerce, and Mr. C. L. Harold, secretary-manager of the Civic Association, spoke briefly to invite the women to participate through their organization in all that pertains to community and civic advancement. Mr. Harold stated that by action of the Board of the Civic Association women were invited to take part in the Civic Forum which promises to be a strong part of the work of the Association. Mr. Clark Williams, representing the Four Minute men, paid earnest tribute to the women and their services during the war.

Ohio State Grange for Federal Amendment

SENATORS Harding and Pomerene of Ohio are being appealed to to support the Federal Amendment when it again comes to a vote in the Senate. This time it is the State Grange of Ohio, which numbers thousands of voters, that is urging the early passage of the amendment. The Grange took this action by resolution at the annual meeting of that body last week.

When the suffrage measure was before the Senate on October 1, Senator Harding favored the passage of the Amendment. He was paired with Senator Borah, the arch opponent of the Federal Amendment. Senator Pomerene voted in the negative. The Senators have heard repeatedly from the various groups in their constituencies, urging a favorable vote for the Amendment and now the agricultural interests of the state join the chorus of appeals.

(State News continued on page 613)

Dr. Shaw a Policewoman

DR. ANNA HOWARD SHAW, Honorary President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, Chairman of the Woman's Committee of the National Council of Defense, and holder of a number of other offices and honors, is now a full-fledged policewoman. Dr. Shaw was sworn in as a special member of the police force of Washington on December 14. The appointment comes as the fulfillment of a forty years long desire to serve as a policewoman, according to Dr. Shaw.

"It is curious how willing men have been through all the centuries to admit that only the influence of women saves them from being brutes, and how anxious to confine that influence to the narrowest possible limits."—Susan B. Anthony.

Women Workers After the War

FIRST on the program of By Mary Sumner Boyd principles which would have problems discussed at the set a new standard for labor

two-day conferences of the American Academy of Political Science on Labor Reconstruction was the new industrial position of women created by the war. It occupied this place justly, for, as one of the speakers said, the recognition of the position of women in industry is the foundation stone of democratic reconstruction.

This meeting was the first effort made since the United States went into the war to give an estimate of the extent and bearings of the substitution of women for men. The facts were authoritative, as the speakers were women in the Federal or War Labor Departments.

The first exact figures for substitution so far made public were given by Pauline Goldmark, Manager of the Women's Service Section, U. S. Railroad Administration. In January, 1918, there were 60,000 women on the railroads; this figure had risen to 81,000 in July, and when peace was declared it was probably 100,000. Of the July figures, 61,000 were in offices and included among their occupations the new and rather complicated work of ticket selling; 4,000 were cleaners, the new occupation in this group being the cleaning of engines in the round-houses, at which 800 women were employed.

Three thousand were employed in the railroad shops. When Miss Goldmark's office was created many of these machine-shop women were working for 18 cents an hour, though no men were paid less than 28 cents. Rulings of the Director-General established absolute equal pay, without reference to sex, so that no woman now receives less than 28 cents an hour. The Director-General also standardized women's work, laying down certain processes as men's work, because he judged them too heavy for women, and, in spite of some dissatisfaction on the part of the men, readjusting jobs so that all in these classes fell to men. On one railroad no less than 233 women laborers were laid off and 193 truckers.

THE new labor standards for women created by war work were discussed by Mary Van Kleeck, Director of the Women in Industry Service of the United States Labor Department. The following standards, designed to offset the tendency in the states to suspend labor laws on war work, were early in the war laid down for Ordnance Department contracts. An eight-hour day, no night work, a minimum wage and shop committees to deal with questions between employers and workers. Like standards were adopted by the Committee on Women in Industry and the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense. Later they became the standards of the War Labor Board, which when the war came to an end, had gone farther and laid down for contracts after October 10 two

legislation, namely, the living wage aid and equal pay. In time of peace when there are no government contracts to set the pace, it lies with the states to embody these standards and make them permanent in their labor laws.

War created problems of women's work side by side with men which reconstruction will have to settle. On the credit side, the chairman of the meeting, Mary Dreier, pointed out that women have acquired two new ideals, economic independence and high pay. Those who remain in industry, and this is probably all but a small percentage, are refusing to go back to their old jobs at their old low pay. The reaction of a former timekeeper at \$8 a week, instanced by Miss Goldmark, when offered her old work at her old pay, after she had proved herself "worth" \$28 a week in the railroad machine shops, is easy to understand. She rated herself higher than before the war.

A PROBLEM of after the war is whether men will allow such a woman to keep her rating. Few unions have wholeheartedly welcomed women. The Cleveland case, where the War Labor Board yielded to the pressure of a strong men's union and ruled the women off the street cars, promises to become historical in the struggle of women for equal recognition with men.

Throughout the period of the war equal pay, except when it has been enforced in government contracts, has been more of a theory than a fact. One incident told by Mary Anderson as Director of Women in Industry Service is typical of many experiences. A munitions maker, in a state which forbids night work by women, applied to the women's service for relief from this law. His men night workers were no good; they turned out work which was fit only for the scrap pile, whereas his women day workers turned out a high grade of work. What were his scrap-pile men's wages? Forty cents an hour and a 15 per cent bonus. His high grade women's? Twenty-five cents an hour, no bonus; and this was by common agreement among employers of the district.

Backed by a public opinion which has during the war broadened its understanding of the boundaries of women's work to cover almost every process of man's work, women will have to maintain their right to retain the new fields of work they have entered, on equal terms with men, equal training, equal work and equal pay. If any ousting from industry is to be done, it was the feeling of the conference that it should be as part of a reconstruction program which takes 2,000,000 out of the workshop and puts them back in the school, leaving their work to be done by adult men and women.

THE first attempt at statistics for the substitution of women for men workers in France during the war was made at the conference by Marguerite Bourat, Factory Inspector for the French Government. Her figures for "before and after" were equally interesting. It gave greater reality to the often repeated statement that long before the war French women took a greater part in industry than the women of other countries to know that in 1906 in France, with a population only two-fifths as large as ours, seven and a half million women were gainfully employed, as against about 8,000,000 in the United States; that at that time almost a third of the industrial workers were women, 42 per cent of those engaged in commerce, and 47 per cent—almost half—of agricultural workers.

The substitution of women for men in war-time came about, therefore, more naturally than in other countries. There was less talk of it; it was more a matter of course. In some war industries, all war-time employees were women, in others they worked side by side with old men and those too badly wounded to return to the trenches. Only a few thousand women were in munitions at the beginning of the war. By 1916 there were 300,000 and this year the number has risen to about a million.

TAKING the fifteen heads of industry recognized by the census and representing the normal pre-war figure for women in each group as 100, Mlle. Bourat made a rough statement of war figures for each group. In some the figure was reduced because the industry was not essential to war; in food industries, for instance, it is now 80; in books 74, in textiles 96. But in the industries which war has most developed the increase in the number of women is great. In chemicals, 182 instead of 100; in leather, 111; in wool, 161; building, 102; transportation, 131; and metal trades, 781.

In France, as in other countries, war led to a temporary breakdown of labor laws, which the war labor boards subsequently re-established, as much for the good of the product as of the workers. The war also led to a precedent being established by France for controlling the sweated industries, when a minimum wage for home workers on war clothing work was established in July, 1915.

While the other countries just recovered from war are looking with apprehension at the possibility of injustice to the new women workers when the men come back to their jobs, the French, with two and a half million men dead or disabled, great stretches of France to be rebuilt and many industries to be entirely remade, believe that there will be no need to oust the women who wish to stay in their new trades.

Women in Industry

THE National Women's Trade Union League of America, through its

Protest Injustice to War Workers

fairness to the women workers of America, who, by assuming responsibilities

urged upon them, have made possible the fighting front in France and have done their utmost to help bring the war to a victorious conclusion.

The Committee on Social and Industrial Reconstruction has entered a vigorous protest against the dismissal of 150 women conductors from the Cleveland Street Railway, through a decision of the National War Labor Board.

The dismissal of the women conductors grew out of the request of Division No. 268 of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees, whose men went out on strike to enforce their demands.

The action of the War Labor Board was denounced in a resolution drawn up at a meeting of the Committee held in New York City December 10th. The resolution has been forwarded to the National War Labor Board. It is signed by women well known in women's labor organizations, and characterizes the Board's action as "an amazing infringement of fundamental rights" and declares that the decision "forms a most dangerous precedent to set at the very beginning of the peace readjustment period."

The resolution reads in full as follows:

TO THE NATIONAL WAR LABOR BOARD,
Washington, D. C.

WHEREAS, the decision of the National War Labor Board of December 3, 1918, ordering the dismissal of 150 women conductors of the Cleveland Street Railway Co. at the request of Division No. 268 of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees, whose men even went out on strike to enforce their demands, is an amazing infringement of fundamental rights, since these women conductors were employed at the same pay and under the same conditions as the men, and, according to the testimony given, would have been members of the union but for the fact that the men refused to admit them; and,

WHEREAS, the process of readjustment from a war to a peace basis includes the demobilizing of workers in almost all our industries, as well as of the soldiers and sailors, and will demand the most intelligent co-operation alike of the employers, the workers and the community; and,

WHEREAS, this decision forms a most dangerous precedent to set at the very beginning of the period of readjustment, now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED that we, the Committee on Social and Industrial Reconstruction of the National Women's Trade Union League, in meeting assembled this tenth day of December, 1918, do vigorously protest against this decision as an unjust, undemocratic and un-American method of attempting to settle the problems of adjustment arising out of the situation and further as a denial of the elementary right to work; and be it further

RESOLVED that we call upon the National War Labor Board to reopen the case in order to secure a settlement just to all in common

The Committee on Social and Industrial Reconstruction, who sent this protest, are:

Chairman, Mrs. Raymond Robins, President of the National Women's Trade Union League.

Fannia Cohn, member of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Mary E. Dreier, Chairman of the Legislative Committee of the New York Women's Trade Union League.

Alice Henry, lecturer and organizer for the National Women's Trade Union League.

Elizabeth Maloney, member of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees.

Agnes Nestor, member of the International Glove Workers' Union and President of the Chicago Women's Trade Union League.

Leonora O'Reilly, member of the New York Women's Trade Union League.

Rose Schneiderman, President of the New York Women's Trade Union League.

Melinda Scott, member of the Hat Trimmers' Union.

Emma Steghagen of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union and Secretary-Treasurer of the National Women's Trade Union League.

In answer to the protests received, a rehearing of the case is now scheduled in Detroit.

Suffragists Join Protest

THE New York City Woman Suffrage Party has made formal protest to the National War Labor Board against the summary dismissal of women war workers without just grounds and a thorough investigation as to whether the change in employment works a hardship to the individual. A resolution to this effect was passed at a recent meeting of the City Party, the resolution being forwarded not only to the members of the War Labor Board but also to Miss Mary Van Kleeck, Chairman of the Women in Industry Service of the U. S. Department of Labor.

Citing the dismissal of the women street car employees in Cleveland and the refusal to grant their appeal for reinstatement as a case in point, the resolution states:

"RESOLVED, That we, the officers, leaders and workers of the New York City Woman Suffrage Party, in meeting assembled, do strongly protest against any unjust treatment of women workers, who as soldiers of industry helped to win the war; and be it further

"RESOLVED, That we urge a thorough investigation of their problems, in order that help may be given them through the proper channels to keep them from suffering unduly through necessary changes of occupation."

Within the Organization

(Continued from page 611)

NEW JERSEY suffragists laid the foundation for strenuous activities in connection with the ratification campaign at Trenton late in November when the Mercer County Suffrage Association was formed. More than 100 prominent men and women were present at the banquet, which preceded the launching of the county organization. The evening was featured by a program of speeches by persons of state and national prominence, who presented suffrage as a fundamental principle of Democracy and the passage of the Federal Amendment as a necessary part of the work of establishing a real Democracy at home.

The speakers included the following well-known suffragists: Mrs. Percy V. Pennypacker, former President of the General Federation of Women's Clubs; Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers, Treasurer of the National American Woman Suffrage Association; Mrs. F. E. Feichert, President of the New Jersey Woman Suffrage Association, and Mrs. Albert McMahon, Organizer of the National Suffrage Association.

Prominent men of New Jersey who spoke included: A. Crozer Reeves, former Prosecutor, Martin P. Devlin and Senator James Hammond. Mrs. Charles S. Maddock, Jr., presided.

The immediate work confronting the newly organized county association will be the enrollment of the women of the county that New Jersey representatives in Congress or in the state Legislature may have concrete evidence that New Jersey women stand for suffrage.

Headquarters will be opened at once and the program of work set in motion. The association will also carry forward a program of political education for women and an Americanization campaign. Mrs. Maddock was chosen to head the Mercer County Organization. Her staff includes: Mrs. Charles A. Woodruff, Trenton, first vice-president; Mrs. William N. Mumper, Trenton, second vice-president; Mrs. Henry N. Leno, Princeton, third vice-president; Mrs. Linton Satterthwaite, Trenton, fourth vice-president; Mrs. C. D. Robeson, Pennington, fifth vice-president; Miss Corrine Mann, Trenton, secretary; Mrs. William Backes, Trenton, recording secretary; Miss Alice Wyckoff, Lawrenceville, treasurer, and Miss Jessie Buchanon, Trenton, auditor.

WOMEN have been admitted to full membership on the same terms as men by the Society of Incorporated Auditors and Accountants of England. This action, which was taken by a big majority vote, is said to reflect the high standing women have gained in the business life of England as the result of their war services.

Correspondence

Not a Square Deal

THE history of nicknames both of persons and political parties is curious and interesting. They are generally nicknamed from some striking mental or physical peculiarity or characteristic. Indeed, they may be said to nickname themselves, and the name is so apt and appropriate that it clings like a burr. Of such is the nickname—the Unholy Alliance—first applied by Senator Phelan of California to that combination of eastern Republican and southern Bourbon Democrats who united to defeat the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment in the U. S. Senate recently in spite of the fact that President Wilson, Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, had implored them to pass it.

Truly a sight to astonish both gods and men is this league of eastern Republicans and southern Democrats who combined to defeat votes for women, the women who are asserting, as did their forefathers of the Revolutionary War, that "taxation without representation is tyranny." These two sections of the Union, the East and the South, for years before and after the Civil War were as far sundered as the poles by the question of negro slavery. For four years they were separated by the bloody chasm of the Civil War, but now these former bitter enemies join hands to defeat woman suffrage.

In a recent vote in the U. S. Senate on the Federal Suffrage Amendment the two Senators from Massachusetts, Henry Cabot Lodge and Weeks, voted against it. Both Senators from Connecticut, Brandegee and McLean, voted against. Senators Dillingham, Vermont; Drew, New Hampshire; Hale, Maine, voted against it. Only one New England state, Rhode Island, does not belong to the Unholy Alliance; for both the Rhode Island Senators, Colt and Gerry, voted for it, be it said to their honor. Two southern states, Arkansas and Texas, also escaped the disgrace of belonging to the Unholy Alliance, for Kirby and Robinson, Arkansas, and Culberson and Sheppard, Texas, voted in favor. Southern Senators voted two to one against the Amendment. Most of the Senators of the middle West and the far West voted in favor of it.

Though as far apart as the north and south poles in some respects, in one point such Senators as Lodge and Weeks of Massachusetts; Wadsworth, New York; Brandegee and McLean, Connecticut, are in exact agreement with southern Senators like Underwood, Alabama; Overman, North Carolina, and Williams, Mississippi. All of the members of the Unholy Alliance are mossbacks and reactionaries of the most antiquated type. They have no

sense of reality. They have no realizing sense of times in which we are now living. They are the Rip Van Winkles of the U. S. Senate, and only a bad defeat at the polls will awaken them from their "befo' the wah" dreams.

When southern men both white and black were drafted, these same southern Senators who voted against the Federal Suffrage Amendment, strongly urged southern women of all classes to go into the cotton fields and save the cotton crops. There is no harder work than in sweltering under the burning southern sun to pick cotton. New England and other eastern Senators voting against the amendment, are very anxious that women should do dangerous work in munition mills and in the manufacturing of high explosives. American women are now engaged in such delicate and dainty work as laying rails and railroad ties as section hands on railroads; in riveting iron in boiler factories; manufacturing bricks, and hod-carrying. They are working as machinists, carpenters, painters, street cleaners, auto truck drivers, ambulance drivers, street car conductors, clearing and repairing street arc lights, working in potteries, in acetylene welding, as drivers of farm tractors. American women have gone over seas as nurses and doctors and surgeons, exposed not only to the dangers peculiar to their profession, but also to having the hospitals and dressing stations where they were working bombed by German aviators.

What do Senators Lodge, Weeks and Wadsworth in their easy comfortable chairs know of the hardships of women who have been taking men's places driving four-horse mowers and reapers on the farms of Minnesota, the Dakotas, Kansas and Iowa? Or of the hardships of refined women sweltering under the southern sun in cotton fields?

Southern Senators defend their votes against the Federal Suffrage Amendment by stating that it would give votes to so many colored women, entirely ignoring the fact that the suffrage amendment would enfranchise in the South many million more white women than black; but this argument cannot defend the course of such eastern Senators as Lodge and Weeks, for there is no negro problem in the New England states, the number of negroes there being comparatively small.

Men and women who have traveled much in the South and investigated southern conditions, assert that the South is seventy-five years behind the North, East and West, in education, business methods, railroads, household conveniences, machinery, methods of farming, in efficiency of all kinds; but certainly in their views of woman suffrage and in regard to any recognition or appreciation of woman's services,

sufferings and sacrifices in this terrible war, more than half of the Senators of New England are every whit as reactionary as such typical southern Bourbon Democrats as Underwood and Bankhead of Alabama, Overman and Kitchin, North Carolina, and Williams, Mississippi.

The names and votes of these Senators have been verified from an official list of the Senate vote.

SYLVIA S. VIDETTO.

Highland Park, Detroit, Michigan.

Soldiers Want "Citizen"

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

ENCLOSED please find \$1.00 for one year's subscription to the *Woman Citizen*. Send it to Sidney A. Teller, Irene Kaufmann's Settlement (President-Director), 1835 Center Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa. I am hostess of this "Hut." The soldiers and sailors come in to write letters. We give them smokes, home-made cookies, candy and fruit, also free tickets to the picture shows and theatres. Sew buttons on their clothes if needed, do shopping for them, etc. This morning I brought a few back numbers of the *Woman Citizen* to the hut. Mr. Teller happened to come in, picked up a number, asked if he could take it home, then I asked him to subscribe which he did and he said, "It was a splendid paper." He has lately moved here from Chicago, Illinois, and said his wife did not like it here, because she could not vote. If at any time you would care to send some back numbers to this "Hut" they would be appreciated by the soldiers and sailors.

MRS. ROBERT G. PENTECOST.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Red Cross Women

THE American Red Cross reports that 8,000,000 women volunteer workers in the Red Cross Army in this country have made 291,000,000 necessary articles during the past seventeen months. The report shows 253,196,000 surgical dressings made during that period, 14,089,000 knitted articles, 1,464,000 refugee garments and 22,255,000 hospital garments and supplies.

To Study Child Welfare

Miss Julia C. Lathrop, Chief of the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor, and Miss Grace Abbott, Director of the Child Labor Division of the same bureau, sailed this week for Europe to consult with Child Welfare experts in England, France and Italy.

Give Us Women

By Alice B. Pelican

GIVE us Women!

Women—from every rank,
Brave and true and frank;
Women of thought and reading,
With aims and actions speeding
Towards a greater freedom.

Give us Women!

Women of skill and art,
Eager for justice at heart;
Women whose love is force,
Which aids, not obstructs her course
Towards a greater freedom.

Give us Women!

Women with noble pride,
Women who can guide;
Women who will find,
And lead mankind
To greater freedom.

Give us Women!

Women whose every affliction
To them is as fiction;
Women who cheer and smile,
And, exultant, the while,
Patiently seek greater freedom.

Give us Women!

Women with hope set high;
Women who would die,
If such death might pave the way,
Or the price could pay
For greater freedom.

Give us Women!

Women—whose touch is balm,
Whose presence produces calm;
Women! With man to soar
Higher than ever before
Towards greater freedom.

Women to Men

GOD bless you, lads!

All women of the race,
As forth you go,
Wish you with steadfast face
The best they know.

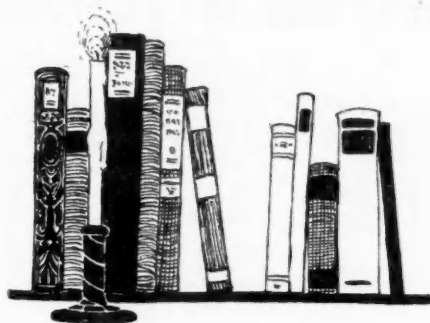
God cheer you, lads!

Out in the bitter nights,
Down the drear days,
Through the red reeking fights
And wasted ways.
God bring you, lads,
Back to the motherland,
True laurels gained,
Glory in either hand,
Honor unstained.

—Punch.

From *War Verse*, by Frank Foxcroft,
(Thomas Crowell Co.)

The Book Stall



Reading for Courage

UNDER the heading, "Mothers Need Good Nerves," an Ohio woman asks for "good biographies of good representative women," for her club to present to the public library. One book that must inspire courage in every thoughtful reader is "Memoirs of Catherine Booth, the Mother of the Salvation Army," by F. de L. Booth-Tucker. It was published years ago by Fleming H. Revell Company, in two big volumes. The great success that the Salvation Army lassies have lately had in their work among the soldiers ought to give it renewed interest.

The late Mrs. Booth was one of the world's great women—and a great preacher, and a true apostle of righteousness: a great lover, not only of her own husband and her own household, but of all humanity, and especially of the poor and friendless; a great mother, who nourished her eight children with her soul as well as with her milk; a great overturner of conventionalities when they stood in the way of things that needed to be done; a marvel of efficiency, spiritual as well as material; an heroic soul, never yielding an inch to fear. Her life and its achievements were more wonderful than the most thrilling romance, and must command the admiration of those who take no stock, in her theology. Mrs. Booth was a suffragist, naturally; and among other good things she did a great deal to shatter the old idea that women ought not to speak in public.

Another book that could be re-read at this time with profit is George Sands "Consuelo" with its sequel, "The Countess of Rudolstadt." It gives a graphic picture of the hatefulness of Prussian militarism in the days of Frederick the Great, and also of the oppression of Bohemia under the Austrian yoke. In addition, it develops the character of a brave and great hearted woman with so much vividness that it can hardly fail to bring courage and inspiration to any thoughtful reader. Although only a work of fiction, those who "love a beautiful story with a positive passion" (in

MY LORRAINE JOURNAL

BY EDITH O'SHAUGHNESSY

The New York Tribune says: "The author has an inspired way of etching verbal vignettes with wonderful graphic skill. . . . It is decidedly one of the most delightful books of the kind that have come to our ken during the war."

The New York Sun says: "Some people have a genius for writing journals, and Mrs. O'Shaughnessy is one of them. . . . It does not take but a few moments for us to become enamored of this writer's style."

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the words of one of George W. Cable's characters), will be grateful for having it suggested to them at this time.

A. S. B.

The Small Place

AS it is building architects only who have had workless days dealt out to them by the war board, there is no reason why Elsa Rehman's *The Small Place* (G. P. Putnam's Sons) should lead us into temptation. It is a very enticing book, but it is all about landscape architecture only and so may patriotically give such aid and comfort as is possible to land owners who cannot now find men even to clip their grass borders.

But still one may plan now for that happy day when lawns may be laid out afresh, and Miss Rehman's book with its 100 photographs offers plenty of visual help. Two things mark the author's treatment. One is that all of her plans for beautification are adapted to plots not much more than 100 feet wide, possible city or town lots. The second is their interesting use of trees by which an illusion of remoteness may be maintained in a very small territory.

Each problem has been worked out by a different landscape architect, many of whom are women. It is interesting to note the diversity, ingenuity and daring of their suggestions. No one could prove the theory that women are more conventional than men from a study of these illustrations.

Finding Her

MISS JULIA STIMSON, of Worcester, Mass., whose book *Finding Themselves* was reviewed in the *Woman Citizen* of November 2, has been appointed Chief Nurse of the American Red Cross in France of the American Expeditionary Force.

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G. O. P. Women Plan Campaign

CONSIDERATION of the part women are to take in the 1920 campaign of the Republican party was one of the objects of a conference held recently at Washington by Mr. Will H. Hays, Chairman of the National Republican committee, Mrs. Medill McCormick, chairman of the Republican Women's National Executive Committee, and other party leaders. One of the first things to be attempted by the women members of the party, it was announced, will be the completion of Republican Women's organizations in all of the states, suffrage and non-suffrage, and the establishment of a national headquarters at Washington.

This will be the first national campaign in which women will have a voice in the management of the Republican organization. The party's leaders are planning the most determined drive they have yet made for the support of the women, not only in the suffrage states, but in all of the states of the union. It was announced some time ago by Chairman Hays that steps had been taken to bring about the fullest participation of the women in the conduct of the party's affairs, and the creation of the Republican Women's National Executive Committee, which will co-operate and advise with the Republican National Committee, is a long step in this direction.

New York

THE New York State Woman Suffrage Party projected an ambitious program for the coming year when in convention December 2 and 3. The program hinges on the following essential points:

1. To "put the whole force of its organization and its influence back of the passage and ratification of the Federal Amendment for Woman Suffrage, following carefully the program laid out by the National Suffrage Association."

2. To support measures affecting women in industry to be known as the Women's Program

as follows: A minimum wage; an eight-hour maximum workday for women; the extension of the Labor Law to include office workers, women in transportation service, women elevator operators; provision for an increased number of women factory and mercantile inspectors.

3. To keep the organization non-partisan.

4. To oppose candidates for public office, irrespective of their political affiliations, when the records and policies of such candidates are at variance with the objects set forth in the Party's constitution.

5. To recommend a study of primary reform, leading to legislation for open primaries.

6. To urge women to enroll in the political parties.

7. To advocate the passage of a bill through the Legislature to provide that facts concerning all candidates for office and both sides of every measure to be submitted to the voters be issued in printed form and sent to all voting citizens.

Suffrage Vital Issue

THAT woman suffrage was a vital issue in the recent Congressional Campaign is emphasized in a statement from M. H. Wolfe, chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee of Texas, who, in analyzing the results of the Congressional elections, said: "The Democrats who were defeated have themselves to blame for it. It will be seen that almost without exception, the ones who have lost in this election were those who have time after time repudiated certain of the Administration's policies. I attribute their defeat to the public condemnation of their failure to support President Wilson when important measures were being considered."

"I have especial reference to the defeat of woman suffrage, which, after being urged by the President, was not supported by all of the Democratic party."

Age of Consent

LAWS governing the age of marriage, age of legal majority and age of criminal responsibility are generally among those laws left undisturbed from generation to generation. We have already commented in the *Woman Citizen* on the flagrant fact that the age of criminal responsibility is in most states 16 years, the age of a child. In more than a third of the states 18, not the traditional 21, is the age of legal majority for girls. Only one state that had this lower age limit has been up-and-coming enough to pull this law out from among the cobwebs and bring it up to date. This is woman suffrage Kansas, whose Legislature in 1917 raised the girl's age of majority to that of her brother.

Women on Juries

THROUGH the medium of a resolution adopted at a recent meeting of the Women's Bar Association of Kings County, women lawyers of Kings County, Brooklyn, New York, have placed themselves on record as favoring the impanelling of women on juries. Copies of this resolution will be forwarded to Governor-elect Smith when he assumes office, and the next state assembly will be asked to take action upon this request. A committee, consisting of Assistant District Attorney Helen McCormick, Mrs. Jeanette Brill and Mrs. Ida Schleider, has begun the work of drafting a bill which will be introduced in both the Senate and the House on the first day of the session. The Legislature undoubtedly will be called upon to decide whether jury service for women shall be compulsory, on the same terms as men, or whether it shall be a privilege accorded to those women who would like to serve as jurors. The members of the last Legislature considered the question of women jurors for a time, but no definite action was taken in the matter.

THE Red Cross will train young women who speak the languages for nursing and reconstruction work among Czecho-Slavs, Russians and Poles.

Seattle Justices of the Peace

IN re-electing Miss Rhea May Whitehead and Mrs. Othilia Gertrude Carroll Beals to the office of justice of peace, Seattle came to the rescue of women in office.



OTHILIA GERTRUDE CARROLL BEALS, SEATTLE, WASH.

These elections were not the result of personality and popularity plus but the recognition of signal ability in the conduct of their offices, Miss Whitehead having served a term of four

years after election and Mrs. Beals having been appointed eighteen months ago to the office left vacant by her brother who went to war.

These two come from opposite walks in life. Miss Whitehead had a hard struggle—was a stenographer at fifteen and worked her way up through the law—was one of the first women deputies appointed in the Prosecuting Attorney's office. When urged to run for the office four years ago, she was very diffident about undertaking the responsibility and even after election approached her novel task with misgivings. But now that she has served four years and has won her re-election with the highest vote given the five justices she feels that her work is assuredly its own justification.

Mrs. Beals, on the other hand, studied law in the University merely because she was fond of it, was interested in it and preferred it to anything and everything else. After her graduation she spent a winter in New Orleans (fifteen years ago). While there she attended a woman suffrage meeting presided over by Susan B. Anthony. At this meeting there was a call for a woman lawyer to come on the platform so a photograph could be taken of women in the four professions; as there did not appear to be any other woman lawyer present, Mrs. Beals (then Miss Carroll) went up and was photographed with the group. Miss Anthony praised her for her advanced stand in studying law, but Mrs. Beals disclaimed any intention of practicing or following the profession of law, said she was engaged to be married and never intended or anticipated making any practical use of her knowledge.

Miss Anthony said that was all right, that she liked to see young people marry and be happy, but she felt the time would come when the adolescent lawyer before her might put her education to use. A truly prophetic remark!

Major Beals went into the Army after the United States declared war, and Mrs. Beals was appointed to the office of justice of peace left vacant by her brother, Major John E. Carroll, some eighteen months ago. When the term expired, she filed for office and, in both the primaries and the regular election, won with a very large vote. She is not sure that when the war is over and her husband returns home she will continue to serve, but it has been a great satisfaction to feel that she has been of service to her fellow men.

Both women claim that the office is one in which numberless opportunities arise where women will handle cases very much more humanely than men; that with women officials the litigants feel that they have a chance as human beings and are not regarded as machines or cogs in a wheel.

Miss Whitehead declares that she is wedded to her profession, and it may be that she is, but if any anti-suff who imagines that all women who vote, or who so far forget their womanhood as to hold office, are gruff, uncouth, masculine, unsexed beings could meet these dainty, low-voiced, sweet-faced justices of the peace, see them mete out justice, and hear their wise decisions, they would realize how prophetic Shakespeare was, when he gave us that most finely rounded of all characters—Portia. Whatever the antis think of women in office, Seattle is proud of these two and rejoices to do them honor.

ANNE BIGONY STEWART.

Women and the Criminal

THE appointment by Governor Walter E. Edge, of New Jersey, of Mrs. Otto H. Wittpen, of Jersey City, to the State Board of Charities and Corrections is no evidence that reactionary New Jersey has seen a great light about Woman's place. Mrs. Wittpen has won a commanding place in New Jersey for her work in the Board of Children's Guardians.

She has probably done more than any one person in the state to care for its delinquent and unfortunate children and her appointment was properly in order. She will succeed Commissioner of Corrections Richard Stocton, of Trenton, who resigned some time ago.

In Finland

THE Finnish women have been the first to erect a memorial to commemorate the enfranchisement of women. About 10,000 people gathered when the stone was erected at the foot of the highest hill in the Finland Alps near the town of Froberg. The lines on the stone translated roughly read:

"On man and woman equal rights confer;
Let her serve him; likewise let him serve her."



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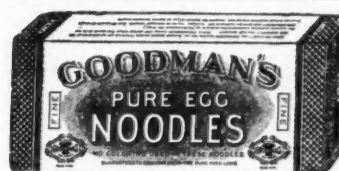
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and "The Heart of Blackstone"

The Most Essential Industry

THERE has been much talk of late about essential and non-essential industries. Essential has meant essential to the winning of the war. For the essential industries it has been considered imperative that workers should be secured, at any price that was necessary in order to get them. But in most communities it has been tacitly assumed that the education of children was not an essential industry. The pay offered to teachers has been so shamefully below that offered to workers in other lines, and so grossly out of proportion to the increased cost of living, that we are now suffering from a nation-wide shortage of teachers.

Yet education is perhaps the most essential industry of all. It is certainly the most essential to the winning of the great war that goes on all the time, year in and year out, century after century, between the forces of darkness and the forces of light. Catherine Breshkovsky wrote to the young women of the Westover School, in 1916: "No vocation is so needed, so beneficent for the present and so fruitful for the future, as the rational and moral education of children."

To another friend she wrote: "We have thousands and thousands orphans around us, and if we do not apply all our efforts and means to bring them up and teach them, we have no future. The child question is the most serious and continually pressing question of the age. It is awful to see how the world is foolish.

They are writing in every paper about food and fuel, and they forget that if the race dies out there will be nobody to eat and to provide. For shame! I shall cry this question out in every letter to my many correspondents, and urge them to do all they can to forward it."

While all the papers are discussing the prospects for America's foreign trade and the resumption of business at home and abroad, there is danger that this vital and fundamental subject may be overlooked. Its chance of receiving due attention is much increased by the spread of equal suffrage. Women realize more keenly than most men the importance of the schools. Let the women with their new power make their voices heard upon the essential point!

A. S. B.

Massachusetts

"RECRUITING RALLIES" are being held in Boston, the rallies being one form of the good results accomplished by the Citizenship Class, which is under the direction of Mrs. Frederick P. Bagley, Americanization Chairman of the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association.

A Naturalization Aid Service office has been opened under the charge of Mrs. Martha J. Coffey, who has made a special study of Citizenship problems. Members of the Citizenship Class will be volunteer aids in this work. The office has been opened in the heart of the foreign district where it is convenient of access.

It is hoped to extend the recruiting rallies throughout the state, as the result of the citizenship work.

CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVED FROM OCTOBER 1st TO NOVEMBER 30th, 1918

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Carrie C. Catt.....	\$1,500.00
Mrs. W. K. James.....	25.00
Mrs. Robert Gould Shaw.....	2,000.00
Mrs. Draper Smith.....	50.00
Tennessee Woman Suffrage Association.....	350.00
Mrs. D. O. Ives.....	25.00
Indianapolis Franchise League	50.00
Wisconsin Woman Suffrage Association.....	500.00
New Hampshire Equal Suffrage Association.....	250.00
Woman Suffrage Society Co. of Philadelphia.....	81.25
Elsie B. Murphy.....	100.00
Nonie B. Mahoney.....	125.00
Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association.....	750.00
Mrs. Winston Churchill.....	100.00
Mississippi Woman Suffrage Association.....	50.00
Delaware Equal Suffrage Association.....	35.00
Mrs. Henry W. Cannon.....	100.00
New York State Woman Suffrage Party.....	5,000.00
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Arkansas Eq. Suff. Central Committee.....	62.50
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Dr. Mary Safford.....	100.00
Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association.....	1,000.00

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Ohio Woman Suffrage Association.....	125.00
Alabama Equal Suffrage Association.....	125.00
	\$16,332.00

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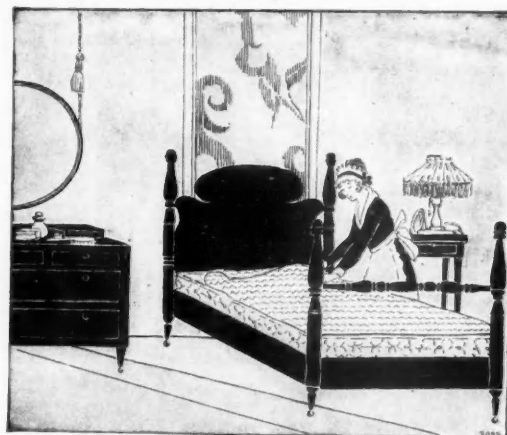


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Entered as second class matter, June 13, 1917, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

THE WOMAN CITIZEN

Founded June 2, 1917

Published every Saturday by

The WOMAN CITIZEN CORPORATION
at 171 Madison Avenue, New York

Ten cents a copy; yearly subscription (52 numbers), \$1.00. Postage to foreign countries fifty cents extra. Entered at the New York Post Office as Second Class matter, under the act of March 3, 1879. Copy-right, 1918, by The Woman Citizen Corporation.

VOL. III DECEMBER 28, 1918 No. 31

PUBLISHED by the Woman Citizen Corporation, in the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

The directors of the Corporation are Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, and Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore.

Alice Stone Blackwell is a special contributing editor.

Rose Young is the editor-in-chief.

Mary Ogden White, Mary Sumner Boyd, and Rose Lawless Geyer are associate editors.

Our

SUBSCRIBERS TAKE NOTICE! It takes two weeks to get a correction corrected on our mailing list. Send in your change of address two weeks in advance.

WITH the opening of the new year the circulation contest will come to a close. It will not be possible to announce the winner for two weeks or more after the contest closes, but we will tell you all about it in the *Woman Citizen* at the earliest possible moment.

The contest has brought together an interesting group of women who, as circulation chairmen, have done valiant service in spreading the cause of suffrage in their states through subscriptions to the *Citizen*. It has been volunteer service, wholly, and some have "carried on" while hard pressed with war service work and the many sacrifices that have been entailed during the period of the war. It is to be hoped that they will continue to carry on, even though the incentive of the contest is gone, as no better work for suffrage can be done than through the wide distribution of the suffrage magazine. We are not alone in this belief. The many letters that have come to the office, some of which we have quoted in this column, have reflected the same conviction.

Of the many interesting features developed in connection with the contest, not the least has been the good-natured rivalry that has spurred the states on.

First Georgia, then South Dakota, then Iowa jumped to first place with the other states pressing on. Thirty-eight states entered the contest. Several got a late start but managed to do some effective work. In some states, highly efficient organizations were perfected, reaching to the smallest unit.

The close of the contest sees some states with uncompleted pledges. We commend to them as a New Year resolution that they proceed at the earliest possible date to the completion of those pledges.

The coming year promises great developments in the suffrage field. Never in the whole history of nations have women been so vital a factor in the forming of national policies and national sentiment. The *Citizen* will have much to tell its readers—much that they will need to know if they would keep posted on the affairs of the day as related to the progress of women.

ROSE LAWLESS GEYER,
Nat'l Circulation Chrm.

SUBSCRIBERS TAKE NOTICE!

If your copy of the *Woman Citizen* is late in reaching you, make due allowance for the continued congestion in the postal service, but be sure to notify us if due allowance fails to account for continued trouble that you may be having.

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Alabama: Miss Minnie Woodall, Pinson
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Story

Circulation Contest

1. A pledge will constitute an entry.
2. No entries will be accepted after December 1, 1918.
3. Contest closes January 1, 1919.
4. In case of a tie for any one premium, the prize will be awarded to each qualifying contestant.
5. Only actual paid subscriptions will be counted in the awarding of premiums.

First Cash Premium FIFTY DOLLARS

To the State Association that sends in the highest number over 200 (paid new subscribers). The net price per subscription to the State Association is .70, the .30 to go into the state, county or local treasury, as may be decided by arrangement between the state and its branches.

Second Cash Premium TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the County Association that sends in the highest number over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the State Association, and would help to swell the state's total.

Third Cash Premium TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the Local Club that sends in the highest number over 100 (paid new subscribers). These would come through the County Association into the State Association, and thence to the *Woman Citizen*.

Fourth Cash Premium TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS

To the co-operating Subscriber who sends in the highest number over 50. This would be independent of state, county and club circulation activities, would apply to states that do not take up the circulation work in an official way, and would come directly to the *Woman Citizen*. The net price per subscription is \$1.00. No discount.

Relative Position of State Leagues in the *Woman Citizen's* Circulation Contest:

December 14th

1. Iowa
2. South Dakota
3. Georgia
4. Indiana
5. Michigan
6. Minnesota
7. New Jersey
8. Wisconsin
9. Massachusetts
10. Virginia
11. New York
12. Ohio
13. Maryland
14. New Hampshire
15. Alabama
16. Missouri
17. Texas
18. Pennsylvania
19. West Virginia
20. Maine
21. Kentucky
22. Tennessee
23. Louisiana
24. Connecticut
25. South Carolina
26. Arkansas
27. North Dakota
28. Washington, D. C.
29. Rhode Island
30. Illinois
31. Nebraska, Oklahoma
32. Washington, Mississippi, Florida
33. Kansas

December 21st

1. Iowa.
2. Georgia.
3. South Dakota.
4. Indiana.
5. Michigan.
6. Minnesota.
7. New Jersey.
8. Wisconsin, Virginia.
9. Massachusetts.
10. New York.
11. Ohio.
12. Maryland.
13. New Hampshire.
14. Alabama.
15. Missouri.
16. Texas.
17. Pennsylvania.
18. West Virginia.
19. Maine.
20. Kentucky.
21. Tennessee.
22. Louisiana.
23. Connecticut.
24. South Carolina.
25. Arkansas.
26. Kansas.
27. North Dakota.
28. Washington, D. C.
29. Rhode Island.
30. Illinois.
31. Nebraska, Oklahoma.
32. Washington, Mississippi, Florida.
33. North Carolina. 34. Vermont.

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The Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

A Journal of Democracy

December 28, 1918

"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

At the Close of 1918

THERE have been victory years before in the history of woman suffrage, but never one so wreathed in laurel as 1918. It is not only that in the United States three states have been won to full suffrage—that happened as well in 1912. It is the world sweep of the movement that has notably characterized the year. The most cursory review of the countries of the two hemispheres will serve to show the phenomenal status of suffrage the world over as 1918 draws to a close.

In the *United States*, fifteen states are full suffrage states, three have presidential plus municipal suffrage, one has presidential suffrage alone, one has state-wide municipal suffrage and two have primary suffrage.

Suffrage by Federal Amendment is imminent.

Women are voting on practically the same terms as men in 12 foreign countries.

Find *Canada* on the map. Full suffrage.

Find *England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales*. Full suffrage.

Find *Australia*. Find *New Zealand*. Full suffrage.

Find *Norway, Denmark, Finland and Iceland*. Full suffrage countries all of them. *Russia*; full suffrage.

France, Belgium, Italy and Sweden have all reached a stage where favorable consideration is about to ripen into experiment.

In virtually all the new governments now in formation on the ruins of autocracy in Europe, woman suffrage is recognized as essential to that democracy toward which even the *Central Powers* are at last struggling.

BRITISH women, voting for the first time, covered themselves with glory on the occasion of the general elections on December 14, according to cable dispatches received in this country. While the official count of the votes cast at this election will not be known for another week, a large majority of the 6,000,000 women eligible to vote did vote despite unfavorable weather conditions which interfered somewhat with the election. Unofficial reports received from London the day following the election indicated that possibly two or three of the women candidates for seats in the House of Commons had been elected.

Due largely to the participation of the women in their first election since their admission to citizenship, the election was one of the most notable in years. All the candidates for Parliament conducted vigorous campaigns for the support of the new voters. In many London districts the women voting outnumbered the men ten to one during the morning hours, and in nearly all districts the women voters made a satisfactory showing as compared to that of the men.

THE importance of the reconstruction problems confronting the government, together with the urgent campaign waged by Premier Lloyd George for an endorsement of his coalition government, was responsible for much of the interest in the election—the first held since the war—on the part of the women voters. Premier Lloyd George and his associates made especial appeals to the women voters on a platform pledging complete sex equality in all matters relating to the government. The Labor party, the leading opposition party, also announced a plank pledging itself to stand for the removal of sex distinctions in political and business life.

Women prominent in social circles took an active part in the pre-election campaign, speaking in the larger cities of the country in favor of their candidates. Mrs. Lloyd George, wife of the Premier, was one of the busiest of the women electioneers, so was Mrs. McKenna, wife of the former Chancellor, who staunchly supported former Premier Herbert Asquith. Miss Elizabeth Asquith made a number of speeches in behalf of her father, while A. Bonar Law's daughter addressed a large meeting at Glasgow in which she urged the voters to support her father, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, declaring, "I hope you are voting for my father, and I think you are very lucky to have the chance."

Persistent rumors have been circulated in London political circles that Premier Lloyd George, in the event of the success of the coalition party at the polls, will name a woman for a prominent place in his new Cabinet. Such an appointment, it is declared, would be a fitting recognition of the services rendered the government during the war by the women of Great Britain. It would upset one of the oldest traditions of the British government, as no woman has ever held position as Cabinet Minister.

THE American Jewish Congress, in session at Philadelphia during the week of December 15, has placed itself on record as favoring the complete equality of the sexes in all political and civic matters in the proposed Jewish nation which the Zionists desire to establish in Palestine. This recommendation is contained in a program framed by the convention for the government of the proposed nation. These recommendations, together with the proposed plan of government, probably will be presented to the Peace Conference at Paris.

In voicing the three guiding principles which should be recognized in the establishment of a Jewish nation in Palestine, it is declared: "From the social point of view it is in the interest of all the inhabitants of Palestine that immigration, industrial and

commercial enterprises and land policies be regulated in accordance with the following program: Political and civil equality, irrespective of race, sex and faith, of all the inhabitants of the land."

FRENCH labor leaders have outlined a reconstruction program in which the working hours of women will be radically adjusted, says a newspaper dispatch from France. André Citroën, one of the most prominent of the labor leaders, has announced that if present plans are realized women workers will have a five-hour working day. The reason assigned for this proposed change is that it will lighten the burdens of women workers, that it will not keep men returning from the war out of work and that every woman who wants to work will have plenty of opportunity to do so.

CABLE dispatches from France indicate that woman suffrage is to become an increasingly important issue in the political life of France in the immediate future. Several groups of suffragists, at a recent meeting, adopted a manifesto demanding that the government take the necessary steps to grant this reform before the time of the next election.

Preliminary steps looking to the granting of suffrage to the women of France were taken some months ago in the French Parliament. Now that the war is over and the signing of the peace treaties is a prospect of the near future, the suffragists expect to press their demand for the extension of full political rights. Sentiment for woman suffrage in France has gained tremendously during the period of the war, as the result of the co-operation given the government in all matters relating to the winning of the war by the women of the nation.

IT is not only the famous French suffragists like the suffrage leader Mme. Dewit Schlumberger who have imbued their government with the new sense of women's relation to the body politic. It is, as well, women from every plane of thought and endeavor—women of the aristocracy, professional women, business women, women in industry—all have placed their capacities and their resources at the government's disposal and in all and from all the government has sensed the new psychology in women. Two women who are illustrative are Mme. Montague and Mme. d'Etrelis, noblewomen who under the name of the *Boué Socurs*, are engaged in business both in the Rue de la Paix and in New York. When the war began they volunteered their services to their government and put their Paris establishment's facilities at its disposal. Earnest propagandists of women's enfranchisement, both of them, they are to be counted among the women who have helped impress their government with a sense of the new ideals and aspirations that are possessing French women in these later days.

THE number of Congressmen in whose election women may take part is 132.

The number of electoral votes in which women have a voice is 213, out of a total of 531, and only 266 votes are necessary to a choice for President of the United States.

The total number of women of voting age in the states where women have a form of suffrage that gives them the right to vote for federal officials is over eleven million.

Approximately there are seventy-five million women of voting age in the world who are now on an equality with men so far as franchise is concerned.

With Our Allies, the Editors

"PRESIDENT WILSON'S appeal for equal rights as a just reward for equal service must have moved even the most hard-shelled of the opposition."—*Republic*, St. Louis, Mo.

"IT seemed for a long time as if nothing funnier than an individual anti-suffragist could exist in this country of Barnum and Artemus Ward. But the very name 'Woman Voters' Anti-Suffrage Party' is funnier than Irvin Cobb's funniest dream."—*Telegram*, Long Beach, Calif.

IT is unfortunate for the country, the Senators, the women and the people that the vote on the question of granting suffrage to the women wasn't the reverse of what it is. It's all to do over now and it will be done over, and over, until right prevails and the women are permitted to vote.—*Light*, Corsicana, Tex.

THE people of any state who are not satisfied with the vote which was cast in the Senate in their name can nullify the action of their senatorial representative, and get the laugh on them, by so changing their state constitutions that the women may have the ballot and take vengeance of them for having disappointed their hopes on this occasion.—*Morning News*, Dallas, Tex.

"THE women of Missouri who want the ballot seem to have the two political parties in a hole. Last August, in their enthusiasm to let no votes escape at the approaching election, both parties, in state convention, committed themselves to the enfranchisement of women. The Republican state platform declared for both state and federal suffrage, while the Democratic platform builders committed themselves only to the federal brand. That was before the Federal Suffrage Amendment had been defeated in the United States Senate.

"UNLESS the members-elect of the Legislature, who are members of their respective party convention voted for the suffrage planks, had their fingers crossed, suffrage leaders in Missouri believe they will have little difficulty in obtaining the submission by the General Assembly of the suffrage issue to the voters in the 1920 election. Democratic members may quibble a trifle about the terms of their endorsement, the women fear, but they cannot see how the Republicans, who will control the house, can sidestep. At any rate the women are going to be right on the job at Jefferson City to see of just what kind of stuff party platforms are built."—*Star*, Kansas City, Mo.

IT is rumored that the seventeen ward leaders in New Orleans met last week and decided to bury the woman's suffrage amendment. It is intimated that they can roll up a majority against it of something like 18,000 votes. If this be true, the woman suffrage has about the same chance in Louisiana as the proverbial snow ball. The Journal regrets this action, for it sees in it certainty of defeat for woman's suffrage. It regrets it for another reason, and that is the proof that it makes that Louisiana as well as New Orleans is subject to dictation of the seventeen men who run the politics of New Orleans. When it comes to the holding of political jobs and dividing the patronage there cannot be much complaint about this policy, for New Orleans has a fairly good administration, but when it comes to dictating legislation for the state and nation it would appear likely that the leaders are trying to cover too much territory.—*Madison Journal*, Tallulah, La.

By Truck from Paris to Beauvais

With the Gas Unit of the Women's Oversea Hospitals

By Anne Hirst Curry

PARIS, November 20.

AFTER weeks of delay, due to the late arrival of the truck, the repairs necessary upon its arrival, and the endless waiting for those papers without which neither human being nor lifeless object can be moved in France from where it is to any other place, the big one-and-one-half ton truck donated by the Colony Club of New York to the Women's Oversea Hospitals drew up before Paris headquarters at the Hotel Castille, ready to start on the last lap of her journey from the New York garage to the Gas Hospital.

A huge, cumbersome thing she was, with her great canvas hood tossed up from the open rear, her double tires bearing up the roomy chassis, and a bright new American flag flashing from her driver's seat—a flag that had been first used to celebrate the signing of the armistice the day before. Dufflebags, steamer rugs, handbags and boxes of supplies were piled in; Mrs. Raymond Brown occupied the seat with Miss Mellen, the driver; Dr. Lefort, Director of the Gas Hospital and fortunately in Paris, was a welcome and a suitable passenger for the first trip; Miss Ford came along to relieve Miss Mellen when necessary, and your correspondent curled up with those two among the pieces of luggage in the rear to get a view of the country as we drove through it.

The engine cranked up as though it knew how long we had been waiting for this moment. The driver mounted her seat, the back was closed and fastened, a loud honk-honk cleared the narrow street—and the big camion slid smoothly down to the Rue de Rivoli on her way out of the great city.

IT was a raw, gray morning, and as we crept out of Paris we felt almost in the middle of the night, so unawakened was the city from her slumbers. For Paris had run wild the night before in her fête—she had come up as from the dead with an outbreak of rejoicing so spontaneous, so long awaited, that every woman and man fortunate enough to be here—from no matter what other nation—had joined in and been made entirely at home in shrieking his joy with that of Paris and tossing off the burden that for long years had held down the old Paris to a reserve unnatural and unbroken. As we drove through the streets ablaze with flags, bunting, garlands of blues and whites and reds, Paris seemed a city drugged with exhaustion, deadened by fatigue, so desolate of human beings was she at that hour—but we knew that Paris dozed but for the moment, that in another few hours she would awaken to celebrate with even greater vigor than yesterday's the day of days awaited with such patience and such suffering.

Other camions we passed—Americans going back to their hospitals and headquarters, Americans luckily in town for the yesterday's feasting, Americans who called out to us with glad cries, in voices hoarse from much calling. Queues of waiting civilians even so early formed at baker and sweet shops for their day's allowances of food; market-carts jogged along, even the horses seeming to catch the fresh spirit of joy and to jog with a bit more spirit than usual. At the city's gate we picked up half-a-dozen Red Cross nurses waiting for the tram to take them to their hospitals; trams were running, but with men and women hanging on their steps. So we hauled in the girls over our rear

wheels and dropped them off at their hospital further out. Their tales of the quick recoveries among their patients the afternoon before, when the news of the armistice trickled through, were amusing; convalescent

soldiers promptly sat up in bed and demanded their clothing, and bed after bed emptied as soon as the nurses turned their back! And we found the news had had precisely that effect among the French gassed patients at our own hospital.

THE camion sped over roads that the French name bad, but which, considering the heavy traffic they had borne in the past years, appeared to us to be extremely good. We drove through a country slightly rolling, along roads lined with the lovely poplars of France, slipped together in charming vistas, as the car sped through them. Everywhere we saw evidences of careful cultivation of the land. Huge mounds of straw concealed the vegetables preserved from the frosts for winter food. On either side the fields rolled gently back, some furrowed for the planting of winter wheat—which is apparently done later here than at home—the rich brown earth beautifully ridged into shallow hollow waiting for the grains. Here and there, scarlet poppies tossed on frail stems among the furrows, and where other fields had been planted a while before the wheat made immense square carpets that shone a brilliant green in the sparkling sunlight. For the gray clouds were pushed back and as the morning grew older the countryside was flooded with a burst of sunshine, the famous blue skies of France appeared, and fluffy splotches of soft white clouds skudded across the sky-bowl in front of a stiff wind that tossed the trees and rumbled the young wheat into rough rugs like uncombed hair.

Roses, too, even in such cold! Clustered in front of the red-roofed cottages, nestled beneath the eaves of quaintly-thatched huts, glaring boldly out in rich reds and pinks over stone walks leading to the tiny doorways. White clematis tossed over the walls and scented the morning air with clear sweetness. Here and there, fruit trees were curiously trained close against the plaster fronts of cottages, their branches like curving arms embracing the home walls. (One could fancy leaning out one's chamber-window and plucking a plum for *petit déjeuner*!) Once in a while we climbed sudden, steep little hill streets paved with cobbles and so narrow that the car nearly nudged the curbs in her climbing.

GRIM evidences, too, there were of other things. A chimney fallen, the stones still lying underneath the eaves; church windows with gaping black holes where panes used to be; trenches, dug winding through the fields, with entanglements of barbed wire planted ahead of them.

But the village folk knew that morning that the first great step toward peace had come. All along the way, as the huge camion rolled through the streets and the people sighted our flag, they waved and cried out, "Vive l'Amérique!" Little children were there, old women, and bent, aged men. Working in the fields, they stopped to send their welcome call, clear across in the morning air; standing at their doorways, stopping in the streets, waving from their windows—always with a smile and a

(Continued on page 634)

Politics and the Woman

Democratic Women to Meet in Washington

THE Woman's National Democratic League will meet in annual convention at Washington, D. C., on January 21 and 22. As this is the first convention held by the League since the United States entered the war, many matters of importance will be before the body. Post-war reconstruction problems will be discussed and a survey of the political situation in the several states will be presented by the committee on political affairs.

Women's Part in G. O. P.

WHEN the Republican National Committee meets in Chicago January 10, 1919, for the "Love Feast" program at which plans for the 1920 campaign will be discussed, the members of the Women's Republican National Committee will not only be in attendance but will take an active part in the proceedings, according to newspaper dispatches. The Women's Committee has already opened headquarters in Washington and will immediately begin the work of organizing the Republican women of all the states in the Union, both suffrage and non-suffrage states. The women's state organizations will co-operate with the regular party organizations and are expected to be active factors in the presidential campaign.

Members of the national committee are: Mrs. Medill McCormick, Chicago, chairman; Mrs. Florence Collins Porter of California; Miss Mary Garrett Hay of New York City; Mrs. Robert Hill McCarter of Kansas; Mrs. Josephine Corlis Preston of Washington, and Mrs. Raymond Robins of Chicago.

THE Republican Women's National Executive Committee held its first open session at Washington, December 17, and outlined a strong policy in support of equal rights for women in industry and the abolition of child labor. This policy is far reaching and will be effective not only during the reconstruction period, but for years after.

The policy to be pursued by the Republican women is shown by the following planks in the platform adopted by the National Executive Committee:

"A wage which will insure health, education, leisure and recreation to the citizenship of the United States.

"The abolition of child labor up to sixteen years.

"Compulsory education up to sixteen years.

"Absolute prohibition of night work for women.

"Eight-hour day for women.

"Equal pay for equal work.

"Social insurance covering these three points:

Health insurance, old age pension and unemployment insurance.

"Equal opportunity for men and women in trade and technical training.

"Immediate action by Congress to appoint a commission to create Federal work in case the ordinary industries do not consume the production capacity of the people. Such work might include putting the land into condition for such of the soldiers and sailors as desire to go to the land and work on the Mississippi levees, in order that the soldiers may go to the land under Federal protection not subject to exploitation of individuals."

AMONG the speakers at the meeting of the committee were Mrs. McCormick and Mrs. Raymond Robins, President of the National Women's Trade Union League.

"This Republican Women's National Executive Committee is definitely asking the co-operation of every thoughtful Republican woman in the country to help us work out a program for social and industrial reconstruction," said Mrs. Robins.

"It is needless here to say that we find ourselves in one of the great crises of our national life. How important it is for women of the country to act is proved by the decision taken by the National War Labor Board in summarily dismissing 150 women conductors of the Cleveland Street Railway at the request of men who even went out on strike to secure their demands.

"As a result of the protest of the organized working women of the country the National War Labor Board has reopened the case.

"These women conductors in Cleveland were not displacing any returned soldiers. The men who asked for their dismissal were the men who had secured better paying work in the war industries. One hundred and twenty-five of the women are the wives or sisters of soldiers, and have dependents."

First Woman Notary of Massachusetts

MISS CLARA LOUISE POWER is the first woman to be appointed a notary public in Boston. She was named for that office under the provisions of the constitutional amendment approved by the voters on November 5th.

Miss Power was the unanimous choice of the Massachusetts Association of Women Lawyers. She is a graduate of Boston University Law School and was the first woman to be admitted to practice before the supreme court. She is well known in and around Boston as the Assistant Register of Probate and Insolvency for Suffolk county.

Citizens Union Elects Women to City Committee

THE Citizens Union of the City of New York has elected a number of women to its City Committee, the governing body of the association. The Citizens Union is one of the best-known organizations in the municipal life of New York. For twenty-two years it has been carrying out a program of practical service which includes: following and reporting on the work of the Legislature and the Board of Aldermen, co-operating with governmental and civic agencies, furthering beneficial and defeating bad legislation, and investigating the qualifications of the candidates for office and making recommendations to the voters.

The president of the Citizens Union is Dr. William Jay Schieffelin. Mrs. Rosalie Loew Whitney, well-known in suffrage work, is a member of the Executive Committee. The women elected to the City Committee on December 17 include:

Mrs. Harriet Stanton Blatch, Mrs. Frederick H. Whitin, Mrs. Estelle Bush, Mrs. Julius Henry Cohen, Mrs. Albert Strauss, Dr. Katherine B. Davis, Mrs. Helen Leavitt, Miss Mary Vida Clark, Mrs. Stanley M. Isaacs, Miss Mary E. Dreier, Miss Edith Morgan, Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw, Mrs. Mary Padden, Mrs. F. Louis Slade, Miss Rose Young, Mrs. William G. Willcox, Miss Ida Woolworth, Mrs. William H. Hays, Mrs. Charles L. Tiffany, Mrs. George Notman, Mrs. Raymond Brown, Miss Bertha Rembaugh, Mrs. W. Holden Weeks, Mrs. Mary Grey Brewer, Mrs. William P. Earle, Jr., Mrs. Courtlandt R. Barnes and Mrs. H. Edward Dreier.

The Vote and the Job

SENATOR SHERMAN of Illinois, commenting on the action of the War Labor Board in ordering the Cleveland Street Car Company to discharge women employed as a war emergency said recently: "Had women the same vote as men they would not be egged nor would they be discharged with the approval of the War Labor Board and of Secretary Morrison of the American Federation of Labor. If they were good enough to serve during the war they are good enough to continue in service after the war ends."

Escorted by One Hundred

MRS. MARY M. LILLY, New York city's first Assemblywoman, will be escorted by one hundred women when she leaves for Albany for the organization of the Legislature. Senator John J. Boylan of New York city will head the escort.

Catherine Breshkovsky Writes A. S. B.

AMID the many conflicting reports about Catherine Breshkovsky, a registered letter just received from her, comes like a ray of light. It is dated about a fortnight before the cablegram which was sent out by the Omsk Government, announcing that she was coming to America. She herself mentions no such intention; indeed, one passage of her letter seems to imply that she thinks herself unlikely ever to visit this country again. Nevertheless, something may have happened to cause a sudden change of her plans, and we may hear any day that she has landed. The letter follows: Her English is quaint, but intelligible:

October 17, 1918.

Tcheliabinsk, Ural, Russia.

"I doubt if you got my two letters from Moscow the past winter and spring. Some days ago I sent a third, with an address to all my American friends, and another addressed to all the citizens of your Republic and its estimable and clever President Wilson, whose spirit and mind will be a beautiful example to all the future presidents of every nation. His righteousness and steadiness are of immeasurable use to all the world in its difficult circumstances, and will facilitate the conclusion of the discord which involves the interests of every country at present. In my address I told you how glad I am to see that all the Slavonic nationalities have decided to unite their forces for the emancipation of their people and countries. Together they will make more than 150,000,000, and, including the nationalities that will remain as citizens of our Russian Republic, they will form more than 200,000,000.

"The horrible madness is over. We are only suffering very much from its results; but the efforts of some years will vanquish all the mischief, and will acquire all we lost this terrible year.

"I was always of the opinion that this cruel war will contribute to the necessity of examining and reviewing all the constitutions under which the people have lived. The laws, the customs, the relations, the common interests, will be changed for the best. And perhaps our people will profit especially much, having had so tremendous lessons in their experiences. It seems that after a quite dark space they are entering a new life of light and welcome. Not so soon, but for sure. This strong hope makes me happy and quiet. I work with my old energy, and I feel and see that this my state of mind encourages the countrymen I have to do with.

"Now that I know we have chosen good citizens for our provisional government for all Russia, which ought to deliver Russia from all troubles, I have brought back my attention to the cultivation of the mind of our peasantry. These people are fond of me, and I feel well among them too. I scold them as long as I choose, and they only sigh and never scorn. They agree when told about their defects and mistakes, but consent, too, that the want of strong character and good habits makes them weak and subject to temptations.

"My ideal now is to get from the government and zemstvo and the resources of the state, land

and means all over Russia to prepare institutions—farms, schools, settlements—for the purpose of bringing up there the orphans, of whom there are now several millions among us, and making them good, hard-working citizens, able to perform valuably their duties towards their fatherland and to mankind. I am afraid we have lost too many good citizens during these four years, especially the last. We were poor in instructed and civilized people—now we are more poor. Therefore our energy must grow with every hour, and no rest is to be apprehended. Perhaps I shall be capable of working for some years more, if my health continues to be as good as till today.

"For two weeks I have been with the co-operators of the Tcheliabinsk Union. Some districts have their affairs in common, and become richer and better organized with every year. Now the peasants of this co-operative society have acquired a large estate, with a very good establishment of profits and of instruction, and they wish me to remain with them for some time. I feel well among them.

"I told you once how rich my imagination is. Throughout my whole life I have traveled and wandered all over the globe, and the five parts of the world are familiar to me. So, when I think of you, I always see America. I enter your old home, and visit the room of Catherine Breshkovsky. I feel very comfortable there, and have no desire to leave it. So, if I miss the chance to get a glimpse once more of your beautiful country, I shall be satisfied with the fancy, which makes me feel like reality.

"Just now I have had a visit from many young soldiers, who wished to see me and hear some words from me. They came here to mend the telephone. We are eight kilometers from the town of Tcheliabinsk, a large city and full of troops now, for it is the headquarters of our Allies, the Czecho-Slovaks, around whom are formed the battalions of the other Slavonic nationalities, mostly from the Balkans and Austria. Now they form one family, that wishes to remain allied for the future. They are all friends of mine, too, and do me the honor to call me their grandmother. You see, I begin to be ambitious, and to boast of my success!

"My long life among the sufferers is the school which has made me able to speak with my people openly, and to scold them when they deserve it. I am not a demagogue, for I love them too dearly to pardon them their defects. And they understand me, especially the peasants, for they are more reasonable and more serious in their creed than the workmen of the towns. Without any education, some of them, living attentively, have acquired a large knowledge in many disciplines of sciences and crafts. Oh, when the time comes that we begin to teach our new generations thoroughly, I see what nice people we shall have! It is the mistake and the defect of the intelligent people all over the world not to take care of the needs of their countrymen. I write and speak on this topic on all occasions, but it is an absurd education that our young people have received during the last ten years before the revolution when the despotic government was in perplexity after the revolution of 1905 and the elders were anxious for the safety of their children. These poor creatures were engaged to do what they chose, only

not to think about the needs of their people and country. So we have inherited a very cheap brood of egoists and lazy boys and girls, furnished with the diplomas of all sorts, but having the sole desire to abide in the great towns and to amuse themselves as much as they can.

"There are exceptions, certainly. But we ought to have them all, in these difficult, critical hours.

"You sympathize with me, and are never tired of hearing about my preoccupations, though they are always the same. But Russia is my child, with everyone living in it, and my soul and mind are hovering over their needs and sorrows, their successes and their future.

"I feel not miserable; my faith is strong; but sometimes troublesome, and always full of care and prevision.

"I read that the majority of your Senate are for the full rights of women, but it must be voted upon once more. Your President said 'yes.' What a clever and noble soul he is! I sympathize with him profoundly. A strong character.

"Send me a letter addressed via Japan or via Archangel, Tcheliabinsk, Ural, Russia, Co-operative Society, Catherine Breshkovsky."

Nevada Women Urgent

THE following resolution was passed by the Nevada Woman's Christian Temperance Union just before the close of the war:

WHEREAS, The woman-power of the United States is being called upon, and is doing its part toward winning the world war, and

WHEREAS, The large majority of women (as well as men) have proved their anxiety and willingness to stand back of the administration in its efforts to establish a lasting democracy, and

WHEREAS, Our Chief Executive, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, has declared to Congress the necessity of enfranchising the women of the United States at this time, for the honor of our nation at war for world-freedom,

Therefore Be It Resolved, That we, the woman citizens of the state of Nevada deplore the short-sightedness of those senators at Washington, D. C., who refuse to support the Federal Suffrage Amendment, and we most sincerely urge upon such members of the Senate a more serious consideration of the vital question upon which the honor of our nation depends.

NORA R. LINVILLE, President.

FLORENCE H. CHURCH, Vice-Pres.

MAUDE C. EDWARDE, Corr. Secy.

GERTRUDE HOWE, Treasurer.

BESSIE R. EICHELBERGER, Recd. Secy.

ALICE CHISM, Pres. Union of Reno Club.

LUCY A. BURKE, Pres. Woman Citizen.

MARGARET WALSER,

Pres. Twentieth Century Club.

[Vashti, Queen of Persia, has retired to her own apartments in the Palace of Shushan at the close of the feasts for the women, accompanied by her maid, Hadassah.]

WAIT here with me, Hadassah. I am sick

And weary of the feasting, and would rest.

A dream hath made me sad,

At dawn, while thick

The morning shadows hovered round, I slept

After a fitful night with burdens prest.

A vision came to me of such strange power

It does possess my spirit, and I seem

Still to be struggling in that fateful hour,

Bearing the sacred torch, as in my dream . . .

A multitude of women, sorrow-worn,

All beauty gone and hope of love denied,

Beckoned with trembling hands where stood

The Queen of Persia in her royal state,

Twixt love of ease and strong compassion torn,

Beside the palace gate.

Yet was I fear-constrained to answer them,

And crossed the court yard to the plain beyond;

The shadows deepened, and a Stygian gloom

Gathered around me as I hastened on,

Reluctant, yet moved mightily to bring relief

To all those unloved women, bowed in grief.

As I drew near, a mournful, chanting cry

Swelled from the vale and mingled with the
skies;

A hopeless wail that filled my heart with pain;

“WE are the concubines who fade and
die

Because we cannot please our masters more.

Who will arise and lift the heavy yoke

Of Lust's dominion from our grief-bowed
heads?

Who that will bear the sacrificial flame?

We are the playthings of the lords of earth;

We long for freedom to live worthy lives—

We would be mistresses of happy homes,

Be virtuous mothers and be well loved wives.”

So, hopelessly, they lifted up their cry—

“Who will renounce the flesh that love may live,

Who dares be virtuous, and die?”

Bewildered, I, the Queen, stood in their
midst;

And when they saw me, one, a woman gaunt

Thrust in my hand a tiny, flickering torch

And bade me bear it onward in the night.

Pressed by their feeble hands, I stumbled on—

Thorns pierced my sandled feet, and when

I fell, exhausted, one stood by

Who grasped the wavering brand and held it
high,

Still struggling onward through the kneeling
throng.

So passed the glimmering light from hand to
hand—

None heeded when a dying bearer fell,

Each kept the torch as 'twere some sacred thing

Whose flame extinguished, sent her down to hell.

Kneeling among the mourning women there,
I strained my eyes to watch the growing gleam;

When lo, a man, a holy Israelite,
Grasped the bright beacon from a failing hand
And flung its beams far o'er the years to come,
Until its brilliant light lit up a throng
Of sun-bright women singing praise to God.

CONSTANTINOPLE'S
WOMAN'S
COLLEGE IS
now
TRAINING
the
WOMEN
OF TURKEY
for
CAREERS
in
BUSINESS



TURKISH GIRLS OF THE COLLEGE

Reconstruct

TO judge from available instances women of Asia Minor and the Balkan Peninsula take just as naturally to civic betterment as do their western sisters. One of the first things a Turkish Woman's Club concerned itself with was street cleaning. This was part of a program carried out by Halideh Hanoum, a graduate of Constantinople Woman's College.

Halideh Edib—to give her a patronymic—an Occidental, not an Oriental concession—married a member of the “Young Turk” party and became the president of a Turkish Woman's Club which began at once the institution of social reforms, such for example, as cleaning the city. By steady pressure this woman's club made many modifications in the laws governing woman's dress and secured permission for Turkish girls to enter the Ottoman University.

Halideh Hanoum is called the most distinguished Moslem graduated from the Constantinople Woman's College, and was last year regularly appointed inspector under the government of a number of the most advanced schools for girls in Constantinople.

Just before the war, in 1913, the vilayet of Constantinople opened a Professional School for girls at Stamboul. In order to fit it out a directress and specialist teachers were imported

from Brussels. Whether the Belgian teachers continued after Turkey joined the Central Powers is not yet known.

THIS school planned its program to cover, among other things, instruction in lace-making and all the finer arts of embroidered garments for women and children. Foreseeing, also, the more general call for women's services in the industrial and clerical world, it opened courses in domestic bookkeeping, hygiene and domestic economy, cooking, technology and a dozen other studies outside the conception of Turkish women of a generation ago. One object, at least, was the preparation of trained teachers through the normal department of this school. It seems also to have been synchronized with a self-conscious effort to foster domestic goods. Just before the war, in the ill-fated summer of 1914, the Ottoman Parliament passed a bill for the encouragement of home manufactures. It was so far-reaching that Mehmed Said Bey made an impassioned appeal on the floor of Parliament that all Ottomans should swear never to purchase articles made abroad, but to dress in homespun. The speaker hoped the movement would spread to Africa.

Copies of *The Orient*, a paper published in Constantinople, showed before the war sundry

WNot Come

A Dramologue

By Edith Fitch

lical Refeather, First Chapter)



THE CONSTANTINOPLE WOMAN'S COLLEGE

Construct the Orient

advertisements of typewriters "in Turkish and all languages," a sure indication that the feminine typist would be in demand.

Realizing this such educational institutions as Constantinople College for Women have included stenography in their revised curricula.

For educational programs are being revised rapidly to fit the woman movement of the East.

MEANWHILE women of the European-Asian hyphenate are creating their own kind of publicity.

The Kadunlar Dünyası, "Women's World," is a Moslem journal which first appeared in 1913. It was not only initiated for women by women, but was venturesome enough to print on its cover the picture of a group of unveiled Moslem women. Even at the time of its appearance, it was still considered a sin by many Moslems for a woman to have her picture taken—a perfectly logical last reserve position for those who would exclude women from participation in citizenship. Moslem men are merely more logical than their anti-suffrage followers of the West.

The Kadimlar Dünyası started five years ago as a daily, its editor-in-chief being Belkis Shevket Hanum, a lady of attainments and true jour-

*And homes were there, Hadassah,
Children played around, and one man
Gave one woman all his love
It was a fearful and a glorious dream;
The seers must tell me what it doth portend.*

WOMEN'S CLUBS
and
WOMEN'S
JOURNALS
MARK the
PROGRESS
of the
WOMAN
MOVEMENT
in the
ORIENT

nalistic traditions. In the fall of 1913 she made an airplane ascent over Constantinople with an Ottoman aviator, Fethi Bey. She flew from the aerodrome at San Stefano and, quite appropriately circled the Liberty Monument. The Orient humorously conceded that Belkis Hanum had the start of most of the Eastern world in "the matter of high thinking and (aero)plane living." The Women's World soon settled down to a less strenuous stride and became a sixteen-page weekly. It had columns in both Turkish and French, carried illustrations and fashion advertisements like a sure-enough woman's periodical.

BELKIS HANUM did not initiate Turkish journalism, however. The first Turkish paper for women was started by Gulistan Hanum, an alumna of Constantinople, graduated in 1890, whose husband became first secretary of parliament under the Young Turks. And her story sends a little thrill into all souls braving authoritative displeasure for the sake of an advanced principle. Now when 25 per cent of the pupils in the Woman's College are Moslem girls, it seems hard to realize that the father of this very brilliant woman, Gulistan Hanum, should have been expatriated because he refused to take his daughter out of college.

WHO comes, Hadassah? Hegéi? From the King?

I fear some dire message he doth bring
What wouldst thou, Hegéi? 'Tis an unseemly hour;

My guests have long ago sought sober beds;
And had I not been overtorn and sad—
Perchance some word thou hast, to make me glad—

The King commands me? 'Tis a noble jest,
And were I to obey, 'twould cost my head—
Into his presence none may dare intrude—
I am commanded to appear, say you,
In royal crown and all my charms display
To drunken princes at a midnight feast?
Thou hast confused thine orders, Hegéi.

In merry mood

The King desires Shaash'gaz to present
Some favored concubine to pleasure them—
So are men sunk by wine in fleshly lust—
I am the Queen. Ahasuerus would not dare
To drag my honor in the dust.

The chamberlains are here to take me hence?

It cannot be. Some madness hath the King.
No Persian queen was ever thus dishonored
I will not go—and yet—
He is my Lord, Hadassah, and I must obey—
He doth command—there is no other way.

WHY are we helpless in the hand of Fate,

Bartered like beasts without the palace gate,
Kept like the brainless swine in gilded pen,
At once the plaything and the tool of men?
Better to lie, unhonored, in the grave
Than be the temptress and the sensuous slave,
Too weak to slay, too petty to be true,
Daughters of guile and guilt of every hue.
Wanton and impotent, to honor dead,
And cast aside when all our charms have fled—

The dream, the dream, Hadassah, now, I understand,

The torch to light the ages in my hand
Glow with a holy and prophetic breath
I must not quench, yet—it doth mean my death.
I love the King, Hadassah, vain, drunken though he be,

I love the silken hangings and the golden bowls,
I love the breath of passion, and the clinging kiss,

And can I give them up—and die—for this?

Shamed and dishonored, aye, misunderstood
Even by those for whom I bear the calumny,
Buried for ages, deep beneath the flood
Of sexual slavery, red with women's blood—
Aye, but the vision—'tis a little way
For me, and this faint gleam will light
A world of women to that glad, free day. . . .

. . . So, I shall bear the torch that seals my doom—

Go, Hegéi, tell the chamberlains who wait
That Vashti WILL NOT COME.

Registration and Casting the Ballot

GENERAL or fall elections are commonly held in

November in even years; they are for the election of Congressmen and President, the latter every four years, and for state officers, except in those states where legislators are chosen every year. City officials are in many states chosen in the fall in odd years, and county, village and township officials generally at some time between March and May, though sometimes certain officials are elected at the fall elections. Besides these, there are special elections for offices falling vacant and sometimes for measures to be decided, though laws and amendments are most frequently voted on at the fall elections. Spring elections prevail in most states in order not to confuse local with national issues and also not to force the voter to decide too many matters at one time, though neither of these objects has been attained.

Just as at stated times before the primaries is held the enrollment of party voters, so since the '90s there has spread through the states a system of registration of voters of all parties before the election of officials, so that they can be identified by signature, name and address and other data on election day. Today all states except Arkansas and Texas have some form of registration law, though these laws vary widely as between states.

In about a dozen states registration is required only in populous centers, on the ground that in country districts there are few changes and voters are known to election officials, but among these states the minimum population has a wide range—from any voting precinct where 250 persons vote in Illinois to cities with a population of 100,000 and over in Missouri. In some states registration is optional in country districts. The frequency of registration also shows great variation. New York sets four weeks before each general election, Missouri four months. Other states require registration at intervals of one or two years, and Ohio sets quadrennial intervals in smaller cities, annual in larger.

THE object of registration is to prevent fraud by identifying voters on the day of election, so that no one may vote who does not live in the precinct. Its defect is that it complicates the voter's already complex duties; on this ground the Arkansas constitution forbids registration requirements. The case against registration is well stated in the recent report of the Chicago Election Commissioners, who give figures showing that the registered vote of Chicago increased only 156 per cent in the twenty years, 1896-1915.

"As the law now stands," says the report, "registrations are at such short intervals that the average voter is often in doubt whether he

is registered or not, or if registered whether the registration holds good for the succeeding election or the primary. It is undoubtedly true that the multiplicity of registration and revision days has rather hindered than promoted registration of voters, and very certainly they confuse and annoy the electorate out of all proportion to any possible special benefits."

On election day the voter goes to the polls, where, if registration is required, his name is looked up and checked off as a ballot is given to him. If he spoils his ballot he returns it and is given another; in some places he may even have a third. Care is taken that he gets but one at once, to prevent ballot box stuffing. He then goes into the voting booth and marks the ballot in secret, or, if a voting machine is used, goes behind the curtain of the machine and moves the handles that register the vote for the party or the individual candidates he favors. In some places, as an additional precaution to registration to prevent repeating, the voter writes his name in a poll-book and it is compared with his signature on the register; a numbered ballot is handed him and his line number and the number of the ballot given out is recorded in the poll-book. The ballot is placed in the ballot box in his presence by an election official. Where the voting machine is used there is no ballot to dispose of; this device has great advantages and would be of more general use if the machines were not expensive and frequently mechanically imperfect.

MOST political districts, such as congressional, assembly, etc., represent officials to be elected, but the election district represents merely a convenient number of voters to vote at one place. This voting place is the polling place, and to this come on election day the 200 to 400 voters in the election district.

The polling place itself is a subject much discussed in connection with woman suffrage. The old idea that polling places were unfit places for women is gradually being outgrown as the cruder forms of political corruption are being outgrown. The saloon polling place is part of the graft of the old politics, in the days of the bullies and repeaters; it is a minor form of patronage and it is steadily giving place to the use of the schools as polling places. In New York City a few years ago the Honest Ballot Association obtained the use of twelve school polling places. Today the number so used in that city alone is between 500 and 600. This is part of a general raising of the standard of the polling place, which is especially noticeable in places where women have the vote.

THE ballot itself is one main problem of voters. Formerly, ballots were often

THE WOMAN CITIZEN'S namesake, "*The Woman Citizen*," by Mary Sumner Boyd, gets together between two covers the excellent articles on women and citizenship contributed to these pages by Mrs. Boyd. The book is published by Frederick A. Stokes & Co., and is an indispensable feature of the library of every woman citizen. R. Y.

printed by the parties, who also conducted the elections. This proved to be a fruitful source of corruption, and in 1888 Kentucky led the way in adopting what is called the Australian ballot system. By 1918, when South Carolina passed an Australian ballot law, Georgia was the only state not using the new system. As the primaries brought the party business of nominations under state control, so the Australian ballot is designed still further to weaken party control by removing the governmental business of elections entirely from party influence. By the Australian system, ballots cover all parties, are printed at government expense, are obtained only from public officials, generally at the polling place, the election is carried on and paid for by the government, and the voter is required to vote alone in the secrecy of the voting booth.

The main thing that an election should bring out is an intelligent individual choice of candidates, and the ballots should be such as to draw out individual choice, without confusing the voter. The commonest form of ballot is the least intelligent. This is the party-column ballot, with the name of the parties at the top of the column, a circle in which the voter can put his cross for the whole party and the list of party candidates under this. If he wants to he can split his ticket and put a cross before the name of an individual in another party column. About a dozen states put the party emblem at the top.

ABOUT a third of the states use a better system. This is the Headless Ballot, originated by Massachusetts, on which the names of the offices takes the place of the names of the parties at the heads of the columns. In Nebraska and a few other states the parties are listed on the side of the ballot and can be checked as a whole; New York also defeats the purpose of its headless ballot by putting before the name of the candidate the party emblem, so that an illiterate will have no difficulty in choosing his picture. The true headless ballot increases the chances of the voter's deciding in accordance with the candidate's qualifications, instead of in accordance with blind party loyalty. The headless ballot is part of a movement toward more independent voting, of which Professor Ray has this to say:¹

¹P. C. Ray. Introduction to Political Parties, p. 262.

ANNUAL JANUARY SALES

Commencing Monday, December 30th

Blouses, Petticoats, Silk, Knit and Lingerie
Underwear, Corsets, Children's Knit and
Muslin Underwear. White Silks, White
Flannels, White Linings and Blankets.

At Extraordinarily Low Prices

James McCreery & Co.

5th Avenue

34th Street

"IN recent years there has been a striking growth in the number of those voters who discriminate between the several candidates, instead of voting the straight party ticket. In 1896 less than four-tenths of one per cent voted for candidates of opposite parties in national and state elections; in 1904 about 7.6 per cent did so."

The voters using the headless ballot exercised the greatest independence of choice.

Another problem of the ballot is that with this power of self-government at their command many voters do not exercise it. For the country as a whole the vote in the presidential election of 1908 was within a little over a hundred thousand of that of 1912, and this was in the face of a very rapid increase of population in those years. Beside the male voters, women in the twelve voting states made a good record in 1916, for at that election returns from county clerks show that almost 2,000,000 women voted; this number was within 5 per cent of the number of women in the twelve states who came within the age limit.

Since colonial days compulsory voting laws have been proposed. The latest is a bill introduced in the Massachusetts Legislature, which would fine voters staying away from the polls. The undemocratic character of compulsion is the great argument against compulsory voting. The

practical argument for it is that by bringing all the voters to the polls it would go far to do away with corruption by the bought vote.

It is important that the man or men elected should be really the ones desired by a large body of people. A mere plurality, or a few votes more than the next highest man, now in most places in the United States elects a man to office; but the candidate who really can be called the choice of the people should have a majority, or more than half the votes cast at the election, if he is really to represent the choice of most of the people.

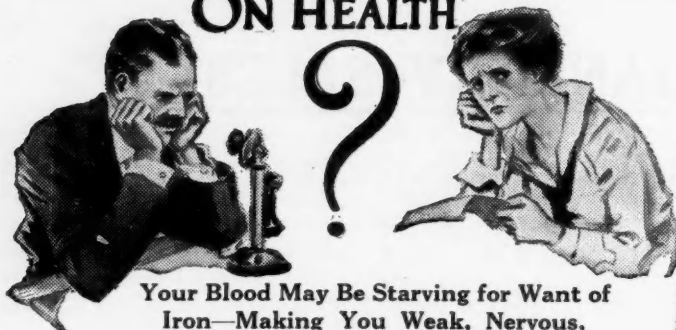
FURTHERMORE, a voter may have not only a first, but a second and even a third choice of candidate. But if the man at whose name his cross stands loses, all his other preferences count for nothing, and the man whom he considers the most unfit on the list may win the election.

For this reason the system of Proportional Representation, or effective voting, with the alternative transferable vote, is being strongly advocated and has already been used in Ashtabula, Ohio, and in Kalamazoo, Michigan. This method of voting is difficult to count, but not hard to vote, and simplicity in voting is after all the main essential. The system of propor-

tional representation can be used where a board or body of men is to be elected, such as a city council. If all members of a legislature were elected at large and not each by the voters of his district only, the system would be applicable there. The principle is thus hit off by R. Tyson, in *Equity* of October, 1909: "If sixty persons are electing a committee of five, then any twelve of them (one-fifth) ought to be able to elect one member of the committee."

THIS the one-fifth would do by transference of votes. The voter marks his ballot with 1, 2, 3 for his first, second and third choices. After a bare majority to elect him is reserved for the man who gets most first choices, the balance of his first choices are transferred to whoever stood second on his left-over ballots. The votes for the man who got fewest first choices are then distributed according to the second choices on his ballots. Then the votes of the men in the middle are distributed until the requisite number of men are found to be elected. There are many different systems of transferring and counting, all of them complex, but the voter's part is simply to indicate his first and subsequent choices, confident that if his first choice is not elected, he still is not disfranchised, for his second choice may help to elect some one else of whom he approves.

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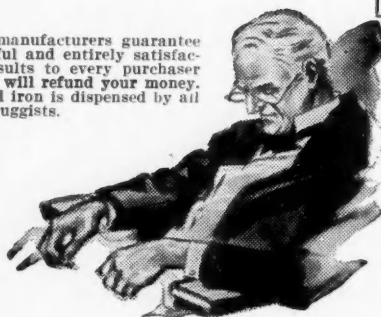
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Dr. James Francis Sullivan, formerly physician of Bellevue Hospital (Outdoor Dept.), New York, and the Westchester County Hospital, says: "Lack of iron in the blood not only makes a man a physical and mental weakling; nervous, irritable, easily fatigued, but it utterly robs him of that virile force, that stamina and strength of will which are so necessary to success and power in every walk of life. It may also transform a beautiful, sweet-tempered woman into one who is cross, nervous and irritable. To help make strong, keen, red-blooded Americans there is nothing in my experience which I have found so valuable as organic iron—Nuxated Iron. It often increases the strength and endurance of weak, nervous, run-down people in two weeks' time." Nuxated Iron is now being used by over three million people annually, including such men as Hon. Leslie M. Shaw, former Secretary of the Treasury, and Ex-Governor of Iowa; former United States Senator and Vice-Presidential nominee, Charles A. Towne; United States Commissioner of Immigration Hon. Anthony Caminette; also United States Judge, G. W. Atkinson of the Court of Claims of Washington and others.



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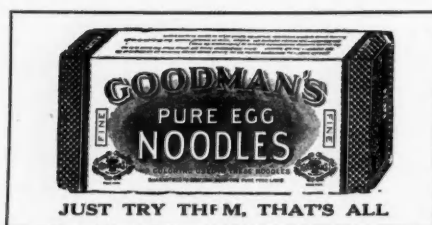
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Arrives in France

MISS ADAH BUSH, first vice-president of the Woman's Franchise League of Indiana, has arrived safely in France, according to word received by the Indiana suffrage headquarters. Miss Bush is located in Paris, being attached to the headquarters staff of the Y. M. C. A.

By Truck

(Continued from page 627)

nod or a quick cry that meant, "*le jour de gloire est arrivé!*" At the first village we stopped to buy a French flag, which we attached to the rear of the camion, and as the car slowed down we were promptly surrounded by urchins carrying tiny American, French or British flags, wearing knots of tricolor, calling to us that the Americans were welcome. Our arms ached heavily from the continuous waving long before the afternoon came on.

AT Beauvais, about three-quarters of our journey done, we stopped for luncheon and took that opportunity to see a bit of the quaint town. Its chief interest centers, of course, in the celebrated cathedral with its famous choir-loft and the mechanical clock whose fame is known through all France. The cathedral itself is a massive structure, built about the sixteenth century, and its flying buttresses, its lofty spaces, its vaulted roof, supported by round columns of softly-tinted marble, are most impressive. In the center of the cathedral that day stood a soldier's casket draped in black, with the flag of France laid smoothly across the top; candles flickered at either end, their light warming the blue and red of the flag and softening the harsh black pall. It seemed particularly sad that he should lie there on that day when the whole country rang so loudly with the news he had died to bring. . . . A smaller church in Beauvais is most interesting, architecturally, and shows now the results of many bombs that fell in the city's squares; its large rose-window is missing panes; others were almost entirely naked to the sun. From this end of the town, high archways open to the public square, where flags were flying from every building and the people joyously gathered to spread the news of the armistice.

(To be concluded)

Americanization Work

THE Rhode Island Suffrage Party, of which Mrs. James W. Algeo is Chairman, is bending the major portion of its energies this year to Americanization work, preparing the women of Rhode Island not only for the Presidential vote in 1920, of which they are assured, but for full voting privileges, of which Mrs. Algeo feels equally confident, through the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

The comprehensive plan outlined by the Party includes weekly meetings in Providence on the Civics of Naturalization at the Y. M. C. A., similar groups in other towns and cities, where possible, bringing the subject before the numerous organizations of the state and the publication of a large edition of booklets entitled, "Suggestions to Women Voters," in which information for both naturalized and unnaturalized citizens will be given in clear and simple form.

Correspondence

Mr. Whitehouse Replies

It is not often that the *Woman Citizen* finds sufficiently reliable information in the anti-suffragists' official organ to quote it, but from an issue of November 30th we take the following:

"Where Is Mrs. Whitehouse?"

"Question by 'The Woman Patriot' ex 'The Protest'"

"Judging from the very apparent ignorance of the editors of *The Woman Patriot* on many topics, I am not surprised that they do not know even 'where Mrs. Whitehouse is.' Although at a public banquet held in Washington a short time ago, which was attended by members of the Cabinet and the heads of the different commissions, the Chairman, Mr. George Creel, in a speech, made a public tribute to said Mrs. Whitehouse's work in Switzerland (where she still is), in which he said: 'We have sent many men on missions and as envoys to foreign lands, but the 'man' who has made the greatest success of them all is a woman—Mrs. N. de R. Whitehouse.

"If you care to print this you are at liberty to do so, but, as your object seems to be rather to decry women's ability than to exalt it, or even to speak the truth in regard to it, I imagine you will be glad not to enlighten your readers as to Mrs. Whitehouse's whereabouts or the wonderful success of her mission."

NORMAN DE R. WHITEHOUSE.

New York.

Give Women an Equal Chance

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

YOU say that woman suffrage must be established on a basis of "The eight-hour day, no night work, a rest period in the morning and one in the afternoon, one day's rest in seven and equal pay." The above was quoted from an address given by Miss Mary McDowell of Chicago. I think the first important question is, Will you give us an equal chance?

I am a teacher of ten years' experience but I happen to be married. I have no children. Why should I not be elected to teach school in this city?

Simply because of a lot of prejudiced men on our School Board. They say "We have a law in this city against married women teaching." There is no such law in writing. The absurdity of such a law. A man is not kept out of the school room because he is married.

I once said to our superintendent:

"Do you think my being married has lowered the standard of my teaching ability?"

"Oh, no," he answered, "you are a good teacher. We don't hire married women but we can use you as a substitute."

What good teacher wants to spend her days in substituting? She can't have the vital interest in first one group and then in another that she has in her own pupils. Substituting is more a matter of keeping order the first day than of teaching. Often the first day is the only day a substitute remains in a place.

I say elect married women if they can teach. You want *good* teachers. They will be more faithful and conscientious than the young girl who thinks of getting married or the old worn out teacher who is not physically or mentally at her best or the middle-aged teacher who has been thrown into the school room because she had to make a living some way. The married woman who teaches is not forced into it by circumstances but she offers her services because she *likes to teach*. If she sits at home wasting this ability, it is a pity. The average married woman can hire a part of her work done, such parts as washing, ironing and scrubbing for from five to six dollars a week. She should make from five to six dollars a day.

MRS. RALPH HAYES.

Wichita, Kansas.

Protest Armenian Massacres

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

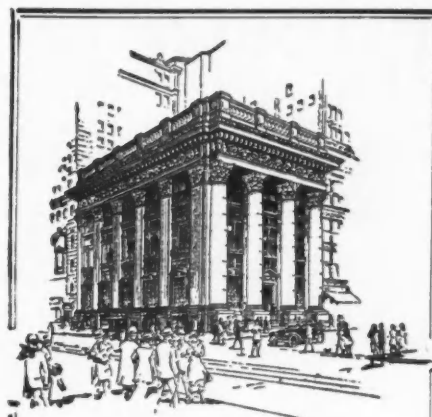
WILL you kindly submit the enclosed resolutions to the consideration of your readers:

"WHEREAS, the greatest crime against motherhood in all history is the atrocious treatment of the womanhood of a whole nation, in the attempt to annihilate the Armenian race; and

"WHEREAS, the girls and women of Armenia have been victims to an appalling extent of the brutal lust of the destroyers of their people, numbers of them having been sold in the open market for a few shillings, forced into unwilling marriages with Moslems, or imprisoned in Turkish harems, in addition to those who were made the casual prey of the mob and soldiery; and

"WHEREAS, to the free and chivalrous women of America seems particularly to belong the duty and privilege of vindicating the wrongs and voicing the sorrows and needs of these their oppressed sisters; therefore be it

"RESOLVED: that we the representatives of the Armenian National Union of America, assembled with other representative American citizens in mass meeting at Tremont Temple on this the second day of December, 1918, and



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is in charge of
Miss V. D. H. Furman
and is
especially equipped to handle
the accounts of women and
women's organizations



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speaking for all the Armenians of America, do hereby beg the organized women of America to make the cause of the women of Armenia their own; not only by helping to rehabilitate the Armenian homes, and by rescuing Armenian women and girls from enslavement, but by working to secure for them national freedom and independence, the fundamental condition of their future security, and, especially by bringing this vitally important matter to the attention of our President and his associate delegates at the Peace Congress.

"BERTHA S. PAPAZIAN,

"For the Propaganda Committee.

"Boston, Mass."

A Vigorous Policy

THE recent re-election of one of its most effective members, Florence Ethridge, to the Executive Committee of the National Federation of Federal Employees, is but one indication of the vigorous policy the Federation is setting out to pursue. Besides pushing the Johnson-Nolan Bill for a minimum wage (37½ cents an hour), and the McKellar-Keating retirement bill, establishing an old-age pension, they will push a law abolishing statutory salaries.

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New York Women's Legislative Program

THE New York City Woman Suffrage Party intends to take an active interest in the proceedings of the New York Legislature which convenes next year. Announcement has been made of the Party's support of the women's program of legislation arranged by various women's organizations of the state. This will be the first time that the City Party has given its active support to bills, according to Miss Mary Garret Hay, chairman. In view of the fact that the new Legislature was chosen with the aid of the votes of the women, no great difficulty is anticipated in obtaining such legislative reforms as the women of the state propose to ask.

Organizations with which the City Party will co-operate are: Consumers' League, State Woman Suffrage Party, State Federation of Women's Clubs, Woman's City Club and the Woman's Trade Union League.

The following is the Woman's Legislative Program to which the New York City Woman Suffrage Party pledges its support:

(1) A transportation bill, limiting the hours of work of girls employed in the transportation service to nine hours a day, fifty-four hours a week, prohibiting night work and the employment of minors under 21, and providing suitable toilet and rest room facilities, and one day of rest in seven.

(2) An elevator bill, limiting the hours of work of elevator girls to nine hours a day, fifty-four hours a week, prohibiting night work, and providing seats in elevators, and one day of rest in seven.

(3) An eight-hour bill, reducing the hours of women employed in factories and mercantile establishments from nine to eight hours a day.

(4) An office workers' bill, providing the same protection to office workers as girls in mercantile establishments now enjoy (namely, nine hours a day, fifty-four hours a week, and one day of rest in seven, no night work between 10 p. m. and 7 a. m.). This excludes, however, those employed in professional offices and in telegraph and railroad offices.

(5) A minimum wage bill, creating a minimum wage commission which shall establish wage boards in the different industries; these

boards, after investigation into the cost of living and the standards of living in that trade, to fix minimum rates which shall be sufficient to meet the necessities of life, and maintain health and efficiency.

(6) A health insurance bill to conserve the human resources of the state by establishing for employees and dependent members of their families, a system of mutual health insurance funds, under the supervision of the Industrial Commission, and establishing a Bureau of Health Insurance in the Labor Department.

Women in Office in Suffrage States

PARTIAL returns from county clerks in ten full suffrage states and Illinois show in these states during the years 1917-18 a record of women elected county public officials much like that of California. In all states county and local educational officials are in greatest numbers. In these offices, which are the subject of a separate study by the Research Department of the Leslie Bureau of Suffrage Education, women are found to serve in most suffrage states either in equal or in greater numbers than men. In Montana, for example, all county superintendents of education are women, whereas in male suffrage states there are few women in these offices.

In other capacities than education women are serving, though in smaller numbers than men, in many county offices, the greater numbers as county clerks, county treasurers and recorders, with or without the function of auditors. Women assessors, collectors, sheriffs and coroners are also found. Utah is especially strong in women recorders. Kansas, which has a large total of women minor officials, shows no less than forty-three registers of deeds and twenty-three court clerks. In this same state four women are probate judges, and of one of these, Mrs. Mary H. Cooper, the County Clerk states that she is serving her fourth term. In Colorado also women appear to go in for court positions, for this state has about a dozen women court clerks and one woman county

judge, Mrs. L. B. Tague. In Oregon Marion Hanks is county judge of Klamath County. Lander County, Nevada, has a woman on the Board of Commissioners, and the little city of Oketo, Marshall County, Kansas, hitherto unknown to fame, is presided over by a woman mayor, Mrs. Z. H. Moore.

The comment of county clerks shows that women office holders fill their offices creditably. Says the clerk of Valley County, Nevada: "I employ several ladies; my wife is my chief deputy, and there are people who claim that I could not run the office without her assistance, and they may be right at that. At any rate, if the ladies were not 'hitting the ball' I would not retain them."

Miss Thyra Therkeldsen, clerk of Albany County, Wyoming, is serving her fourth term, after six years of efficient service in past terms.

Iva M. Harrington, clerk of Clackamas County, Oregon, gives this account of herself: "I am in truth and in fact a real live woman and the only lady county clerk in the State of Oregon and the only lady in Clackamas County holding a public office. Have been in this office for about ten years, part of the time as deputy, and this is my second term as county clerk. But will state right here that there is no reason in the world why a woman cannot run a public office of this kind just as well as a man." So say we all.

Many Wyoming Women Hold Office

WYOMING this year elected no women to state, legislative or executive offices. The term of its state superintendent of public instruction, Edith K. O. Clark, has not yet expired, however, and on its list of 39 women elected to local offices all twenty-one counties in the state are represented. About half these women are county superintendents of education—an office in which women are popular in the suffrage states. Among the other offices filled by women are county clerks (7); treasurers (6); clerks of court (6).

The Book Stall



Blow the Trumpets

(Contributed)

BLOW the glad trumpets! Blow East and blow West,
The great day has dawned at last, shining and blest!

The world is alive again after the years,
Our hearts, they may smile again after our tears.
Let flags that were waiting be swiftly unfurled;
The Peace we have fought for now reigns in the world.

O blow the glad trumpets! It is a new day,
For Czars and for Kaisers have all passed away:
Their kingdoms are shattered, their armies have fled,

They stay not, they stop not to bury their dead.
O light the red torches, on each highest hill!
The gun-roar is silent: the trenches are still.

O blow the glad trumpets all over the land!
True Peace and high Justice have come hand in hand.

Now let this great Nation with all valor show
New light in the darkness to down-trodden foe.
By might of our Right we have made wars to cease;

Now prove we are mighty by might of our Peace.

—KATRINA TRASK.

The End

IN military splendor and in gray,
With arrogance and proud, uplifted head,
The Teuton Army took its ruthless way,
Unmindful of the dying and the dead.
At last the long-time purpose must be kept,
That flaunting purpose of a vast empire:
Therefore they marched with high goose-step:
they stepped

The gleaming glint of hatred in their eyes.
"Make way!" they shouted, "Victory is won:
Soon shall we stand, triumphant, in the sun."

Four years they marched: they trampled 'neath their feet

The flower of all the world; destroyed in haste
Homes, churches, towns and villages; complete

Their dread destruction and their wanton waste:
The burgeoning fields and the fresh emerald sod
Of France and Flanders were dyed red with gore;

Still on they marched, the very scourge of God;
Victorious, they shouted as before,
"O Destiny! our race is almost won,
Soon shall we stand, triumphant, in the sun."

Now comes the end of that insane Event!—
Humbly, to sue the great Allies, today,
Five unarmed, lowly suppliants are sent;
French soldiers bind their eyes, and lead the way
To Foch—the Master. All is different now;
One time, great France was in the Teuton's hand,

Now must the Teutons to the Frenchman bow,
Now must they take his ultimate command.
"O God!" they cry: "Is THIS the place we won?"

So dark—so dark!—THIS is not in the sun!"

—KATRINA TRASK.

The Suffrage Flag

FLOAT on, loyal flag of light,
To bless all suffering nations;
Let Justice, Love and Truth unite
This battle-scarred creation.

Wave on, just flag,
O'er land and sea;
This is the time of DESTINY,
When all mankind shall sense
The might of Justice, Love and Liberty.

—M. M. VON WALDEN.

AMONG the guests at the Washington suffrage headquarters recently, Miss Isabelle Sanders of Ottawa, Ill., who has been taking training at the national conference of the War Camp Community Service. Miss Sanders carries into social work a wide experience gained by her service in the suffrage campaigns in Connecticut, New York 1915 and 1917, Iowa, Illinois, legislative, and lastly Oklahoma. Miss Sanders had charge in Oklahoma City, which carried by a good majority.

Figures Beat Philosophy in Politics

"SENATOR POMERENE voted NO on the Woman Suffrage Amendment, giving the state's right argument as his reason, but he voted yes on the national amendment which provided for direct vote for Senators," says the *Ohio Woman Suffrage News Bulletin*.

"It seems then when women are concerned he is opposed to national amendments, but when United States Senators are concerned he is for them. He said in his anti-suffrage speech before the Senate that his political philosophy teaches him how to vote. The question now is, 'What teaches him how not to vote?' He might try arithmetic and add up the electoral votes in the fifteen suffrage states. Figures beat philosophy."

Ohio Women Eager to Enroll

OHIO is achieving an enviable record in the signature campaign being waged in that state, to secure the names of women favorable to suffrage. At a last count in 215 towns in the state a majority of the women had enrolled, and the number of towns has since greatly increased.

On December 8 the suffragists of Cincinnati had a luncheon with 514 guests. This was by far the largest meeting of that kind ever held in Cincinnati. The Committees on Enrollment and Legislation were appointed and \$2,500 raised in pledges for enrollment work.

Mrs. Helen P. Woolley, Mrs. Roger G. Perkins, Mrs. Malcolm McBride, all of Ohio, and Mrs. Charles Tiffany of New York were the speakers.

Iowa

THE recent suffrage victories in Michigan, South Dakota and Oklahoma were the occasion for an enthusiastic celebration by the suffragists of Dubuque, Iowa. More than 150 men and women gathered for a "Victory Dinner," presided over by Miss Anna B. Lawther, state suffrage president. Miss Lawther, when introducing Mrs. Herbert Adams, who spoke for the Overseas Hospitals, referred with pride to Miss Elizabeth Bissell, a former officer of the state association, and Miss Carol Hurd, stars in the suffrage service flag, both members of the Dubuque suffrage organization, who are now in service abroad.

"IHAVE never identified myself with any political party, but have stood outside of all, asking each to pledge itself to the enfranchisement of women. Whenever any one of them has asked me to speak in its meeting on the suffrage question, I have accepted the invitation, but I never have advocated the specific measure of any."

SUSAN B. ANTHONY.

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 Author of "Paul's Parliamentary Law"
 and "The Heart of Blackstone"

Seven States Have Women at Head of Public Schools

ONE of the most important avenues through which the work of reconstruction and readjustment will be carried forward is through the field of education. In the light of this it is significant that three states on November 5 elected women to the important office of State Superintendent of Public Instruction. The three women elected include Mrs. Mary C. C. Bradford of Colorado who was re-elected to her office; Miss Lizzie E. Wooster of Kansas and Miss Annie Webb Blanton of Texas. Miss Blanton has the distinction of being the first woman to hold a state's elective office in Texas; also the first Southern woman to hold a position of this character.

Seven states now have women as state superintendents of public schools. These, in addition to the three named, are Montana, Wyoming, Washington and Idaho.

Elected to School Board

THE municipal election in Boston on December 17, was featured by the re-election of Miss Frances G. Curtis, Public School Association candidate for School Committee.

Miss Curtis ran on a "keep-the-schools-out-of-politics" platform, receiving a plurality of 4,452 votes over her nearest opponents.

Ella Flagg Young

"ONE cannot turn from the career of such a woman (Ella Flagg Young) without a reflection upon all that the world has lost during the ages past, and all that it shall deprive itself of, through sex discrimination. Science, religion, art, politics, all the wider activities of the race, closed to one-half its members. But the world is at last awakening. Slowly the fact is dawning upon mankind that no nation, no race, no class can advance itself through the suppression of another nation, race, or class, and that the more the development of each part the greater the progress of the whole. Toward the demonstration of this truth the career of Ella Flagg Young was a brilliant example."

—The Public.

Friend of Women and of Human Progress

IT is known of many that Mrs. Russell Sage was a good suffragist, but it is only known by a few that she was a generous supporter of the suffrage cause. Mrs. Sage gave \$40,000 to suffrage from time to time.

Her legacy of \$700,000 to the New York Infirmary for Women and Children has caused great rejoicing among suffragists everywhere. This infirmary was founded by Elizabeth Blackwell, pioneer in equal suffrage as in medicine, and it stands as a distinct milestone in the professional woman's climb to equality of opportunity. It was also the hospital from which four women physicians early in 1917 offered themselves to the French Government as women surgeons. They made the nucleus of the Women's Oversea Hospitals, U. S. A., which were adopted as the special war task of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and which are now operating in three widely separated parts of France.

This gift enabled the infirmary to open its wards, which have been closed since last March, because of a shortage of funds.

Mrs. Sage spent her vast fortune for humanity, and will stand as one of the benefactors, not only of this country, but of the world, since the work of the Russell Sage Foundation is demonstrating social advance for people of every nation, and the Russell Sage Institute of Pathology is contributing to the whole sum of human knowledge for the care of the sick.

She remembered with \$1,000,000 her own educational institution, the Troy Female Seminary, which, as the Emma Willard School, was one of the first schools in the country for the higher education of girls. As an indication of the broadly human interests of a prominent woman's life, Mrs. Sage's will is revealing. She did not forget to advance the interests of the Working Girls' Home, nor the Adirondack Cottage Sanitarium. She gave to twelve educational institutions and to the Metropolitan Museum of Art. She was not unmindful of the

perpetual beautification of the city parks, and she revealed the tender side of a simple nature in the establishment of a bird refuge in southern Louisiana, known as Marsh Island, consisting of about seventy acres.

With Her Fingers Plus

WITH her fingers, plus a great deal of stick-to-it-iveness and endless study, Miss Rose L. Fritz has made a record that is enviable. After mastering the typewriter in all its details, she won forty championship contests, travelled over 150,000 miles (this is approximately a distance of six times around the globe), demonstrated her expert methods throughout the United States as well as in eight foreign countries, visited thousands of business offices, commercial schools and departments, where she always studied the various methods used, and in this way fitted herself to become a teacher of exceptional ability. It is from actual experience that Miss Fritz knows the pitfalls of stenographers, and it has followed that in planning her own school she has reduced to a minimum the stenographer's usual stumbling blocks.

One of her first steps forward in the educational field was the writing of a book on typewriting, in collaboration with Dr. Edward H. Eldridge, of Simmons College, Boston. Into this text she put her touch-typewriting methods that are based on the experiments of years.

Miss Fritz insists that every woman should have a goal. Early in life she set a high goal for herself. It was to become so proficient herself that one day she could have a school of her own and, in that way, give to young women, and men too, for that matter, out of her own store of experience. Today she has her school and stands before her classes as an interesting life-size illustration of the dynamic power in her own insistence that in whatever vocation woman undertakes she must aim high.

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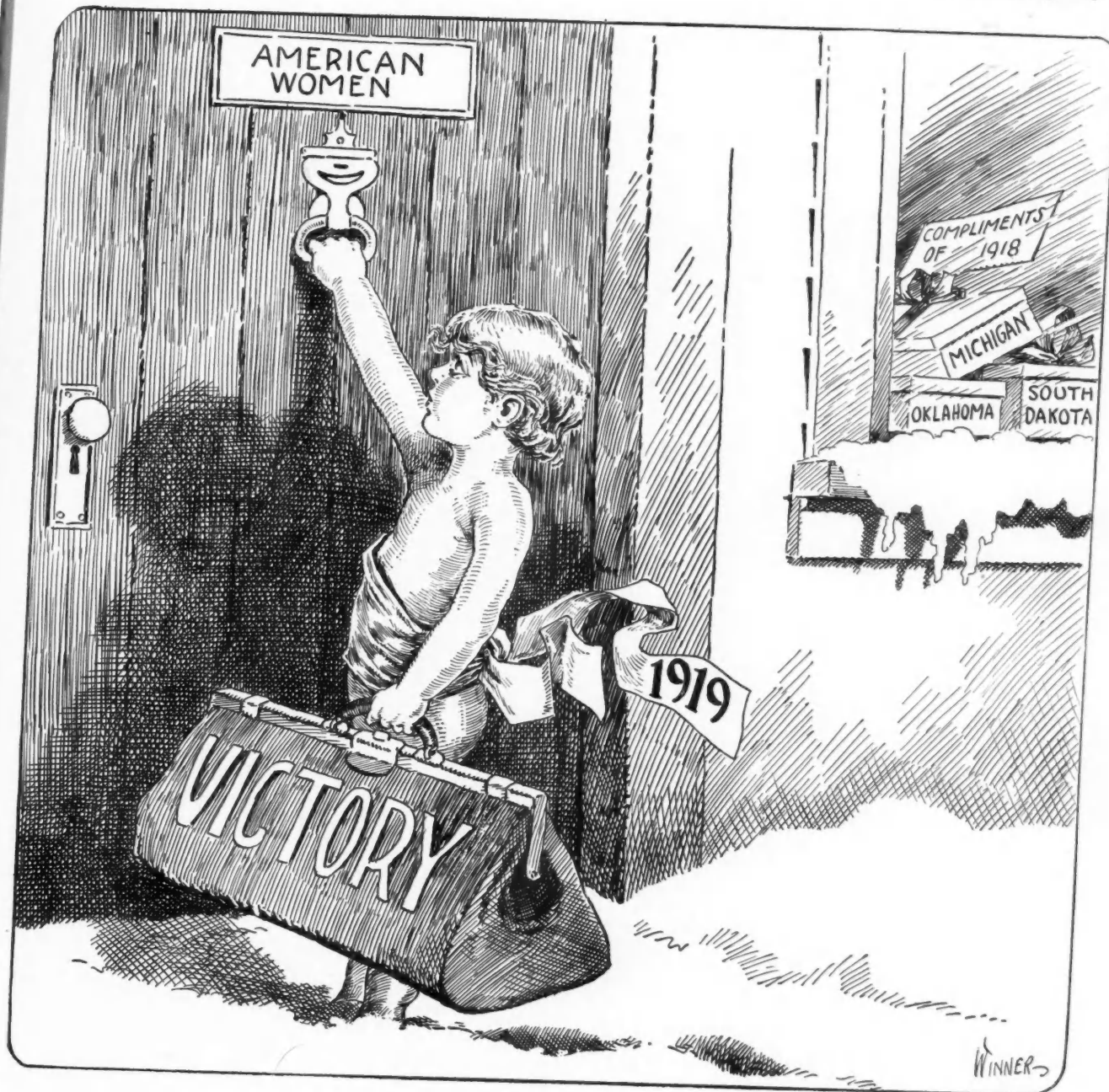
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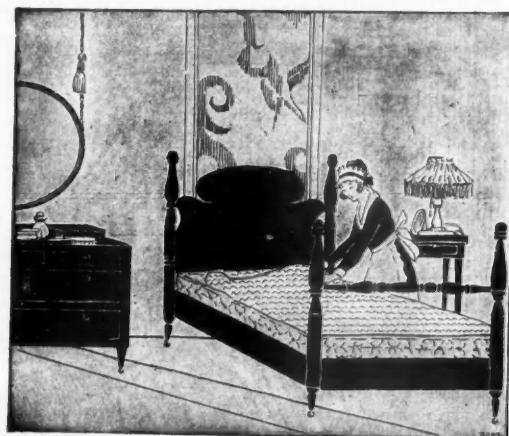
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PUBLISHED BY

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In the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

The directors of the Corporation are Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, and Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore.

Vol. III, January 4, 1919. No. 32

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Australian Federation		Iceland
Great Britain		Denmark
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WOMEN HAVE PRESIDENTIAL AND MUNICIPAL SUFFRAGE IN

Illinois	Nebraska
North Dakota	

WOMEN HAVE MUNICIPAL SUFFRAGE

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NEW STYLE VOL. III

NUMBER 32

"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

On the Threshold of 1919

THE New Year finds the people of the United States ready, waiting, and eager for the Federal Suffrage Amendment to be passed on to the State Legislatures by the United States Senate.

In every possible way the people of the United States have proved this.

They have proved it by their joyful acclaim as country by country, Denmark, Canada and Great Britain gave women the franchise by parliamentary action after the war began.

They have proved it by voting full woman suffrage into three states of the Union in November, 1918.

They have proved it by the press and from the pulpit and at the polls.

They are continuing to prove it as 1919 opens by their sympathetic response to the plans projected by the suffragists for ratification campaigns.

So certain all along has the National American Woman Suffrage Association been of the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment by the 65th Congress that it took time by the forelock months ago and began a poll of state legislators to make sure of ratification chances state by state. Today, as the legislative sessions of 1919 open, there is not a Legislature out of the convening 43, and hardly an incoming legislator, elected or re-elected, who does not stand on record as to his disposition toward the Amendment when it shall come to his Legislature for ratification.

THIS is the sort of work that the National Suffrage Association does first and talks about afterward. Because of its net-work of state organizations it can proceed with a thoroughness impossible of emulation save where organization is the watch-word.

Months before the November elections, all over the United States the state branches of the National Suffrage Association were taking a poll of the candidates to their respective state Legislatures. In many states complete ratification campaigns are ready for projection the moment the Senate passes the amendment.

One form of activity which some of the states have adopted as a make-ready for ratification is a petition to the Legislature to ratify the Amendment as soon as it shall come on to the state from the United States Senate.

OF the three states that brought campaigns for full suffrage to a successful conclusion in November. Michigan secured the names of 202,000 signers, Oklahoma 65,000, and South Dakota 50,000.

"Wherever petition work is started in Wisconsin, solicitors are surprised at the cordial response which they meet from both men and women," says Mrs. Henry W. Youmans, President of the Wisconsin Woman Suffrage Association. "Politicians are giving us active support."

Churches are doing their part in the petition work in the Badger State. The plan has been to ask the pastors of the various denominations to present the question of woman suffrage and its present status at a Sunday morning service and then permit petitions to be signed by the congregation present.

"The organization for the ratification of the national amendment to the constitution giving women the right to vote is under way all over the state of Minnesota," is the way the press writes of the ratification campaign in that state. Hundreds of state organizations of Minnesota, representing political, educational, business and professional men and women, have passed resolutions urging the passage of the Federal Amendment.

POLITICIANS, press and public apparently have lined up en masse back of the Indiana petition campaign. The Woman's Franchise League has combined the petition campaign with a membership campaign and the two have worked together admirably. The campaign has not only had the endorsement of the voters of the state, but in certain parts of the state men have given their time to circulating petitions.

The major political parties registered 100 per cent on the Federal Amendment, setting a pace which Indiana proposes to maintain. Suffragists were invited to speak at the district political conventions relative to the petition and membership drive, and in many ways the women have been aided in their work. City officials joined as members of the Woman's League and signed the petition.

The Peru Chamber of Commerce is among the many Indiana organizations that have endorsed the membership and petition campaign of the League.

IN Idaho, Mrs. Mary Gray Brewer, of Staten Island, representing the National American Woman Suffrage Association has gotten together a "ratification committee" made up of a group of the most representative women in the state. The committee, headed by Miss Margaret Roberts, of Boise, chairman pro tem., includes such women as Mrs. G. W. Davis, wife of Governor Davis; Mrs. Eva Hunt Dockery, Miss Ethel Redfield, State Superintendent of Education; Mrs. Frank Johnesse, President of the Columbia Club; Mrs. Warren Truitt, whose husband is the Mayor of Moscow; Miss Permeal French, Dean of Women, University of Idaho; Miss Bernice McCoy, Dean of Women of the Lewiston Normal; Mrs. J. W. Elder, President of the Woman's Republican Club, Coeur d'Alene; Mrs. James Beatty, wife of a Supreme Court Judge, Coeur d'Alene; Mrs. E. C. White, President Red Cross and President City Federation, Pocatello; Miss Hulda Ise, Dean of Women, Polytechnic Institute, Pocatello; Dr. Emma Drake, Member 1919 Legislature; Mrs. M. J. Sweeley, President of the State Federation Women's Clubs, Twin Falls; Mrs. Carrie Harper White, Member 1919 Legislature, Twin Falls; Mrs. J. A. Stofiel, President of the Good Citizens Club, Boise; Mrs. John Thomas, whose husband is Chairman of the Republican State Committee, Mrs. Ernest H. Londley, wife of the President of Idaho University, Moscow; Mrs. Enoch Bryan, wife of the Commissioner of Education, Boise; Miss Frances Wood, Chairman Local Chapter of the Council of Women Voters, Boise; Mrs. Anna Moody, Treasurer of Ada County; Mrs. W. B. Yeaman, whose husband is a State Senator; Mrs. Lem Adams, President of the Civic Club, Pocatello; Mrs. Samuel M. Hays, Chairman Woman's Council of Defence, Boise.

Having left the ratification plans in good hands in Idaho, Mrs. Brewer will go next to Wyoming and to Montana where she will organize similarly representative committees to work under the direction of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

The Federal petition drive is being pushed in southern states with vigor. In Alabama captains have been appointed and the Alabama suffragists say the size of the petition will be a convincing answer to those who declare that Southern women do not want the suffrage.

Great Britain's New Voters

GREAT BRITAIN'S women voting for the first time on December 14th, played an important part in the triumph of Premier Lloyd George and the coalition candidates for the House of Commons.

Even the *New York Times* has to forego its usual grandmotherly spite at women long enough to admit that:

"The women voters joined nobly in the work and did their part to show that the lioness has the same pedigree as the lion."

The *London Sunday Express* says:

"We regret the failure of the women's candidates. The woman voter has clearly put up as strong a fight for her country at the polls as the men have in the trench. It seems a pity there is no one in the new Commons to tell them what is the sex standpoint on matters of reform. Woman is a good social reformer. She is led away neither by theory nor sentiment."

In the New York elections the dominant political parties discouraged the candidature of women wherever the odds were fairly even for the major tickets. In consequence, women entered the New York race, in nearly every case, as "forlorn hopes," where the chance for their ticket was so poor that men did not begrudge it. Even at that two women made the New York Assembly.

And even without much in the way of predisposing circumstances, one woman—the Countess Georgiana Markievicz of Ireland—was elected to a seat in the House of Commons, while several other women candidates, notably Mary MacArthur, Labor candidate; Christabel Pankhurst, Coalition candidate, and Mrs. Charlotte Deskard, Laborite, both ran fairly close races for seats in the Lower House.

Miss MacArthur was second in a field of three candidates, being defeated by 1,300 votes. Mrs. Despard lost by 1,600 votes. Miss Violet Markham won third place with four in the field.

There were women in the roster of the fourteen names of women who stood for seats who have definite contributions to make as a part of a legislative body, and it is to be regretted that Great Britain will not get the benefit of such contributions. On the other hand, there should be reassurance to the fearful in this evidence that women do not agitate for the vote in order to array themselves *en masse* for women candidates as against men candidates. This showing was the more notable because the number of women voting was very heavy, it being the first opportunity they have had to exercise the right of parliamentary suffrage.

Lord Northcliffe paid a strong tribute to the manner in which the women responded to their first opportunity to vote. "Some election indeed, was ours last week," is a statement from Northcliffe carried in a cable dispatch to the *New York World*. "It seemed as though every woman elector in Great Britain was determined to show her delight in her new acquisition."

In Canada

CANADIAN women are seeking the right to sit in Parliament with the full voting privileges of that body. On April 12 the women of Canada were granted the right to vote for members of Parliament, but, pointing to the part women have played in industries and in all those avenues which led to the successful prosecution of the war, the women of Canada believe they have earned a full share in the legislative control of the Dominion.

A formal petition urging that women be granted full parliamentary rights has been presented to the members of the Cabinet by a committee representing the Independent Labor Party. Cabinet officers are reported to have told the women of the committee that "if women really want seats in Parliament they probably will get them."

In asking for the right to sit in Parliament the Canadian women are following in the footsteps of their British sisters who were granted the right to vote for members of Parliament in February, 1918, and secured the right to sit in the House of Commons in November.

IT took 78 minutes for the British Parliament to pass a bill of 78 words granting women the right to sit in the house of Commons.

For Your Information

THE Woman's Political Association of Australia is asking the government to raise the age of consent to 21 years and to extend this provision to cover boys as well as girls.

THE right to become lawyers and assistants to notaries has been granted to Portuguese women by a government decree. The women must hold certificates showing that they possess a thorough knowledge of law.

WHEN the Federal Suffrage Amendment is called up again for a vote—as will be the case, since a motion to consider is to be made—the Senate owes to the President, to the nation and to the world the adoption of this wise and just measure as a message of appreciation and good faith, and as evidence of our willingness to apply here in the broadest sense the principles of democracy for which we are fighting a war.—*Courier Journal*, Louisville, Ky.

PREMIER BRATIANU, of Rumania, now at the head of the New Rumanian Government, said recently that the domestic policy of the Government would be to bring about the immediate application of the reforms recently embodied in the constitution—chief among these is “universal suffrage.” Earlier despatches from Rumania brought the word that women were to share with men in the impending extension of the suffrage; so there is hope for the belief that in Rumania, as at last in the Central Powers, the universe really is allowed to include women.

THE increasingly important part the women of India are beginning to play in the political life is indicated by the fact that Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, a leading suffragist of India, presided at a recent meeting of the Madras Provincial Conference. *New India*, in referring to the event, declares that it marks “the coming of a great force into modern Indian political life—the Indian woman.” Mrs. Naidu sponsored a resolution urging the granting of the franchise to women at the same time as men, at a meeting of the Bombay Provincial Conference. The resolution was supported by 100 prominent women of Bombay.

THE Dublin Women's Political League has drawn up a program for women voters and outlined a definite election policy. It has centered on pressing social reforms which do not involve questions of party controversy and to which no political party is definitely committed. Among the reforms specified in the League's program are admission of women to all departments of the public and civil service on equal terms with men and drastic restriction of the liquor traffic. The League is carrying on educational work among the women voters, urging the women not to leave their parties, but to aid the program of social reform by stressing points in the League's program.

THE voters in North Carolina are making it difficult for the state's Senators and Representatives in Congress to have any ground upon which to say, “My state does not favor equal suffrage.” On December 12 approximately twenty-five thousand (25,000 instead of 17,000, as first reported) farmers of that state spoke emphatically for suffrage for women through a resolution passed by the Farmers' Union then in annual session. It was a rising vote, and according to Dr. H. Q. Alexander, president of the Union, was “practically unanimous.”

The resolution not only endorsed the question of suffrage but

called upon the North Carolina delegation in Congress to support the pending Federal Amendment.

On December 14, the Methodist Conference of Eastern North Carolina in session at Goldsboro, by a vote of 160 to 13, settled a long-disputed question—“that lay members be eligible to all boards and offices without regard to sex.” The overwhelming vote in favor of equal rights within the church government is significant of the general trend of feeling toward sex equality in the state.

A short time previous to this action by the Methodists in the eastern part of the state, the Western North Carolina Methodist Conference, in session at Charlotte, took similar action.

It is interesting to note that Senator Overman is a member of the Methodist Church which has taken this progressive stand.

AMONG the questions to be settled at the peace table, the fate of Armenia should excite the poignant interest of women throughout the world. There is no other example in modern history of the womanhood of a whole nation deliberately given over to outrage—and outrage by an inferior race. And, in addition to the multitudes who have perished, there are other multitudes of Christian women and girls who are still held in Turkish harems, in captivity worse than death. Shall they be rescued, or shall they be left there?

Women who are not familiar with the long and heroic history of Armenia will find it concisely and admirably told in Mrs. Bertha S. Papazian's little book, “The Tragedy of Armenia,” just published by the Pilgrim Press of Boston, with a foreword by Dr. James L. Barton, Secretary of the American Board of Foreign Missions. The telling of the story is remarkable for its restrained passion and power. It emphasizes the noble service that the Armenian race has rendered to civilization, from the earliest days down to the present war. As the Belgians checked the German advanced in the West, the Armenians checked it in the East, rendering invaluable help to the Allies at several critical times. Dr. Barton says with truth:

“Serbia and Belgium have been martyr nations for four years, Poland and Bohemia for from one to three centuries; but Armenia has been in virtual bondage for a thousand years, during which period she has kept her home fires burning, her hopes undimmed and her soul unintimidated. Armenia lives today, although bleeding and stricken, because she was worthy. If the final peace treaties are written and the Peace Congress dissolves without Armenia's obtaining her independence from Moslem rule, with every opportunity for self-direction and self-expression in quietness and safety, then this war will in so far have been fought in vain.”

A. S. B.

THE Woman Citizen

EDITORIAL OFFICES

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CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT

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MARY OGDEN WHITE MARY SUMNER BOYD
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With the Wounded Overseas

(Concluded)

By Anne Hirst Curry

Official Correspondent of the Woman Citizen

"La Mission Américaine du 'W. O. H.' dirigée avec une compétence et tact remarquables par le Dr. Lefort, merite les plus grands éloges."

AT Grandvilliers, the station of Cempuis, we turned off toward the little town and drove the three short kilometres to the Gas Hospital where our women are working. The roads were not at all bad, and the car, gathering speed as a horse when he nears home, swept triumphantly through the entrance and wound along the hemlock-lined road between the high brick walls to the hospital entrance. Here a party of the French doctors and our own women greeted us, and we were shown promptly to the living room, where a tiny stove glowed with a welcome that was indeed needed. After tea we slipped outside for a view of the buildings before the early darkness fell. Already the chill winds blew across the open fields in front of the hospital, fields that still bore traces of the tents pitched to shelter the wounded when first they came and had overflowed the beds in the building.

The hospital had been an orphanage, and in the series of rambling red brick buildings there were few conveniences for the caring of patients. We could not but notice the rounded grooves worn in the stone steps by the hundreds of little feet that had scampered up and down them—and the same little feet wait to scamper again when the orphanage is evacuated finally and they can return to the only home they know. The hospital was frequently without running water—when the machinery broke down—but even the electric lights that night burst forth in honor, presumably, of the visitors, for we learned that they promptly misbehaved again the following day! Carrying water in small buckets for several patients was not easy, and when the subject was inadvertently mentioned groans sounded from every woman in the room. The buildings were, of course, damp and unsanitary. Patients were entered in a triage, stretchers were set upon the floor and there the men lay or sat until they could be given the first treatment—often for the terrible eye afflictions—and carried to the douche rooms. This was the most fortunate equipment of the orphanage—a series of shower baths which our doctors promptly made use of for the gassed men, and which, since they were quite without their own equipment, undoubtedly contributed toward the fine work they were able to accomplish there.

WHEN they first arrived the congestion among patients was so great that the theatre of the orphanage was used as a ward, and it was on the stage of this theatre that the men had their wounds dressed—a lofty, damp vault of a place it was, and one could see the weakened men staggering up the steps to the stage and stretching themselves on the cold table that was without even a pillow. When we saw this ward it was nearly cleared of patients, as were many of the others, for with the signing of the armistice had come a general order for evacuation, and all those at all able to be moved were naturally anxious to go on. Out of the number usually in the hospital, 600, there were but 274 left that day. Many of these were patients with Spanish influenza, and that "goes hard" when it strikes these gas-tortured lungs! The double rows of beds we would not have considered inviting, with their coarse, stained

sheets and sunken springs, but to men who had lain in wet trenches, in drenched shell holes, men who had been torn by acid gases and burned blind by their fumes, even knobby resting places must indeed have been welcome.

We saw the patients there, of course, except those with the Spanish "flu." Reddened, weeping eyes with

their twitching lids were perhaps the most pitiful of all, for one sensed the torture those first few hours must have meant, when the blinded patients had stumbled along the dark roads to the hospital, and one knew the days of suffering that inevitably followed. These were not the worst. There were men there—men who were really human-looking men now on their way back to health—who had been masses of blistering burns and raw, screaming flesh from shoulders to heels; men who had had, along with that, the internal gassing that tore the tissues and ate away the bronchial membranes; men who had lived through the horrible rack-ing of the gas cough and had rid themselves of the dead membranes and trachea linings that otherwise caught the breath and strangled out the life flame of them. Down in the excellent laboratory there were entire trachea, casts, livid and yellow and gray dead things, preserved in alcohol that testified to what men can suffer, and live. Sometimes they did not live. That was when the hardened tissues caught half way and choked a man to his death before the weakened strength could catch the next breath that might have saved him.

THERE were patients there who had been saved by sheer dint of hard work that was due to the nurses. Enough alcohol had been collected to continue the baths which pulled several of the men through, and it was the faithful bathing and constant care that the nurses gave which saved these men to their country. The deadly fever was held down, hour by hour, until the chart showed the hoped-for downward line and the patient smiled back with a consciousness of coming strength. There were many saved in just that way when they might so easily, in the stress of numbers, been given up; and Dr. Lefort proudly points out the nurses who tried and succeeded—much to their own embarrassment.

Dressing rooms situated at the ends of the wards are used for the healing salves or dry applications that cool the burns and give the tissues a chance to rebuild naturally. Eyes and throats especially bad are treated in a separate clinic, and great care is observed in the process. There is, of course, danger in all these treatments—escaping acids from burns eat into the flesh of the hands that tend them, and more than one nurse and doctor has had a "gas throat," which is painful but not serious. The pneumonia patients were not easy to look at. One thin chap, who the doctor said would not last through the afternoon, barely moved his gray lips in answer to her questions, but his glazed eyes followed her as she moved away.

Among all those patients that day there was one American, a negro porter from Kansas, as black as ever they came. Up and about, almost entirely well, his wide-mouthed

grin was good to see as he talked in his own language to women who understood. He had lost all his clothes except his uniform overcoat, which he had clung to when he was dressed in a discarded French uniform, and he quickly covered that with his khaki coat. He was as proud of his own battalion as any soldier well could be, but admitted that "home would suttinly look moughty good to him" when he was able to start that way.

We were there while dinner was served to the patients. Buckets of red wine were brought in and large oblong pans divided into three compartments, for soup, a ragout and beans. Tin plates and cups, with knife, fork and spoon, were on the tables between the beds, and there was indeed little ceremony either in the serving or the consuming. We had brought with us some of the cigarettes sent over by the Stage Women's War Relief, and they would have been warmly pleased could they have seen the smiles that started when Dr. Lefort showed the packages. She distributed them among the men with a caution here and a word there in their own beloved language, which she speaks so well—"Wait till tomorrow before trying this;" and to a few whose throats were still supersensitive she left a couple of the valuable smokes on their promise not to try them until permitted. One of these men, a burly Sengalese, eyed his cigarette thoughtfully and laid it beside his cup, turned away, looked back again, and hid it quickly beneath the cup. Another Sengalese, by the way, was ornamented with his treasured "gri-gri" that dangled from his neck and tinkled on his wrists and whose charms encircled his waist—which charms, alas, had failed to perform! He was convalescing, however, so perhaps he thinks his "gri-gri" responsible for that.

CONVALESCENT patients strolled about the grounds beneath the huge trees, some of them sweeping up the leaves that crackled under foot when they were dry, and made thick, sodden rugs when they were still wet. The laundry proposition is an unanswerable one; beneath a shed there were thousands of sheets waiting to be washed, sheets that had been waiting for weeks and weeks, because there was nobody to wash them. A few women were working in the laundry in their own primitive fashion, but even women who can work are scarce in Cempuis and the doctors were obliged to work under conditions that we would name anything but sanitary. A carpenter shop, a post office, supply rooms, garage, etc., belong to the orphanage and are used by the hospital.

The nurses' and doctors' quarters have been made habitable by the women themselves. A couch in the living room is a comfortable resting place, a long table holds books and flowers, a smaller tea table is drawn near the stove, and turkey red draperies, selected in the nearby village of Grandvilliers, are a real decoration. A large French flag and an American one are at one end of the room, and one can quickly see how drear the place was before our women made it over. Their own rooms they can heat a bit by what warmth comes through the registers in the floor, when there's any heat; but this apparatus has been out of order and the rooms that had open grates were drawn by the lucky ones. The food has been plentiful and well cooked, which is probably what has kept the women going through these weeks in fair health, for the dampness is unlike anything we have back home.

Actual trenches are near the hospital, which were used when Cempuis was very near the front. And immediately on the grounds are preparatory trenches, dug straight and deep for quick enlarging; and there's also a dugout in the side of a hill for shelter during the avion bombardments that were so frequent, notwithstanding the great cross of grass, 100 feet in diameter, that lay in the field in front of the hospital.

IN the early morning we crossed the fields in front of the hospital to where, at the top of a gentle curve, rows of black crosses are silhouetted against the blue sky. The graves were separated by rough stones carefully laid, and as we read aloud the names of Americans who lay there with their French comrades, we felt close to home somehow. The Germans who had died there had rows to themselves marked by the same square plates, but without the Tricolor beneath. Turks, Arabs and Syrians lay in a third section, each grave indicated by their curiously shaped headstone with its crescent and star painted on it. The aviators, so dear to France, are honored by a separate part of the burying ground. Decorations—artificial flowers of painted metal, so pleasing to these people—show kind thought, and a few of the graves are enclosed by a little fence, with sometimes a photograph of the deceased gracing the head of it. There was a quiet road that led from the hospital to the cemetery, a private little way that seemed somehow a very pretty path to travel, even with so sad a burden.

It is a splendid thing to remember that our women of this Gas Unit, who landed in Paris and were entirely without the equipment which meant so much to the success of their work, were nevertheless put promptly into a place where they had the chance to show their mettle. Perhaps the fairest thing to record is a quotation from a letter of Monsieur R. Jude, Medecin Chef of their hospital:

"Directeur du Service de Santé.

"La mission Américaine du 'W. O. H.' dirigée avec une compétence et tact remarquables par le Dr. Lefort, très surmenée et malade elle aussi à plusieurs reprises, mérite les plus grands éloges.

"Mes confrères Américaine font preuve de qualités cliniques très sûres, d'une culture générale et médicale excellente, et montrent vis-à-vis des malades un dévouement audessus de tout éloge. Elles joignent à tout cela une modestie parfaite et un robuste bon sens.

"L'éducation pratique des nurses ne laisse rien à désirer, leur discrétion, leur tact, leur dévouement doivent être hautement loués."

SUFFRAGISTS

of

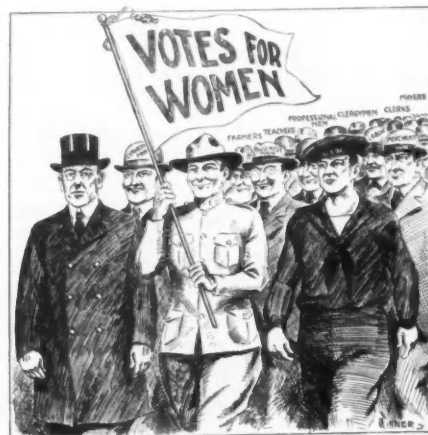
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YEAR

of

GRACE

1919



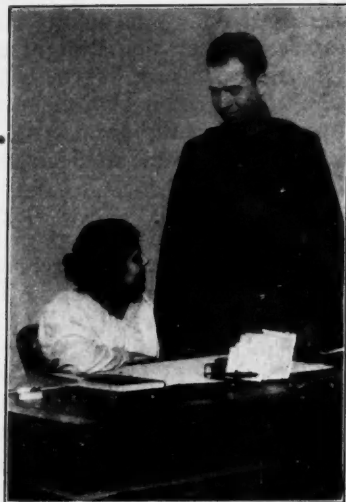
Taking Uncle Sam's Foster Child

By Isabelle M. Houghton

The Y. W. C. A.
Gives Practical
Lessons in
Americanization

For Men

Women



ITALIAN SOLDIER CONFERRING WITH AN
ITALIAN WORKER

From an International Institute of the Y. W. C. A.

THE Y. W. C. A., in its service among foreign-born women, goes out for understanding and gets it. It gets it largely because it uses "Nationality Experts." That means that the American executive of each International Institute of the Y. W. C. A. has working on her staff a leader of every nationality in the community. This leader understands the customs, aims and ideals of her own people and stands ready to point the way to a better understanding of American ways.

The Institutes are in direct touch with 30,000 families.

Practically, what does that mean to the 30,000 families? It means an attractive gathering place for girls and women of every nationality, it means protection, education and recreation. It means a good listener, whose never-failing ability to straighten out tangles is a bulwark of strength to a foreign community and a guarantee of future friends to the United States.

An Institute offers its protection by home-visiting in every community where foreign-born women live, for it believes that even before a woman needs English, she needs protection and someone to talk to her in her own language. Therefore the visiting is done by trained social workers who speak the language of the woman visited and are themselves women who have come from foreign lands. This year over 1,535 newcomers, who, in spite of war dangers, crossed the seas to America, have been called on by these visitors. The "Nationality Experts" act as interpreters in court, for Red Cross civilian relief, draft boards, and in securing medical aid for non-English speaking women. They stand ready for service in any emergency.

THERE is no more difficult problem in foreign communities than that of the mother of the family who remains entrenched in her



Y. W. C. A. ENGLISH CLASS WITH
Eight Nationalities Represented



KATHERINE IS A RUSSIAN AND SHE IS TALKING ABOUT FARMING TO A GROUP OF
INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE GIRLS
Katherine went from a cigar factory into the Land Army, and if she has her way the whole
Institute will migrate to the country next summer



BUSY ITALIAN WOMEN OF THE JERSEY CITY
International Institute of Y. W. C. A.

Children Into the Family

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When



NEW YORK INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF Y. W. C. A.
Ten Nationalities Represented

For Mary Smith and Maria Smitherino are sisters under their skins!



BOARDING HOUSE FOR FOREIGN BORN GIRLS
Y. W. C. A. International Institute



A PARTY OF FOREIGN GIRLS AT THE Y. W. C. A. TRAINING SCHOOL IN NATIVE COSTUMES OF THE PEASANTRY AND NOBILITY

These girls were taking the training course for Foreign-born Workers to prepare themselves for work among their own people in this country. Polish, Hungarian, Lithuanian, Syrian, Bulgarian, Italian, Russian, Czech and Slovak nationalities are represented

home, shut away from American customs by her lack of English, while her husband and children are rapidly acquiring American ways and the ability to talk about them in the vernacular. After the visitor from the Institute has met the mother in her home, talked with her in her own tongue and gained her confidence, it is possible to get her, little by little, to come to the night school classes to learn English. The result is a stiffening of the morale of the home. The mother becomes an individual, a personality whose influence, voiced in the new tongue, carries a new importance.

There is excellent work being done by these same English classes with the men in the Hostess Houses in the camps. The work being carried on by foreign language workers in the Hostess Houses, and by foreign language visitors to the families of the enlisted men with the co-operation of the Red Cross, was organized in response to the appeals from foreign families. Frightened by the call for registration, bewildered by the perplexities of the draft board and paralyzed by the swift taking-up and sending to camp of their men, these families were plunged into frantic grief. The function of this service is to give information regarding the whole military scheme. It also encourages the soldiers to urge their women folk to learn English and to mingle with their American neighbors.

THE Institute holds international parties, plans hikes and week-end vacation trips and encourages its members to express their patriotism for America by joining in Fourth of July parades, Liberty Loan drives and other fêtes.

This department of the Y. W. C. A. for service among foreign-born women is continually surveying new communities, opening new centers and recruiting and training workers of all nationalities. It maintains a bureau of research and statistics; it conducts experiments to prove the value of trained foreign language experts in every phase of social and civic work for foreign people. By these means it is breaking down the barriers between the foreigners themselves as well as between them and the Americans; barriers built of mutual ignorance of language, psychology, geography, politics, customs and religion.

Shall the newcomer remain an immigrant or become an American citizen of value to himself and the state? In so far as that question is being asked today from all parts of this country, lies the hope of the future. Only when the question is heard and answered by the sympathetic attitude of every man and woman will the reply be satisfactory.

Legislation That Interests Women

Wisconsin Suffragists Back Progressive Legislation

THE Wisconsin Woman Suffrage Association is supporting the movement to create a National Department of Education with a secretary, having a place in the President's Cabinet, as provided in a bill introduced in Congress by Senator Hoke Smith of Georgia. Action was taken at the December board meeting authorizing the state president, Mrs. H. W. Youmans, to bring this matter to the attention of Wisconsin's delegation in Congress.

The State Suffrage Board also went on record as favoring the appointment of women by the American Federation of Labor as members of the International Labor Commission. The action of the board was brought to the attention of Mr. Samuel Gompers.

Mrs. Youmans has been appointed a vice-president of the State League to Enforce Peace, being one of three women included among the officers of the League.

Social Legislation in Iowa

LEGISLATION relating to women and children will have an important place upon the calendar of the Iowa Legislature when it convenes early in January. Among the important measures to be introduced during the session will be the following:

A measure providing for equal pay for equal work in all industries. The great increase in the number of women who have entered the industrial field since the beginning of the war has made the problem of women's wages one of unusual importance. The Iowa State Federation of Labor is supporting the proposed law.

A bill providing for teachers' pensions, which would affect more than 20,000 women teachers in the state.

A vital statistics bill which will place Iowa in the federal health registration area. The law passed two years ago has been found inadequate, and the women will give their support to the proposed new law, it is said.

Just what part, if any, suffrage will play in the legislative program is not announced. A state referendum measure was passed two years ago, but it is said to have been invalidated by the failure of the Secretary of State's department to publish it thirty days before the last election. It would be necessary for the proposed state amendment to be re-introduced, which would mean a delay of two years, as it must be passed by a second Legislature before it can be submitted to the voters.

The poll of the candidates for the state Legislature taken last summer insures the passage of the Amendment without much opposition, as

a great majority of the candidates in both parties pledged themselves to support the Amendment. The ratification of the Federal Amendment, in case it is passed by the Senate at this session, is also assured, as a large majority of the Legislature is in favor of ratification.

The Iowa Equal Suffrage Association has created Republican and Democratic Advisory Committees composed of three members each. The Republican Advisory Committee includes: Governor Harding, Albert B. Cummins, United States Senator, and Charles A. Rawson, Chairman Republican State Central Committee. The Democratic Advisory Committee includes: Wilbur W. Marsh, Democratic National Committeeman for Iowa, Emmet Tinley, President Iowa Democratic Club, E. T. Meredith, Editor of *Successful Farming*.

Governor Harding recently declared himself wholeheartedly for the Federal Amendment in a statement in which he took the Democratic Party to task for its failure to pass the Federal Amendment. "The least the Democratic Senate can do to save their faces is to give the American women a vote now," declared Governor Harding.

Miss Anna B. Lawther, state suffrage president, made an address recently on "Women in Industry," at the session of the Eastern Bankers of Iowa held at Dubuque.

Virginia's Code

WELFARE forces were at work as never before in Virginia this year. By patient and persistent effort suffragists saw many of their bills go through. Others were defeated; but the suffragists say their labor will be repeated until these, too, become a part of the Code of Virginia.

Measures for educational advancement were pushed by Mrs. B. B. Mumford, Miss Bessie Taylor, and Mrs. G. Harvey Clarke, public health measures by Miss Agnes Randolph, and social purity laws by Mrs. J. Tyler Jobson.

A bill to admit women to the State University failed, but another admitting them to the College of William and Mary passed and women are now studying in the oldest college in America, whose president, Lyon G. Tyler, was the first man holding public office in Virginia to announce himself an advocate of woman suffrage.

A state-wide compulsory education law passed, also a resolution to amend the state constitution, which, if it passes in 1920 and is approved by the voters, will remove all barriers to further legislation in regard to compulsory education. Another amendment to the state constitution

would provide that "men and women may be appointed as school trustees," the present provision limiting this office to voters.

An Education Commission, of which one member must be a woman, was created to investigate the public school system of the state, to study progressive systems of education and to report at the next General Assembly. Miss Bessie Taylor, an active suffragist, is the woman member.

A change was made in the state law regulating bar examinations which removes the barriers against women practicing law in Virginia. Women may now practice law in every state in the Union. Richmond College has opened its doors to women for the study of law and the Medical College of Virginia has followed suit for the study of medicine.

Laws were passed providing for medical inspection and school nursing in public schools, and a compulsory course in preventive medicine and public health nursing in all the normal schools of the state, providing a cottage for tubercular teachers at the State Tuberculosis Sanitarium, and making an appropriation of \$10,000 for a sanatorium for crippled children.

A drastic marriage law was passed, forbidding the marriage of criminals, idiots, insane persons, or persons afflicted with venereal disease. Another law provides for the segregation of prostitutes or those afflicted with venereal disease, and their retention in city hospitals until cured.

Hereafter, a wife deserter may be put on the convict roads or in the workhouse and his earnings applied to the support of wife and children. The prohibition law was strengthened in many important respects.

The hours of labor for women and for children under fourteen years remain ten, but the law is strengthened by not allowing any contract with the woman laborer for longer hours with more pay, or any exemptions for children under fourteen. This is supplemented by a Mother's Pension Act which provides that "Any county or city may pay a monthly allowance to indigent widowed mothers for the partial support of their children in their homes." A comprehensive Workman's Compensation Act was passed, and an Industrial Commission provided for its regulation and enforcement.

A resolution to amend the state constitution was passed, which admits women of "special technical or professional training and experience" to municipal offices. This amendment states that "voting qualifications" are not necessary to these office holders, thereby admitting men and women on equal footing, and will make possible the employment of non-resident municipal experts in the city offices created by charter changes in municipal government.

Annual January Sale McCREERY "MASTER-MADE" FURNITURE

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375.00

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Most Efficient Organization

SHELBYVILLE, Indiana, is laying claim to the most efficient women's organization in that state—the Shelbyville Franchise League. A claim which the recent record of the League in making a survey of influenza cases well justifies. The League completed its organization on the block system in September, and used it for the first time in the Franchise League membership and petition campaign. Immediately after the canvass was completed Miss Laura Kent, the president, offered the Franchise League organization to the County Council of Defense and the local chapter of the Red Cross. The Franchise League Speakers' Bureau and Transportation Committee, Mrs. E. K. Montgomery, Chairman, has provided speakers for all of the war meetings in the county, taken them to the meetings, and is also distributing medical supplies and conveying the nurses during the present "flu" epidemic.

Recently the League made a complete health survey relative to the epidemic in exactly twenty-four hours after the request from the Red Cross reached the city chairman of the League, Mrs. Frank Clarke. The League has used this splendid organization only once in its own interest. Five times they have responded to war calls, and they handled the Red Cross Christmas roll call.

Child Labor

A CHILD Labor law raising the age limitation to fourteen years for day service is one of the recommendations which the North Carolina State Commissioner of Labor and Printing will recommend in his report to the next Legislature, which convenes in January.

In this connection the Commissioner said: "The United States Government is endeavoring to maintain existing industrial standards by writing into its contracts for supplies the provisions of the child labor law recently overruled by the Federal Supreme Court, which it will be remembered was voided on a technicality. Practically the same law is effective in all of the progressive states of the Union, and our own state should take a decided stand, without further delay, in favor of legislation which will meet the test of humanitarianism at each turn of the way through all future years. Our slogan should be: 'Save the women and children for the world.'"

Youngest County Treasurer

MISS ALBERTA L. DUNN of Westport, Oregon, is said to be the youngest woman county treasurer in the United States. Although but 23 years old, Miss Dunn, who had been appointed to fill out the unexpired term of

her father as treasurer of Clackamas County, was easily elected on the Republican ticket in the recent election. One of the chief features of Miss Dunn's campaign was the distribution of many thousands of cards bearing her name and photograph and this announcement: "Present incumbent. Experience. Capability. The only woman candidate for a Clackamas County office."

As Factory Inspectors

THE New York Civil Service Commission has announced openings for women as State Factory Inspectors at a salary of \$1,200 per year. Applicants should be between the ages of 25 and 45.

Those wishing to take the examination must write the secretary of the Civil Service Commission for an application blank, the request to reach Albany before January 13. The application must be in not later than January 15, at 4 p. m. Applicants will be asked questions pertaining to the Labor Law and Industrial Codes, also questions in regard to factory and tenement work inspection.

THE United States Employment Service Bulletin reports that in one month (October) no less than 66,000 women were placed by the service.

Every Woman Needs IRON at Times

If women would only take Nuxated Iron when they feel weak, run-down, tired out—when they are pale, nervous and haggard—there are thousands who might readily build up their red corpuscles, become rosy-cheeked, strong and healthy and be much more attractive in every way. When the iron goes from the blood of women, the healthy glow of youth leaves their skin and their charm and vivacity depart. A two weeks course of Nuxated Iron works wonders in many cases. Satisfaction guaranteed or money refunded. At all good druggists.

NUXATED IRON

Mrs. Baker to Speak for War Workers

THE interests of the women war workers in the proposed housing legislation for the District of Columbia will be represented by Mrs. Newton D. Baker, wife of the Secretary of War, at a hearing to be held before the House Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds on January 8. Mrs. Baker will urge that Congress take some action to relieve the inadequate housing conditions which confronted the thousands of young women called to Washington during the war emergency. Among other things, the women of Washington will ask that work on the housing facilities on the Capitol Plaza grounds, now 90 per cent completed, be rushed to completion, instead of being stopped, as is the intention of a resolution passed by the Senate.

The care and comfort of the thousands of women war workers in the National Capital has become an increasingly important problem in departments. Special employment bureaus have been created to assist those war workers who will soon be without work in finding employment elsewhere. Although the number of women workers will be considerably reduced in the next few months, the problem of housing the thousands of other women who will remain in Washington for months to come will by no means be solved. A survey of living conditions, made by Miss Alice Grady, will be used by the women in advocating legislation to correct present conditions.

Want Seats in Press Gallery

NOW that women have been admitted to the House of Commons, women journalists are demanding admission to the press galleries in the House of Lords and House of Commons. The press galleries have been held sacred to men, but the matter of admitting women will be taken up early in the coming session of Parliament, it is said.



Correspondence

Sends at Ninety!

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

I NOTICE in my WOMAN CITIZEN that "all paid subscribers who remit \$1.50 for 1919 before December 15, 1918, will receive the magazine for one year." I shall have reached my ninety years ere that time expires, if I live. I enclose my check for \$1.50. I have been a long-time worker for the cause of women's emancipation. I am now confined to my home, but the progress of this righteous cause fills my soul with joy. I know dear Alice Blackwell well. I have met C. C. C. She, too, is a dear; also Dr. Shaw. She has been in my home. God bless them all! I have lived to see this cruel war over. I hope to see a just settlement of all countries. I feel the Kaiser ought to be put where he will have a chance to think over his barbarous acts.

MRS. A. D. CHANDLER.

Orleans, N. Y.

"Woman, the Citizen"

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

I HAVE just returned from the "polls," voting for the first time, after working for that right more than sixty years. Four minutes to go, three minutes to wait for others, four minutes to manipulate the voting machine, four minutes to ride home again; $4+3+4+4=15$ minutes. Found grandchildren all right. No bread burned. One little boy asked, "Did you have a nice 'voted,' grandmother?" I answered with a kiss, and he said proudly, "Some day I'll voted and I'll be bigger than you." He got another kiss.

As far back as 1884 the subject "Woman the Citizen" was given me by the Logan County Illinois Temperance Society for a paper to be read before that society at one of its important sessions. They who gave the subject knew it would appeal to me, as I had written and spoken too in behalf of suffrage for women in season and out of season. My paper was so well received that money was voted to have it printed and scattered abroad. Two hundred pamphlets came to me from the printer. The work was badly done, poor proof-reading if any. I allowed none of them to go out without first being corrected. Reading the article in the last number of the WOMAN CITIZEN on the popularity of its name reminded me of my stack of pamphlets entitled "Woman the Citizen," and I opened a drawer and taking out one, re-read it; I do so frequently because it is impossible for one whose predictions have been verified, not to feel elated and say, "I told you so," even if one says it all to one's self. The arguments brought forward in this pamphlet have not deteriorated;

on the other hand they have gained new strength by being accepted by fourteen of our own United States, by Canada, Australia, Denmark, Norway, England and other countries.

What justification can men advance for usurping the power to grant or withhold rights they themselves enjoy? England "gives" woman the right to vote, but is niggardly in pinching the gift till they must be thirty years old before using it.

With full confidence that we will get what we are striving for, I am one with you in work.

EMILY BURTON.

Scarsdale, N. Y.

Masculine Arrogance

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

AN Italian scientist has recently pointed out that at the end of the war there promises to be 121 women of marriageable age in England to every 100 men.

"Eugenically," says the *New York Times* "in all the fighting countries the war will cause an improvement, the scientist believes, because every man in taking a wife will have a larger selection of women to choose from, and therefore he will be likely to choose the healthiest and strongest."

Query: is "eugenics" entirely inherited from the mother?

Another plan for using maternity to best effect comes from Germany, where the Geheimrat Herr Professor Doctor Hans von Hertig would forbid the remarriage of widows. He would leave the few available men for single women, on the ground that marriage of the latter would promise larger families, as most widows have had some of their children already.

M. W.

Summit, N. J.

To Aid Foreign Students

MISS KATY BOYD GEORGE, one of the first three secretaries to go to France to organize the Y. W. C. A., has returned to America to take charge of the foreign women students that are expected to come to America in large numbers. She will assist them in choosing colleges and launching them into their student life.

DURING the influenza epidemic in Edmont, Canada, Mrs. Nellie McClung, who is well known to suffragists, helped to establish and operate an electric laundry in the basement of one of the Methodist churches. Linen from the homes where there was no one to do the washing was brought to the laundry, disinfected, washed and returned.

Women in Industry

ONE of the innovations brought about by the war has been the influx of thousands of women workers into railroad work which heretofore has been done almost exclusively by men. In the last year the number of women railroad employes increased tremendously. Today they number approximately 100,000. And, wherever they are doing the same work as men, they are receiving equal pay, under the government's administration of the railroads.

The strides made in railroad work by women is illustrated by the fact that in January, 1918, there were but 60,000 women employed in all classes of work. By July of last year the number had increased to 81,000, and at the present time it is far ahead of that figure and steadily growing. Ninety-nine different positions have been filled satisfactorily by women workers, who have demonstrated unusual aptitude in nearly all lines of work, especially in the machine shops and in similar work where speed and accuracy are essential qualifications.

Shortly after the railroads were taken over by the government a Woman's Service Section was organized, to supervise the interests of the women workers in all lines. This bureau is charged with the responsibility of seeing that the working conditions for the women workers are healthful and safe and that all laws and regulations relating to women workers are faithfully obeyed. As the result of a special investigation women workers were removed from work regarded as dangerous or unsuited to their strength.

Approximately 70,000 of the 100,000 women are employed as clerks and in other office work, according to the latest available statistics. Women have demonstrated that they are well qualified to fill such positions as ticket sellers and information clerks, and in some departments of the machine shops they are accounted more satisfactory than men workers.

Equality in Industry

TO the usual program of protection for women's labor, Mary Van Kleeck purposes that the Women in Industry Service of the United States Department of Labor shall stand for equal chance for training, equal pay and equal work opportunities.

"The problem," says she in a recent issue of the United States Employment Service Bulletin, "is not the withdrawal of any group of workers voluntarily, but rather the organization of industry in such a way as to utilize to the full all of the available working forces of the country. Who can doubt that the enormous work of reconstruction will demand the activity of every man and woman capable of taking part in the production needed, not only for the

United States, but for the countries of Europe?

"For women in industry the chief danger is that they will remain in certain industries or be introduced into new ones at a lower wage scale than is paid to the men. It is time to establish wages on the basis of the occupation and not on the basis of sex.

"The Woman in Industry Service recognizes that this and other problems of women in industry will be accentuated during the reconstruction period. The payment of a distinctly lower wage in women's occupations than in men's work has always been a check upon the rendering of the most efficient service by women workers. The war has demonstrated that the range of possibilities for efficiency by women in industry is much larger than has been assumed in the past. This is notably illustrated in the work of women in machine processes."

Women on Advisory Committees

THE Department of Labor has authorized the appointment of two women members to each State Advisory Committee of the United States Employment Service, increas-

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ing the total membership of the Board from five to seven. In addition, two women with full voting power will be added to the membership of every Community Board. One of the chief duties of the women members will be to see that no woman is allowed to take work for which she is not physically fit or under conditions not suitable for her employment.

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Democrats Recognize Women

WOMEN have been given equal representation with the men on the executive committee of the Queens County Democratic Committee of New York. In making his appointments for the new term Chairman James A. Butler fulfilled the promise made before the election, that the women would have an equal voice in the conduct of the party's affairs. The executive committee plays an important role in borough politics as it governs, to a large extent, the organization, and controls nominations and appointments.

G. O. P. Women Incorporate

THE National Woman's Republican Association has incorporated, with headquarters in New York City. The incorporators are: Mrs. Mary Wood, Mrs. Jesse Hoyt Higgins, Mrs. Claudia Quigley Murphy, Mrs. Olive Stott Gabriel and Miss Helen Varick Boswell, of New York City.

It is planned to hold meetings annually on the first Wednesday in February. The directors of the incorporated association are: Mrs. L. C. Harnsberger of Landers, Wyoming; Mrs. J. D. Whitmore, Denver; Mrs. William Severin, Chicago; Mrs. Virginia White Speel, District of Columbia; Mrs. Philip N. Moore, St. Louis; Mrs. Frances King Sears, Seattle; Miss Elizabeth F. Pierce, Boston; Mrs. John W. Blodgett, Grand Rapids, and Mrs. William E. Andrews, Wichita, Kan.

Every Door of Opportunity

Await Governor Smith's Appointments

POLITICIANS and the women of New York are awaiting with considerable interest, announcements expected shortly from Governor-elect Alfred E. Smith regarding his appointments to the various commissions and state departments, which he will fill in assuming office. In political circles it is believed that the new governor, who pledged to obtain better laws and regulations relating to women and children, will appoint women to some of the prominent offices shortly after January 1. These appointments, it is reported, will be made with a view to placing experienced and qualified women on such commissions and in such departments as are devoted in a large measure to the welfare of women, such as the Industrial Commission, the State Board of Charities and other commissions of similar importance.

Campaign of Education Continues

THE Harris County Equal Suffrage Association, with headquarters at Houston, Texas, is demonstrating its right to front rank as a "first aid factor in community life." One of the most important of its community activities has been the educational campaign conducted to acquaint the women with their new responsibilities in the political life of the state.

During the primary election this organization distributed throughout the state 40,000 slips bearing "Instructions for Women Voters." These useful and practical aids to the new voters were compiled by Mrs. Hortense Ward, president of the Harris County Suffrage Association. The educational work done by the suffragists played a major part in bringing out a registration of women in that county which reached a total of 14,750.

During this period the association maintained offices in the Court House. A large blackboard gave the political records of the various candidates for office. The Harris County suffra-

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gists were a factor in the re-election of Governor Hobby.

Mrs. Ward is the famous Texas lawyer who sponsored the Married Women's Property Rights bill, which was one of the progressive measures passed by the 35th Legislature.

"It was in war work, however," says Mrs. G. A. Young, Executive Secretary of the Harris County Equal Suffrage Association, "that our best effort has been expended. Through our ward and precinct organization, we were able to set in motion a force of 200 to 300 women who successfully put over the drives for war funds, securing contributions that would otherwise not have been reached. In the fourth Liberty Loan drive, after our community was supposed to be thoroughly worked, our quota was still short. Through additional effort in house-to-house canvass, we secured, chiefly in \$50.00 bonds, \$96,000. Our organization sold, out of the \$12,000,000 taken by Harris County, \$2,339,000.

"For the United War Work we also put on a house-to-house canvass, with good results, and are rendering a similar service for the Red Cross. At the Recreational Canteen for 'Our Boys' we had a Christmas celebration which included a home dinner and entertainment, also a Christmas tree, for 1,000 soldiers.

"In War Savings Banks, we have been very active, and are now planning to take over, and operate daily for the coming year, a bank on a prominent corner, in order that we may help to impress our citizenship with the idea that the war's good lesson of thrift must not be lost.

"This work has been made possible, not only through the splendid co-operation of the workers, but largely, through the inspiration received from our President. Mrs. Ward has been named, with Mrs. Fred Fleming, a member of the State Advisory Board of the United States Employment Service. At the prohibition conference in Austin on December 11, on the committee of seven appointed to prepare an amendment for submission to the 36th Leg-

(Continued on page 657)

The Book Stall



New World for Women

THE advancement of women has been only one feature of the vast change that has been going on in America during the past hundred years. The greatness of this change is brought home afresh to the readers of "Memories Grave and Gay," Harper & Brothers, \$3.50, by Julia Ward Howe's daughter, Florence Howe Hall. It is amazing to realize what a different world this was, within the memory of a woman who is not yet very old. Mrs. Hall says of the time when she was a twelve-year-old girl (in 1858):

In Boston the sumptuary laws of this period prescribed that your hat should be as nearly as possible the exact ditto of that worn by every other woman and girl in the town. During this particular spring, white straw bonnets, trimmed with green ribbon outside and pink ribbon inside, were the regulation wear.

It was thought a decided innovation when Mrs. Howe decked Florence's bonnet with a blue ribbon, because the color was more becoming to her; and when she made the child wear a broad-brimmed hat, little Florence felt acutely unhappy. Even at that time, however, there were certain families so highly respected that they could defy the fashions. Charles Francis Adams, Jr., when a student at Harvard, was criticised by the other boys for the style of his hat. He answered: "An Adams can wear any sort of hat he wishes." Mrs. Hall says: "Young Mr. Adams, far from showing conceit, was simply illuminating the way for us all in the direction of personal independence."

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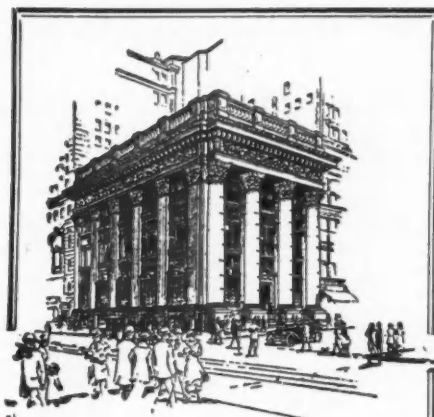
Of the Civil War period, she writes: "With gold going always higher, the price of everything soared in the sixties, as in the present war. The sad part of it was that they did not come down until years afterward. The highest point reached by gold was three hundred, but, although it dropped later, prices did not. They were so sensitive as to respond instantly to any rise, but were entirely unaffected by a fall of the precious metal. This seemed to me very unfair. . . . It was a problem for the girls of those days to dress suitably, when everything was so dear. Some of my friends bought braid and made their own straw hats. The price of kid gloves was so high that some girls with skillful fingers made their own."

Brought up under the wing of eminently distinguished parents, Mrs. Hall, from childhood, mingled with the highest society, in the real as well as in the conventional meaning of the term. Her book abounds in personal reminiscences of prominent men and women—Emerson, Thackeray, Longfellow, Sumner, Agassiz, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Edwin Booth, Charlotte Cushman and others too numerous to mention. She says:

"Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes was in those days the most brilliant and delightful of talkers. Not only did he talk without an effort, but it seemed to require an effort on his part to maintain silence. His very mouth looked as if it were ready to overflow into brilliant conversation of its own accord, and one fancied that he was obliged to exercise a certain restraint over it."

Yet, among the many celebrities with whom the book brings us in touch, the two whom we follow through its pages with the greatest interest and delight are Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe and Julia Ward Howe. They were part of almost all the great forward movements of their day, not only national but international; and Mrs. Hall, in her activity in the suffrage cause, has carried on the family tradition. Incidentally, her fascinating book shows that a woman may be a good mother and even a good grandmother, and do a great many valuable things in addition.

A. S. B.

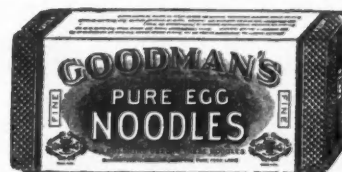


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JUST TRY THEM, THAT'S ALL

Every Door of Opportunity

(Continued from page 656)

islature were Mrs. Nannie Webb Curtis, leader of W. C. T. U. work in Texas, and Mrs. Hortense Ward."

The present political activity of the Austin suffragists is a campaign of agitation to interest women in the payment of their poll tax. This being a necessary qualification for voting; 20,000 circulars have been distributed, messages sent to women's meetings and other means employed to acquaint the women with the necessity of paying the tax.

Through a morning paper the Harris County Association has offered War Savings Stamps for the cleverest jingles on poll tax payment.

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Wanted, Poor Teachers

PREJUDICE dies hard. A queer survival of it has just been attracting attention in Boston.

A successful kindergarten teacher of several years' experience wanted to marry; but she was supporting a widowed mother, and felt that she ought not to marry at present if it would necessitate giving up her work. She asked the Superintendent of Schools if she might marry and continue to teach. He said she might. She married. Then a new School Superintendent came into office, and the young teacher was dismissed, on the ground that her husband (a Lieutenant) was able to support her, and that the preference ought to be given to candidates with no other means of livelihood. The Boston School Committee, by a vote of three to two, sustained this view.

At this time, when there is such a scarcity of teachers—and particularly of kindergarten teachers, because of the smallness of their pay—it is especially unfortunate for a School Committee to take this stand. The progress of public opinion is shown by the fact that it has been very generally blamed by the press.

The decision is based upon the old, unsound doctrine that positions in the schools should go not to the best teacher, but to the neediest. On that principle, if a school teacher received a legacy sufficient to live upon, he or she should at once be required to resign. The present President of Harvard, being a rich man, turns back his salary into the University treasury. On this principle, the fact of his being able to do so is a proof that he ought not to have the place. He should be made to yield it up to some man who really needs the salary.

If the welfare of the pupils were the criterion, as it should be, an experienced, successful and

popular teacher would not be looked upon as less eligible than a new beginner, merely because the experienced teacher has a husband. It is an outcropping of the inveterate, irrational, inexcusable prejudice against allowing a married woman to earn money.

School Service

NATIONAL SCHOOL SERVICE is a new publication of the Public Information Committee called forth by the patriotic resolutions of such bodies as the National Education Association War Commission which represents 600,000 teachers and through them 22,000,000 public school children. The publication is designed to enlist the school children in war service, says the editorial announcement:

"It is the rare privilege of the teacher at this time to have in national activities a means by which the purpose of her efforts can be made real to children. War savings stamps, food and fuel economy, the Red Cross, the Liberty Loan, are not intrusions on school work. They are unique opportunities to enrich and test not knowledge but the supreme lesson of intelligent and unselfish service. It is the lesson you have always taught. The war has given you new and unexpected opportunities to link habit and conduct with the work of the classroom."

V. A. D.

THERE'S an angel in our ward as keeps a-flittin' to and fro

With fifty eyes upon 'er wherever she may go;
She's as pretty as a picture and as bright as mercury,

And she wears the cap and apron of a V. A. D.

The Matron she is gracious and the Sister she is kind,

But they wasn't born just yesterday and lets you know their mind;

The M. O. and the Padre is as thoughtful as can be,

But they ain't so good to look at as our V. A. D.

She's a honorable miss because 'er father is a dook,

But, Lord, you'd never guess it and it ain't no good to look

For 'er portrait in the illustrated papers, for you see

She ain't an advertiser, not our V. A. D.

Not like them that wash a teacup in an orfices' canteen

And then "Engaged in War Work" in the weekly press is seen;

She's on the trot from morn to night and busy as a bee,

And there's 'eaps of wounded Tommies bless that V. A. D.

She's the lightest 'and at dressin's and she polishes the floor,

She feeds Bill Smith who'll never use 'is 'ands no more;

And we're all of us supporters of the harri-stocracy

'Cos our weary days are lightened by that V. A. D.

And when the War is over, some knight or belted earl,

What's survived from killin' Germans, will take 'er for 'is girl

They'll go and see the pictures and then 'ave shrimps and tea;

'E's a lucky man as gets 'er—and don't I wish 'twas me!

—Punch.

From *War Verse*, by Frank Foxcroft.

(Thomas Y. Crowell Co.)

To America, on Her First Sons Fallen in the Great War

NOW you are one with us, you know our tears,

Those tears of pride and pain so fast to flow;
You too have sipped the first strange draught of woe;

You too have tasted of our hopes and fears;
Sister across the ocean, stretch your hand,
Must we not love you more, who learn to understand?

There are new graves in France, new quiet graves;

The first-fruit of a Nation great and free,

Full of rich fire of life and chivalry,

Lie quietly, though tide of battle laves

Above them: sister, sister, see our tears,

We mourn with you, who know so well the bitter years.

Now do you watch with us; your pain of loss
Lit by a wondrous glow of love and power
That flowers, star-like at the darkest hour
Lighting the eternal message of the Cross;
They gain their life who lose it, earth shall rise
Anew and cleansed, because of life's great sacrifice.

And that great band of souls your dead have met,

Who saved the world in centuries past and gone,

Shall find new comrades in their valiant throng;

Oh, Nation's heart that cannot e'er forget,

Is not death but the door to life begun

To those who hear for Heaven cry "Well done!"

—Spectator.

—E. M. Walker, from *War Verse*, by Frank Foxcroft (Thomas Crowell Co.)

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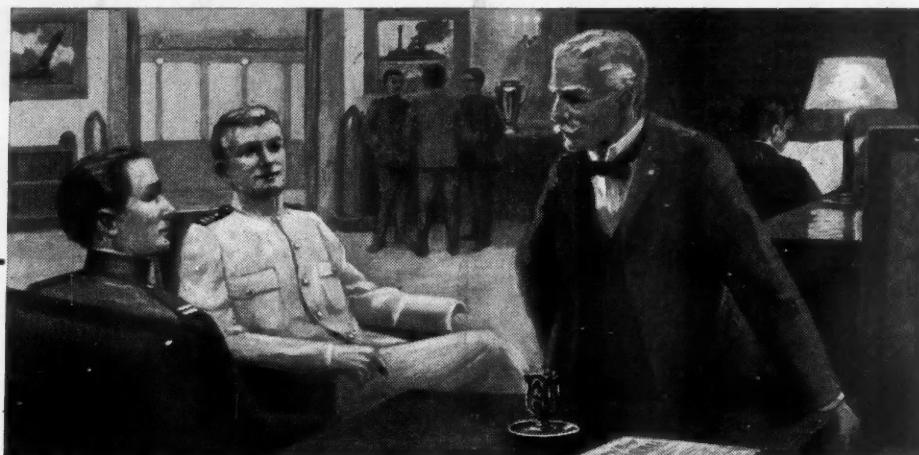
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The Last Word About the War

And How Colonel Sibley Was Helped to Write It

SCENE: (Army and Navy Club, New York, where Commander Ellsworth, U. S. N., and Captain Trowbridge, U. S. A., are having a conference and an after-dinner cigar in the Club Library and are joined by Colonel Sibley, U. S. A., retired)

The Colonel: Well, comrades, I win!

The Commander: Been fighting again, Colonel? Who says you're retired?

Colonel: I was retired, but now I'm in action again or soon will be, and this time with the pen instead of the sword.

Captain: How's that?

Colonel (Drawing closer to the table and glancing around): Well, comrades, I don't mind telling you in confidence that I just signed up with the Editor-in-Chief of a big magazine (name censored for the present) to write a series of articles on the Great War.

Commander: Tell us about it.

Colonel: Well, it's going to be a long campaign. The Editor, whom I have just left, wants an extended series of articles, to begin with an exhaustive survey of the causes which led up to the War.

Captain: The causes? All of them? Well, you've sure got your work laid out for you.

Commander: I should say you had.

Colonel: The Editor feels that way

himself. He's now concerned chiefly about what has happened up-to-date and the authority upon which my statements will be based. The Editor's a big gun in the business, you know, and his rivals will be getting his range if he exposes himself. He wants to secure a strategic position so that he can't be successfully attacked on anything he prints.

Captain: Well, what did you suggest?

Colonel: I'll tell you. While he was talking I was thinking and I finally told him that what he wanted as a reserve-force was some late general reference work of recognized reliability that he could fall back on. "That's it," he said, and then asked: "Which one?"

Commander (Turning his head and glancing at a set of The New International Encyclopaedia in its special case): I'll bet I can tell which one you named.

Captain (Glancing at the set): Ours, of course.

Colonel: You're both good guessers. Of course I named The New

International and the Editor nodded his head and said: "That's the very work I had in mind, not only as an authority on the causes of the War and what has already happened, but when peace comes I hear the publishers are to bring the war-volume down to date at once and are to send it to all subscribers in exchange for the war-volume now in their possession so they'll know the last word about the conflict."

Commander: Well, that settled it, I suppose.

Colonel: Yes, I told the Editor that the selection of The New International as our authority simplified the problem and he added that it not only simplified the articles, but solidified them and made them so authoritative that he would be able to follow out with safety his plan to publish the series of articles in book form.

W.C.
914

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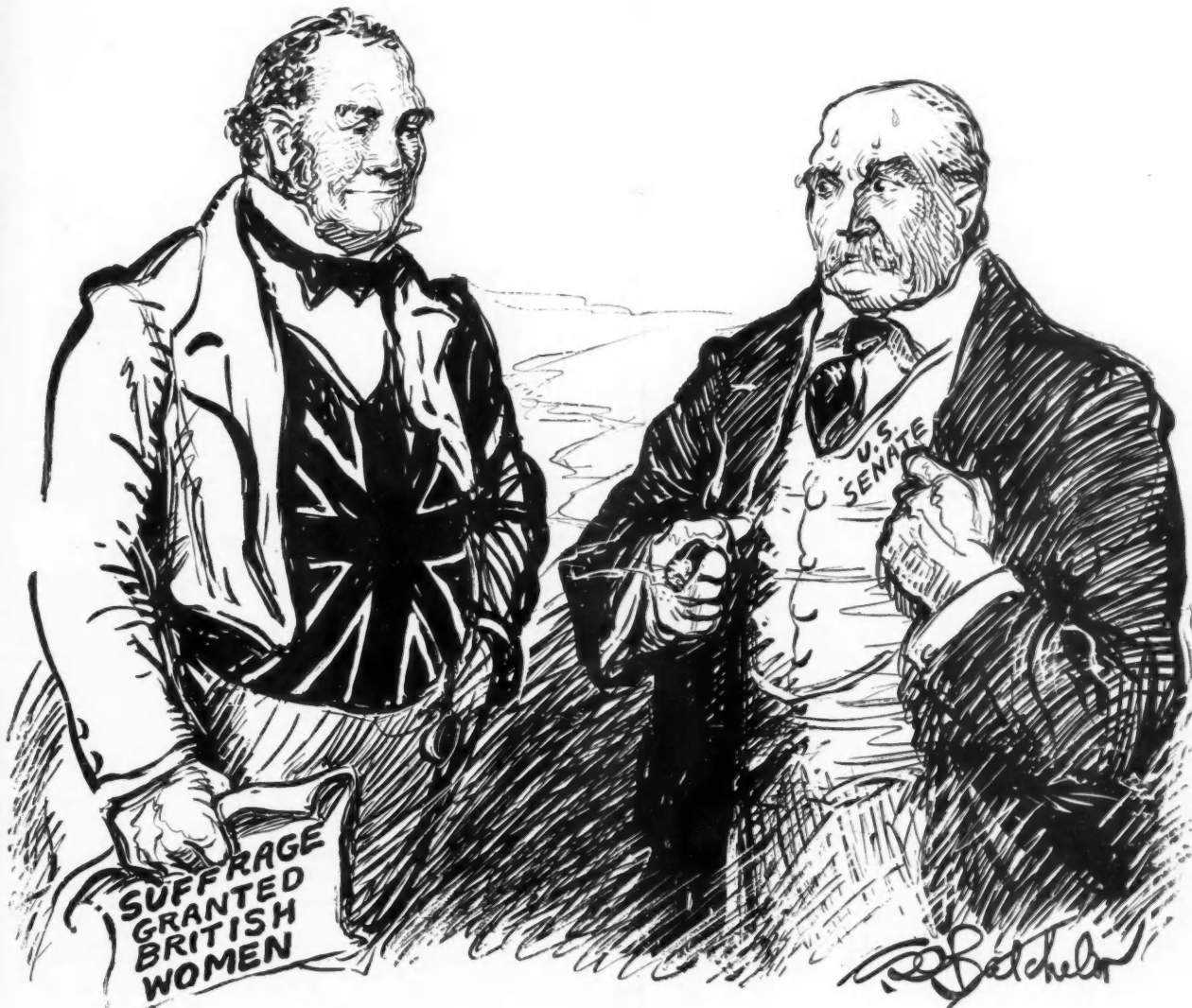
SOCIOLOGY DEPT.

The Woman Citizen

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL
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Published every Saturday

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CONTINUING the Woman's Journal, founded 1870 by Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell, as a weekly newspaper devoted to winning equal rights and especially to winning equal suffrage for women, and published weekly in Boston, Massachusetts, from 1870 to 1917. Continuing also the Woman Voter, and the National Suffrage News. As the official organ of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, the *Woman Citizen* tries to maintain intimate contact between the Association and its two million members throughout the United States.

PUBLISHED BY

The WOMAN CITIZEN CORPORATION
at 171 Madison Avenue, New York

In the hope that it may prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's irresistible progress.

The directors of the Corporation are Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Thomas Bucklin Wells, and Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore.

Vol. III, January 11, 1919. No. 33

Coming

in

THE WOMAN CITIZEN

of

January 18th, 1919

Full Account of the
Final Program of the

Women's Overseas Hospitals

Mrs. Raymond Brown

Director-General of the Hospitals sends word to the National American Woman Suffrage Association that by June this great detail of the war work of suffragists will be completed, the French nation will be able to take over its own problems, and all the women of all the hospital units will be homeward bound.

See the *Woman Citizen* for January 18 for Full Details of Work Plan for Next Six Months

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Are You Familiar with the "Cleveland Street Car Case"?

Women street car conductors were dismissed from the Cleveland service by order of the War Labor Board at the demand of the men in the service. They were dismissed without a hearing.

What are the merits of the case?

The Woman Citizen will give

First.

The Men's side—then—The Women's side

See the forthcoming issues for an impartial presentation of both sides.

The Woman Citizen

The Woman's National Political Weekly

NEW STYLE VOL. III

JANUARY 11, 1919

NUMBER 33

"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

The Best News in America

THOSE who insist that women don't want to vote, wouldn't use the vote if they had it, and all the rest of it really deserve to have been in the Chickasha blizzard last week where they could have seen Oklahoma women running up such a record of fervid appreciation of the ballot that the men voters were put to blush. Oklahoma women got the vote at the November

elections. December 31 was the first chance any of them had to prove that they appreciated what they had gotten. Chickasha provided the opportunity and Mr. W. C. McAlister, the anti-suffragist secretary of the election board, apparently provided the weather. It was fierce. A blizzard howled through Chickasha streets so anti-suffragistically that the street cars all but went out of commission.

Did that stop the women?

Read the answer in the person of Mrs. O. J. Gray, seventy years young, at the polls at 5:30, bowed against the storm, waiting for the doors to open, casting her ballot on the stroke of six.

All day long the women battled through sleet and snow to follow her illustrious example, with the result that by nightfall more women than men had voted.

As there has been some question with regard to Oklahoma's registration laws, here is the substance of both of them:

One provides for a general registration beginning at the end of thirty days after new electors are qualified, and continuing for ten days. But the other provision says that any qualified elector who was not enrolled in the general registration can apply to a county registrar for registration at any time beginning within twenty days and ending ten days before any special local or general election.

Under this provision, says Mr. McAlister, registrars will be instructed to enroll women voters from now on.

And if Mr. McAlister is in line it is not likely that you could find an anti in Oklahoma today from Yelton to Arkinda, or from Mesquite to Quapaw.

The Saddest News

IN the death of ex-President Roosevelt the Nation loses one of its most noteworthy men and a source of animation that long cheered it. To suffragists the loss is two-fold, for suffragists knew Colonel Roosevelt not only as the able public citizen, but as the picturesque personal advocate of the suffrage cause.

The Best News from Europe

ANOTHER foreign country is enfranchising its women. The country is Holland. Only a few days after this is read the women of the Netherlands will be fully enfranchised citizens of their country.

The National American Woman Suffrage Association is able to give out this news in advance of the event, thanks to the word received by Mrs. Catt from Dr. Aletta

Jacobs, head of the Vereeniging Voor Vrouwenkiesrecht of Holland. In her letter Dr. Jacobs sets forth that some weeks ago the Dutch Premier was asked by the suffragists of the Vereeniging to give some commitment as to the Government's stand on woman suffrage. The answer was not heartening. "The Government declines to commit itself on the subject until the question is formally before it." Just one week later this same Premier announced that the whole Dutch Cabinet was backing the Woman Suffrage Bill that had been introduced by M. Marchant. More, he promised immediate consideration of the measure by the Dutch Parliament, virtually guaranteeing its adoption (the government's endorsement of the measure means its adoption) and declared that as soon as the measure was formally passed a new election should be held in which the women could take part, so that the new Parliament would represent the choice of the whole country in deed and in truth.

Then followed a merry catapulting of all political leaders into the suffrage fold. One after another has declared in favor, until it has become apparent that the bill is to go through unanimously.

"It has been cheering," writes Dr. Jacobs, "to see the men who have opposed woman suffrage up to this very last minute, turn squarely around and declare in favor of it. Although the bill has yet to go through all the different stages of parliamentary procedure we rest assured that by the middle of January final and complete victory will crown the long struggle of the Dutch women for political recognition."

It only remains for the United States Senate to catch up to make this a fairly democratic world!

A Reconstruction Issue in 1868

TWICE within its history the woman suffrage problem has had the unique distinction of being advanced as a vital issue of a reconstruction program. The first time was a half century ago, at the close of the Civil War, when the suffrage movement was in the process of formation, and the second time comes at the close of the world's greatest war and on the eve of the enfranchisement, not only of the women of America, but of the world.

The recognition given woman suffrage as a reconstruction issue during its formative period was brought out in the address of Arnold B. Chace, Chancellor of Brown University, at the Golden Jubilee of the Rhode Island Equal Suffrage Association, held last month at Providence. Chancellor Chace is the son of Mrs. Elizabeth Chace, one of the well-known prominent suffragists and a moving spirit in the launching of the first state suffrage organization in Rhode Island. On that occasion, as Chancellor Chace related in his address, resolutions were adopted declaring that the extension of suffrage to all men and women was a basic principle of national reconstruction. Chancellor Chace's address gave an interesting insight into suffrage history.

"After the close of the Civil War, and when the question of giving suffrage to the colored race in the South was under discussion, many of the old abolitionists who had previously been interested in the Woman's Rights movement of the middle of the nineteenth century, began to say that women of the North were equally entitled to vote with the colored men of the South and wrote letters to various people in the Northern states urging that steps be taken to organize woman suffrage societies.

"IN a letter to Mrs. Chace dated New York, June 14, 1867, Mrs. Lucy Stone says, 'It will be a joy to you to know what a radical work is being done in Kansas. They are surely giving the suffrage to women there. It will be the entering wedge which is being carried everywhere.

"I went to Boston last week and had a long talk with Phillips, stopped at Newport and saw Mr. Higginson. I suggested to Mr. Higginson an appeal to the voters of both parties, to the Legislatures of all the states and to Congress, asking the elective franchise for women. We are just preparing the appeal. Men must be made ashamed to confer the exercise of a natural right on men of every nation and color and leave their own mothers and daughters to be companions of rebels, idiots, lunatics and men convicted of infamous crimes.'

"On June 20, 1867, Mr. Parker Pillsbury, one of the distinguished anti-slavery speakers, wrote to Mrs. Chace a letter, from which I quote one sentence. 'And to the colored man's claim for suffrage, I now add also the claim of woman, since everywhere one helps the other.' As a result of such letters and of such influences surrounding the old abolitionists there assembled in Boston on the 23rd day of October, 1868, a gathering composed largely of old abolitionists, who organized the New England Woman Suffrage Association—Mrs. Chace and Mrs. Paulina Wright Davis were among the number. They returned home determined to organize a state society. They wrote letters soliciting interest and asking signatures to a call which they prepared for a convention and which read as follows:

"WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE CONVENTION

"The undersigned invite their fellow citizens to meet with them in convention at Roger William Hall on Friday, December

A Bit of Suffrage History

11th, at 10 A. M., to consider the rightfulness and importance of extending the elective franchise to women. This call was signed by many prominent people of Rhode Island, from the list of whom I select a few names:

"Thomas W. Higginson, Rev. Charles H. Malcolm, all of Newport; William E. Richmond, Thomas Davis, Charles Hart, Rev. Charles T. Brooks, Thomas Coggeshall, Paulina W. Davis, Sarah Helen Whitman, Catherine W. Hart, William Chace, Joseph H. Barker, Anna T. Fairbanks, Nora Perry, Henry Anthony, Mary E. Chace, Asa Fairbanks, George L. Clarke, E. S. Aldrich, Phebe Jackson, all of Providence; Harvey Chace, Anna E. Chace, Samuel B. Chace, Elizabeth Chace, Arnold B. Chace, all of Valley Falls, and many others.'

"PURSUANT to this call the meeting was called to order on December 11th by Mrs. Paulina Davis and organized with the following officers: President, Mrs. Elizabeth B. Chace, with a long list of vice-presidents, headed by Mr. Rowland G. Hazard of Peacedale, and two secretaries were chosen, of whom I was one, although I remember nothing about it personally. An opening address was given by Mrs. Chace as follows:

"This convention is called to consider the rightfulness and importance of extending the elective franchise to women. The call is numerously signed by persons of both sexes, and in behalf of the women, thus stepping out of the routine of our daily life, I feel justified in saying that it is no spirit of mere selfishness on the one hand or of antagonism on the other that we urge the consideration of this question. With both men and women it is, first and above all, because of a sincere and well-considered conviction that to every human being belongs every human right; and, second, because of what women suffer from disabilities which grow out of their political disfranchisement we claim that the ballot, of which men so proudly boast, is their rich birth-right also. But we further believe that in the consequence resulting from the denial of suffrage to woman she does not suffer alone. As in the dark days of slavery the master was more corrupted and brutalized by the unnatural system than the slave, so we believe that man in his moral nature is more injured than woman by this inequality.

"IT is a notorious fact that the places to which men resort for the enjoyment of their boasted privileges of American citizenship are so corrupt that the most common argument against the presence of women at the polls is that their purity and delicacy will be endangered by going there. What careful mother must not shudder to send her boy of twenty-one years where it is not considered safe for her to go with him.

"We believe that this fact itself shows that woman is needed at the polls, and that her presence alone can make these places fit for both men and women.

"And, further still, we think that in the halls of legislation her keener moral sense should be exerted. We know that throughout the state of Rhode Island young men are sinking into the abyss of intemperance because their mothers and sisters cannot vote to blot out the license law which disgraces our statutes and shames our civilization.

"We trust, therefore, that the discussion in this meeting will lead thoughtful minds all over the state to consider whether the

time has not come when the word 'male' shall be stricken from our Constitution and women be no longer classed with idiots and criminals.'

"LETTERS were read from Mr. George W. Curtiss, Mr. Rowland G. Hazard and others, and addresses were given by Thomas W. Higginson, Rev. Charles H. Malcolm of Newport, Frederick Douglas (the eloquent colored orator), and several other people, and the following resolutions were adopted:

"Resolved, That a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, such as Abraham Lincoln recommended, must be a government equally composed of men and women; that the co-operation of both is alike essential to a happy home, a refined society, a Christian Church, or a Republican state.

"Resolved, That the men of Rhode Island who have already abolished the political aristocracy of color are in justice and consistency bound to abolish the aristocracy of sex.

"Resolved, That the alleged indifference of women to their own enfranchisement is the direct result of their disfranchisement, and is rapidly diminishing with the progress of education.

"Resolved, That the Republican party, which demands manhood suffrage as a personal right inherent in the human nature of the citizen, is logically committed in favor of woman suffrage, since women also possess personal rights and are human beings and citizens.

"Resolved, That the Democratic party, which demands suffrage for the white men lately engaged in rebellion as a personal right which cannot be alienated even for crime, and protests against their disfranchisement as a violation of the rights of citizenship, is logically committed in favor of suffrage for all citizens irrespective of sex.

"Resolved, That the thanks of this convention and of the people of Rhode Island are due to Senator Anthony for his argument and vote for woman suffrage in the Senate of the United States; and also to Senator Sprague for writing in an appeal to the people of the United States, urging them to extend suffrage to women on equal terms with men.

"Resolved, That the Constitutional Amendment just proposed by Senator Pomeroy of Kansas, extending suffrage to all men and women, meets our hearty approval as the only thoroughly consistent basis of national reconstruction.

"The Providence Journal and Bulletin, of December 11th and 12th, gave full accounts of the meetings in a most friendly spirit, and also had the following short editorial in commendation of same:

"The woman suffrage convention met and adjourned in this city yesterday. The sessions were very interesting, an unusual number of talented and effective speakers occupying the platform through the day and evening. It is rare, indeed, that we are privileged to hear addresses from so many persuasive orators of the gentler sex. All were characterized by ability and fraught with genuine eloquence. The convention was largely attended and passed off without jar or friction of any kind. The proceedings were marked by entire decorum and the advocates of the cause were earnest and logical in the pleas which they presented, omitting extravagance and vituperation."

"ARCHIMEDES said, 'Give to me a fulcrum on which to plant my lever and I will move the world,' and I say, 'Give to woman the ballot, the political fulcrum on which to plant her moral lever, and she will lift the world into a nobler and purer atmosphere.'—SUSAN B. ANTHONY.

America and Democracy

AMERICA, our glorious democracy!
A struggling world is turning weary eyes to you,
With new-born hope.
Your shining torch of Liberty is sending out the Light—
Far out beyond your shores
To many distant peoples
In many troubled lands.
The peoples in those lands have heard your wondrous promises
With glad and grateful hearts.
And they are looking unto you, who've found the way,
To lead them from their bondage to emperors and kings,
Into a world where full democracy holds sway;
Where peoples may work out their destinies
In their own ways, unhindered, unafraid.

But Oh, America!
Still is there one more step for you to take
Before you are prepared to lead the nations
Into the Promised Land.
For just as surely as must go the doctrine of the
Divine right of kings to rule,
Must also go the doctrine of the
Divine right of males to rule;
For ALL the people must be free,
And women, too, are people.

And so, America,
How can you tell the waiting world that
"Governments derive their just powers from
The consent of the governed," when
Half your people are denied the right
To give consent.

And Oh, America,
Your clear-eyed spokesman to the world has said that
Small nations and weak peoples may no longer be
Bartered, exchanged, passed back and forth as chattels
To suit the will of kings;
That self-determination shall be theirs,
And right to choose their nationality.

AND yet, America,
Your women, native born,
Loving their country and their flag,
Are yet disowned by you, made aliens
In the land for which their fathers died,
And handed over to be subjects of emperor or king,
Because, forsooth, they married—
But married not Americans;
And so they lose their nationality
By will of others—not their own.
Is, then, the right of self-determination
A right of men alone,
But not a right of women?
And is this justice, Oh America?
Is this democracy?

And will you, then, America,
Be the champion of justice for the world,
And refuse that justice to your women?
They are asking you for justice,

THEY have been asking for many, many years;
 But you have said they were inferior,
 Not qualified to rule, but needing to be ruled,
 And so they have no share in their government, tho you have said
 That "Governments derive their just powers
 From the consent of the governed."
 How can you tell the nations this is true, when yet
 You do not practice it?

Or do you ask that they must prove their worth
 And their intelligence before you give to them
 The privilege of citizens?
 Must they still prove they're not inferior?
 But then you did not ask the negro and the immigrant
 To prove their worth and their intelligence,
 Before you placed the ballot in their hands
 And made them full-fledged citizens.

BUT even so, America,
 If you still say
 Your women must prove their worthiness
 Before they gain your recognition—
 If you cannot see nor recognize their labor nor their worth
 Within the sphere assigned to them,
 Behold, then, the women of today,
 Behold them on the bloody fields
 Of Flanders and of France,
 Close up behind the firing line;
 In hospitals and huts, bringing aid and comfort
 And a touch of home;
 Sharing the horror and the danger and the work,
 With steady nerves, unflinching, unafraid;
 Behold the women of today in factory and shop,
 Taking up the tools that men laid down
 When they marched off
 In answer to the bugle call;
 Behold them in the fields and gardens;
 And doing the work of men
 In many new and unfamiliar ways;
 In kitchens, saving and conserving food;
 Wherever women's hands could help,
 There they have gladly gone,
 And organized and planned and carried on.
 They have not slacked, they have not shirked,
 Nor stayed at home to weep,
 What further do you ask, to prove
 That women, too, are people,
 And loyal citizens?

BUT say you still, America,
 They have not proved their worth,
 Their right and their ability to meet in council halls
 And wrestle there with you,
 To solve the mighty problems that confront us all?
 Must the mothers and the sisters of America
 Still ask, and ask again,
 And many times again,
 And bow, with suppliant knee, to negro and to immigrant,
 To ask the recognition which
 You still withhold?
 Then know this truth, America,
 You NEED the vision and the voice
 Of ALL your people in the council halls,
 Or else democracy will fail.

"WHERE there is no vision the people perish."
 Where the vision is incomplete the people are not free.
 A nation which does not heed the voice of its women,
 A nation which silences and debases its women,
 Will lose its vision and will perish.
 This is what Germany has done.
 Germany has debased her women and has listened only to her men;
 The voice of her womanhood has been completely stilled;
 Her spiritual life crushed out, her vision lost;
 And therefore she lost her way and lost her soul
 In the darkness of the poisoned swamps
 Of materialism and false philosophies.
 The "vision" of Germany has been lost,
 And Germany is destroying herself.

But America,
 Our peerless, grand America,
 Fighting mighty battles against autocracy
 That all the world may be made free
 And safe for full democracy,
 America, you must go on and on until
 Democracy is made
 Safe for the world.

THIS cannot be
 Until the ban of ages has been raised,
 And woman's voice is heard
 In council halls;
 Until the vision of the silent half
 Has found its way
 Into the laws that rule the land.

The divine right of kings and
 The divine right of males
 Must go.
 And then, when "vox populi" has become a duet,
 And no longer a bass solo,
 Then will it be "vox Dei,"
 And democracy triumphant will be here.

LORENA PEPPARD.

Glendale, Ohio.

"WE come here to know how we may do more and more to spread
 the doctrine of equality, but chiefly to study how to get the
 states to concentrate their efforts on Congress. Our final aim is an amend-
 ment to the Federal Constitution, providing that no citizen over whom the
 Stars and Stripes wave shall be debarred from suffrage except for cause."
 —SUSAN B. ANTHONY.

THE Woman Citizen

EDITORIAL OFFICES

171 Madison Avenue, New York

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

ALICE STONE BLACKWELL
 CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

ROSE YOUNG

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

MARY OGDEN WHITE MARY SUMNER BOYD
 ROSE LAWLESS GEYER MARJORIE SHULER

One Page from

Belgium's Suffrage Prospect

THAT Belgian women are shortly to be enfranchised seems to be accepted in Belgium even though they are not to vote at the June election, the question of woman suffrage being reserved for the newly elected Parliament to deal with. It is interesting to note that woman suffrage in Belgium has a major political support in the Roman Catholic Party, the most conservative of all parties.

Swedish Women Are People

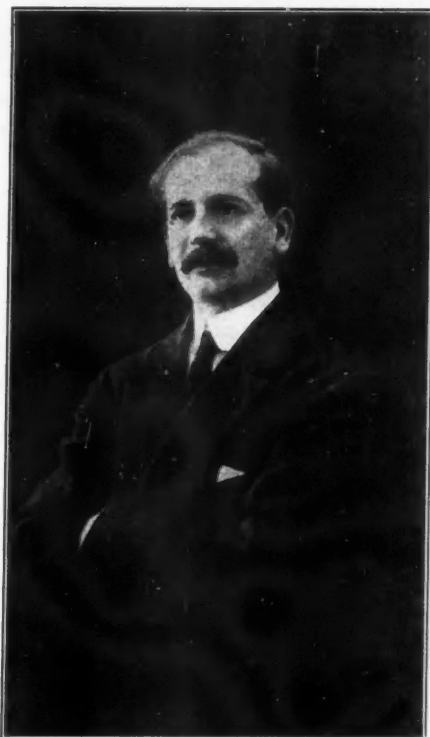
SWEEPING election reforms were effected in Sweden last week by virtue of which all men and all women have been given full suffrage. No more plural voting and no more restrictions of the suffrage on the ground of taxability for Swedish men. And no more suffrage restrictions on those grounds and on the additional ground of sex for Swedish women. Swedish women have had municipal suffrage since 1909. According to press reports they are now assured of full suffrage on the same terms as men. The Swedish reforms are quoted in the press as having been "effected" and are referred to as "the new law."

What Turkish Women Want

DURING the old régime one hardly saw anything in the papers concerning Turkish women. To-day the papers are occupied by discussions, with much heat in them, about our sex. Before the Constitution, women were of no importance; they were a neglected quantity, and, like other neglected elements, were supposed to have no right to stand up for themselves. Besides, it was generally supposed that there were few or no women who were able to speak for themselves, but to-day the contrary is proved.

"Among the influences that were working during the last thirty years for liberty, the rôle of the Turkish women was considerable, although indirect. The influence which brought about our revolution was a revolt against the misdoings of the government, and some of these specially appealed to women.

"The generation of women who have already been the means of propagating large and liberal ideas are an educated minority. Naturally this minority understood that the salvation of a nation lies in the proper education of high-minded and patriotic women. They understood that the reason why Anglo-Saxons occupy so lofty a moral position in the world's civilization is due to their sacred ideas of womanhood and home. These women have worked silently, but knowingly, bringing up liberal-minded sons and daughters, building honest hearths where real comradeship dwells.



M. PIERRE ETIENNE FLANDIN

"Now as to what they are doing or will likely do in future, I will add a few words. At present a warm discussion is going on in the Turkish papers on the Turkish woman's position. Some women began to demand, after the revolution, their right to learn and work with their companions in life. For we ask not for luxury or grand institutions where comfort is found, but for simple teaching. More than for bread and water, more than any other want, we cry for knowledge and healthy Anglo-Saxon influence."—HALIDEH HANOUN.

Suffrage in France

THE name of Pierre Etienne Flandin is almost as well known to the suffragists of America as to the suffragists of France, so widely have his efforts to secure suffrage for French women been heralded by the women of America. Promoter and supporter of the equal franchise measures introduced into the French Chamber of Deputies, his eloquence and logic have been convincingly on the side of a democracy for France that would bring votes to French women. French women are not yet enfranchised, but they are notably nearer it this eleventh day of January, 1919, than they would have been without the aid of the deputy from the Yonne. So notably near, indeed, that it is not likely that another new year will find them still voteless.

It is to the kindness of Mme. De Witt Schlumberger, president of the French Union for Woman Suffrage, that the *Woman Citizen's* readers are indebted for the photograph of M. Flandin, reproduced on this page.

Europe's Book

German Women to Vote

A GERMAN woman cables to this country that the women are now voters in "a free republic."

Amid the amazing changes so suddenly brought about by the crumbling of the Central Empires, different groups of Americans watch with especial keenness such aspects as relate to their own favorite interests. The suffragists, of course, are particularly interested to know whether the women are likely to keep the votes they have so suddenly gained. This will depend on the stability of the new German republic.

While the German government has been an autocracy, and a most obstinate one, few Americans have realized how much republican sentiment there was in that country, or how fast it was growing, even before the war. For many years the Socialists had been the largest single party in Germany, though they were kept in the minority by a coalition of the other parties, coupled with the peculiar suffrage laws which enabled about one-fourth of the men to elect three-fourths of the Reichstag. Even under these disadvantages the party was growing so fast that in a few years more it would have controlled the Reichstag; and its avowed program had always included making Germany a republic with universal suffrage.

WITH the coming of the war the Socialists were split into two factions—the majority Socialists, who protested against the government's course, but joined with the more conservative parties in voting money to carry on the war; and the Independent or minority Socialists, who not only protested, but refused to join in voting money. These last made a strenuous effort to bring about a revolution and a republic when the German arms were in the high tide of apparent success, but the government suddenly clapped three hundred of their leaders into prison, and thus squelched the attempt. The growth of republican sentiment has been enormously stimulated of late by hunger and defeat and has now burst all bounds. At present the majority of the German people undoubtedly want a republic, and there is no reason to doubt that the men at the head of the new government really favor woman suffrage, since they have advocated it for years. Whether the new republic can and will maintain itself amid the present volcanic conditions remains to be seen; but if it lasts, the German women have probably got their votes for good and all. It is a marvelous overturn.

A. S. B.

Victory Calendar for 1918 Woman Suffrage

- Jan. 10—United States House of Representatives, by vote of 274 to 136, adopts resolution providing for constitutional amendment.
- Feb. 1—Representation of the People Bill passes House of Lords. Received the royal assent a few days later.
- Feb. 15—Canadian government announces its intention to adopt woman suffrage.
- Mar. 16—Texas House passes primary suffrage law—yes, 84; no, 34.
- Mar. 21—Texas Senate passes primary suffrage law—yes, 18; no, 5.
- Mar. 26—Texas primary suffrage law ratified by Governor.
- Apr. 12—Canadian House of Commons passes bill granting Dominion or parliamentary suffrage to all women, with same qualifications as men. This law also permits a woman who is a British subject to keep her own nationality, unless she is the wife of an enemy alien.
- Apr. 26—Nova Scotia Parliament grants full suffrage to women.
- May 3—Canadian Senate passes the bill granting women parliamentary suffrage.
- May 23—Canadian bill receives royal assent.
- May 28—Denmark's Parliament assembles with nine women members—the first under equal suffrage.
- July 4—Suze Groeneweg, first woman elected to Dutch Parliament.
- Oct. 1—United States Senate, lacking two votes of required two-thirds, fails to pass woman suffrage amendment.
- Oct. 23—Resolution favoring bill making women eligible as members of Parliament adopted by House of Commons—vote 274 to 25.
- Nov. 5—Constitutional amendments extending suffrage to women adopted by popular vote in Michigan, South Dakota and Oklahoma.

Michigan's Legislature Leads

MICHIGAN leads the procession of 1919 Legislatures that will endorse the Federal Suffrage Amendment until the United States Senate insures them something better to do by giving them a chance to ratify it.

The National American Woman Suffrage Association is in receipt of a telegram from Mrs. Percy J. Farrell, president of the Michigan Equal Suffrage Association, to the effect that a resolution endorsing the Federal Amendment was passed by the Legislature January 2, 1919. Thus Michigan lives up to the high record for democracy the state set for itself when it voted in full woman suffrage on November 5 by the overwhelming majority of 35,000.

A number of other state Legislatures are ready to endorse the federal amendment by way of reminding the United States Senate that the country at large is impatient to have the measure sent on to the states for ratification.

Big Hour's Work in Colorado

MRS. CATT, President of the National Suffrage Association, received a telegram January 4, informing her that Colorado is the second state to get into line with a memorial from its 1919 Legislature to the United States Senate, urging the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment. The memorial was passed on Friday by both houses. Its passage was a sort of tour of suffrage triumph through House and Senate. Rules were suspended and in an hour from the moment of its introduction in the House, it had passed both House and Senate—a big hour's work.

The memorial was introduced in the House by a woman member, Representative Mabel Ruth Baker. In the Senate, too, a woman member sponsored it, Senator Agnes Riddle, as did also Senator Edward V. Dunklee.

The memorial is testimony to the careful shepherding of the suffrage cause by the Colorado Equal Suffrage Association, of which Mrs. Katherine Tipton Hosmer is the president.

The Nation and

The resolution follows:

"Whereas, Colorado has long enjoyed the help and counsel of its women in political matters of citizenship, and by these years of experience has demonstrated the benefit to be derived from equal suffrage; and

"Whereas, There is now pending in the Senate of the United States a Constitutional Amendment providing for national woman suffrage; therefore, be it,

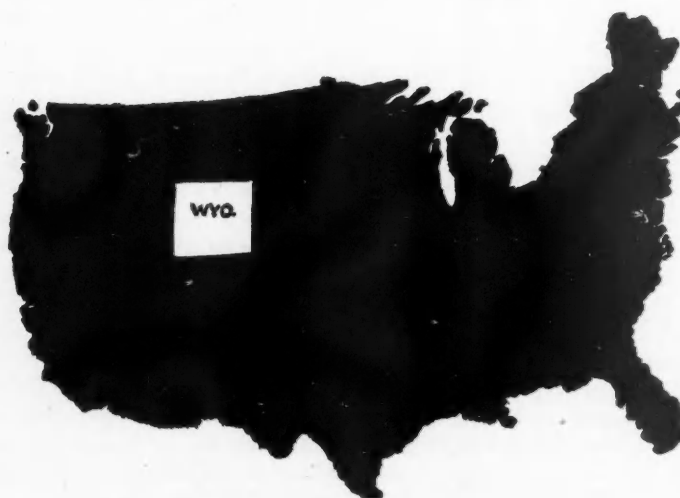
"Resolved, That we urge the United States Senate to take up and pass at the earliest possible date this 'Constitutional Amendment, in order that all the women of the nation may have the right of suffrage which they have so carefully earned, and the nation have the benefit of their citizenship; and be it further

"Resolved, That we commend our United States Senators and members of Congress for the work they have done in behalf of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, and urge them to continue their endeavors until success shall crown their efforts."

"Nearly every day of the legislative session will be marked, state by state, by these memorials until at least three-fourths of the states will be on record," says Mrs. Catt. "The state Legislatures are close to the people and know what the people want. And what the people want is applied democracy. They want America in the front ranks of the truly democratic nations of the earth. They want the minority in the United States Senate to stop obstructing progress, get out of the way, and let the Federal Suffrage Amendment be passed on to the states for action."

Indiana's Difficult Position

INDIANA gives a clinching argument for the Federal Suffrage route versus the State route in a letter sent by Mrs. Richard E. Edwards, president of the Woman's Franchise League, to the thirty-three senators as opposed



THE
LITTLE
WHITE
LAND
OF
1869

the Amendment

to the Federal Amendment. The letter says in part:

"Here in Indiana we are in an anomalous position. We have a state Legislature which granted us suffrage, a Governor who signed the bill. We have a new Legislature which is ready to do for us anything it can. Unfortunately, our constitution is so framed that the Supreme Court declared we can get no suffrage by legislative act in Indiana, and the provisions of the constitution are so difficult that we can see little hope of suffrage by state constitutional amendment. May I ask you to think of these things before the measure comes up in the Senate again?"

A Posthumous Message from Theodore Roosevelt

(A paragraph from an article, "Eyes to the Front," to appear in the next issue of the Metropolitan Magazine):

"And there should be no further delay in giving the women the right to vote by Federal Amendment. It is an absurdity longer to higggle about the matter."

Eliminate Parasites

M R. D. H. GOLLIDAY, merchant, of Warrensburg, Mo., has fired this shot at the anti-suffrage Senators:

"Mothers who have exercised tolerance enough, courage enough and patience enough to rear a bunch of jackasses as you Senators have proved yourselves to be, should be allowed the right of suffrage. This will enable the people to get what they are in need of, and will eliminate parasitic senators at Washington."

New Year Resolutions

A NEW YEAR'S resolution to pass the Federal Suffrage Amendment is urged on the United States Senate in 100 suffrage resolutions secured by the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

One of the most important of these comes from the convention of the National Woman's Farm Congress in Jacksonville, Florida. The Farmers' Union of North Carolina has sent a strong resolution to Southern Senators and their attentoon has also been called to the vote of 160 to 10 by which laity rights have just been given to women in the North Carolina conference of the Methodist Church.

Resolutions from Iowa war workers are accompanied by the announcement of organized political backing in that state for the Federal Amendment, two advisory committees to the state suffrage association having been formed by Governor Harding, Senator Cummins and Charles A. Rawson, chairman of the state central committee for the Republicans, and, for the Democrats, National Committeeman Wilbur W. Marsh, Emmet Tinley, president of the Iowa Democratic Club, and E. T. Meredith, editor of *Successful Farming*.

War workers from Maine to Wyoming have contributed resolutions, the largest number coming from Indiana where the courts have ruled that a suffrage amendment by state legislative act is unconstitutional. The Indiana Woman's Franchise League has sent a resolution representing 15,000 women, and Jay County has sent a petition signed by the head of every patriotic organization in the county.

From the National American Woman Suffrage Association the Senators have received New Year's cards entitled, "Speaking of the Presidential election in 1920 we would remind you—" The facts mentioned are the recent suffrage gains both abroad and in the United States, where 11,000,000 women, 40 per cent of the total number in the country, are entitled to vote for the next President through the choice of 213 electoral college members.

WHERE WOMEN VOTE

WOMEN HAVE FULL SUFFRAGE

in the
Isle of Man
New Zealand
Australian Federation
Great Britain
Canada
Finland
Norway
Iceland
Denmark
Russia
Sweden
Holland

UNITED STATES

Wyoming
Colorado
Idaho
Utah
Washington
California
Arizona
Kansas
Oregon
Alaska
Montana
Nevada
New York
Michigan
South Dakota
Oklahoma

Women Are Recognized as Possessed of Full Suffrage by the New Governments Now Forming Out of the Old Man-Suffrage Chaos

in
Germany
Austria-Hungary

WOMEN ARE PROMISED FULL SUFFRAGE

in
Belgium
Italy
France

WOMEN HAVE PRESIDENTIAL AND MUNICIPAL SUFFRAGE

in
Illinois
North Dakota
Nebraska

WOMEN HAVE PRESIDENTIAL SUFFRAGE

in
Rhode Island

WOMEN HAVE MUNICIPAL SUFFRAGE

in
South Africa
Vermont

WOMEN HAVE PRIMARY SUFFRAGE

in
Texas
Arkansas

WOMEN HAVE SCHOOL OR TAX SUFFRAGE

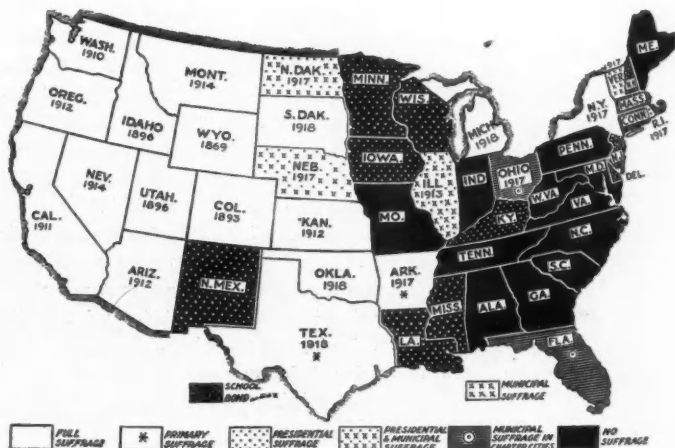
in
Kentucky
Minnesota
New Hampshire
Massachusetts
Mississippi
Louisiana
New Jersey
Connecticut
Ohio
Delaware
Wisconsin
New Mexico
Iowa

WOMEN VOTE FOR PRESIDENT IN TWENTY-ONE STATES

* Just granted, according to press despatches of Jan. 2.

† To be granted by middle of January, according to word from the president of the Vereininging voor Vrouwenkiesrecht.

THE
LITTLE
BLACK
LAND
OF
1912





THESE ARE GRAND RAPIDS CHILDREN TOO EAGER TO DANCE TO WAIT FOR COSTUMES



Photo by Genthe

Showing Little Children

NOT many moons ago the *Woman Citizen* undertook to show how the woman movement was correlating itself with the dancing movement, and pointed the case with some sage reflections on the way Elise Dufour, rhythmic dancer and teacher, has been socializing rhythm, so to speak, during the last two or three years. It was probably inevitable that Miss Dufour's intention to bring out of dancing its profound social contribution should center soon on the children. In spite of the fact that so few antis have large families, children remain of mighty concern to society—and any truly social movement, set to music or not, is likely sooner or later to center on them. After carrying around with her for a great while an elusive dream of shepherding all the public school children out into the fields of joy to the music of the pipes of Pan, she found recently an opportunity for demonstration.

LAST summer a few people became concerned for the anaemic children of New York who had been forgotten in the anxiety for the starving little ones abroad, and as a result summer play schools were established throughout the city. At school building 40, between First and Second Avenues, on Twentieth Street, by courtesy of the Board of Education of New York, the People's Institute maintained such a play school. The children were weighed, thoroughly examined and received what medical attention they needed. They danced with Miss Dufour for half an hour, enjoyed a shower bath, had milk, a little rest, shop work, singing and quiet games. Miss Dufour did the same sort of work at the Hudson Guild, and in the winter at Miss Pratt's Play School and a school at the country place of Mr. John Collier of the



ELISE DUFOUR Photo by Genthe

People's Institute. Concerning this work Mr. Collier says:

"THESE children who danced with Miss Dufour realized all the vast difference between physical training and that activity which we call life itself. Each one of them discovered within herself a new power for being joyous, and still more a new power for giving joy. The very thing which most education does not give, and which is the only thing worth while in the long run, Miss Dufour gave to these children. Incidentally their happy activity did far more good to their tissues than any form of gymnastics would have done. But the biggest part is what it did in taking each of these little children out into the high road of civilization—making each of them a conscious partner in the work of building up the spiritual experience of the group which they were part of.

"The art which Miss Dufour has developed, and which had its perfect illustration in these children in the Summer Play School, comes nearer than any modern thing that I know about toward bringing together the primitive qualities of the individual, inherited from ani-

COMPOSING MUSIC WITH THEIR OWN BODIES. THESE ARE NEW YORK CHILDREN

Their Power for Joy

mal ancestors, and the sentiments and ideals of group life. In other words, the dancing of these children brought about in them something which was like a keystone in that twofold arch of which one base is rooted in the primitive nature of man and the other base in the dreams of human society."

YOU can see from that that Mr. Collier has a curious un-Puritanical bravery, facing the primitive. According to him, society, with its everlasting repressions for the sake of group welfare, has rather overdone it; the primitive remains smarter than the sophisticated; for the good of the group itself we must allow the individual more leeway of expression.

That is essentially Elise Dufour's cult. She thinks the child has a contribution of his own to make to himself and through himself to society. She even has the temerity to endorse this sort of thing:

"THE discovery that children are not clay, to be molded according to accepted forms of learning, is changing the ideals of education. We realize that they begin life with something of their own to express and to adjust through what is both native and taught.

"Nearly all children love to express what they feel in movement. Some have good co-ordination, others bad, but all are joyful when they attain it.

"In learning co-ordination, the child concentrates upon something that is his own, not an abstract fact, and through so doing learns the stimulation of acquiring knowledge of other things. He creates dramas as he dances in the spring out-of-doors, and experiences a sense of line in his own body that makes him vitally

(Continued on page 675)

Stage Reflections

A MORE felicitous title for "The Bramhall Playhouse" might be "The Intimate Playhouse." It is not only that its diminutiveness and the cosy familiarity of the stage elevation make for a kind of afternoon-call atmosphere, but that—as at present exemplified in "Difference in Gods"—author and actors have conscientiously combined to admit the public into the most intimate of conjugal problems.

"Difference in Gods" is not the sort of play to which the tired business man, yearning for relaxation and for the exegesis of feminine charm in a masterly unintelligence and a wild abandon, would turn for entertainment. On the contrary, if there be any persons so surfeited with wealth, health, happiness, and an indulgence of all natural desires, that life has reduced itself to a dead level of boredom, they may find two hours of enjoyment in the strenuousity of its intimate atmosphere.

Mr. Davenport says that he feels that there is a future for distinctly American plays and—inferentially—is starting out to prove it by the production of his own work. He has written not so much a play as a delineation of some of the worst phases of Puritanism, following up this by a propaganda for something new—your correspondent being unable to determine whether it was Christian Science, Faith Cure, New Thought, or something newer still. And probably it does not matter. A book that may have been the newest contribution to the therapeutics of faith appears in the third act and the Holy Bible cascades itself across the stage to be later dramatically retrieved by Miss Catherine Cozzins and to be searched with stage dexterity for two texts. One is to the effect that by faith we shall be cured, the other the well-known command to the man stricken with palsy to take up his bed and walk. Miss Cozzins did not take up her bed, but she did walk. We were certain she could from the first.

OF action there is nothing. Of conversation there is next to nothing. But there is dialogue which amounts to alternated monologue, and so much of the soliloquy as to leave the impression that Mr. Davenport has pledged himself to its recrudescence.

Mr. Davenport plays his leading role, which calls for a gradual drying up and crabbing up, in old age, of a nature which was dry and egoistic and selfish to start with. He falls in most agreeably with the demands of nature, grows leaner, apparently, crisper in speech, and more twisted as to the features until, in the last act, he is miraculously rejuvenated by a grandson who out-Fauntleroy Fauntleroy, and who, in

HERE the Woman Citizen will present from time to time a survey of the plays and players of the American stage. We are not, pray believe, taking it as our province to reform the stage or even to uplift it. But since it is conceded that women form about 85 per cent of the playgoing public, it will, we think, be interesting to acquaint our readers with timely analyses of the plays, the kind and the special instance, that are purveyed as of interest to that public.

In particular we want to bring down to center the interpretations of woman and her ways, the ideals of womanhood as they are staged. We have an idea that there is room for a little genial exchange as to woman's point of view and men's on the subject. Maybe not. We make a great many mistakes in summing up life. This may be one of them.

But in any case we shall not, we feel sure, make the mistake of taking ourselves too seriously as we hold this mirror up to the stage, and if you catch now and then the reflection of something smaller than the stage, something less vital than our subject, something that laughs at some of the things dear to men as sacred to women, it may easily be that we have whisked around in front of the mirror ourselves. And you will understand and value the reflection at its true worth.—Editor.

the brief twenty-minute space of an incognito visit, induces him to discard walking-stick, eyeglasses, rheumatism and congenital hardness of heart—some accomplishment!

THE staging was good, the work conscientious, and Miss Cozzins was a decidedly pretty invalid. It is a joy to be able to say of the play that it is altruistic, inspired by something more than a desire to make money—something so rare as to be well worthy of mention. If it was not altogether convincing to this spectator in its theological aspirations, there was a genuine pleasure in sitting two hours to see the public given, not what the public wants—which is usually a delineation of sex motivation with a few bouquets thrown adroitly at the masculine half of creation as the instruments of Divine Providence and of feminine salvation—but what somebody was intensely anxious to give the public. Mr. Davenport has convictions in which he wishes the public to share. He is proud of his repudiation by the Drama League for dealing too frankly with the problems of sex. So far as "Difference in Gods" is concerned, a young girl would learn nothing there that she did not already know. If she did not understand beforehand what the actors were talking about, she would never find out from the discreet conventionality of their talk and she would be likely to suppose, when Mrs. Barton flinches at her husband's kiss or his touch on her arm, that the lady had a sore cheek or possibly neuritis.

Nevertheless, your correspondent recommends that a sign, "Tickets sold only to adults of over thirty-five," should feature the playhouse, not because anyone would gain a single harmful

thought or instinct from the performance, but because only men and women of thoughtful years can endure to see the eternal romance stripped from sex. The play might sadden a young man or woman—it would not make one think unless he was already committed to the habit of thinking.

Habits of unselfish regard for the rights and desires of others are not matters of dogma, but of birth and early training. Mr. Davenport is sound as day in his assumption that parents can make or mar their children's lives by the home atmosphere and home training. He forgets that, no matter what the Gods in the beginning, they are ultimately interpreted to the world through human minds, and that no religion that ever existed has been free from corruption by its most ardent devotees.

H. M. F.

The Melting of Molly

JUST what "Difference in Gods" is not, "The Melting of Molly" is. In the elimination of Molly's superfluous substance, such a riot of energy is generated, not only on her own part, but upon that of various becomingly clad young houris, that the spectator is not always sure whether he is viewing the poetry of motion or a pinwheel. Whichever it is, he is sure that he likes it. For the male, the play surpasses Fifth Avenue show windows because the costumes and the lingerie are so much more effectively shown; while for the female it presents the never-ending lure of clothes—or should we say camouflage?

Yet the play lacks any element of the salacious. There are no jokes in bad taste, albeit there are time-worn witticisms at the expense of men. There are young and pretty faces, fresh young voices and infinite variety of movement. The plot has even a little context—*mirabile dictu*—apart from the irrelevant but thoroughly pleasing interruptions of the chorus. Likewise, Molly is not a fool—such a departure in musical comedy heroines as to be worthy of note.

Isabelle Lowe as Molly Carter lends an alluring personality to her part and a delightfully human and feeling touch to the song, "Dear Old Gown." Gloria Goodwin as Dot Carter is the time-honored fool girl of masculine adoration; but she has at least the distinction of a vitality that is almost superabundant, and, at times, insolent; and, as nearly as human limbs can express the sheer audacity of an infinite self-esteem, hers do it. Mrs. Charles G. Craig as the colored servant, Judy, furnishes the sub-

(Continued on page 678)

Correspondence

Miss Cleveland a Suffragist

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

THE recent death in Italy of Miss Rose Elizabeth Cleveland while caring for the very poor in a mountain village during the influenza epidemic has brought to my mind her interest in equal suffrage.

Miss Cleveland's home was in Holland Patent until she went to Italy some four or five years ago.

August 16, 1913, saw the Political Equality Club of Holland Patent founded by Miss Harriet May Mills of Syracuse, Miss Ida J. Butcher of Utica and Miss Clara C. Fuller of Ossining School-on-Hudson, a resident of Holland Patent for many years, and a close friend of Miss Cleveland. Miss Fuller wrote Miss Cleveland about the founding of our Club and her reply is significant when one realizes that it was written in August, 1913.

ELIZABETH G. PEABODY.

Holland Patent, N. Y.

Miss Cleveland's Letter

WHEN I returned from a five days' drive in the mountains of Tuscany, last evening, I found among the letters waiting for me, two from the Mohawk Valley village we all know and love, which gave me great joy, for they told me a breach had been made in the Chinese Wall of prejudice, and that a friendly invader had entered and stormed, if not taken the fortress. In short, that Human Progress in the form of Woman Suffrage had gained a hearing and established a firm footing

behind those ancient walls. These letters compelled thoughts and feelings which mingled persistently with the historic scenes I had just been viewing.

In one of the tiny villages which crown these cloud piercing peaks, once the seat of a proud medieval baron whose lordly castle still survives in huge bastions at four corners of the lofty wall, which raises only in heavy fragments, the balcony of it having been demolished and used in the construction of the village dwellings, a thrilling tradition is told. It is said that Dante, after years of effort to rescue his Florentine people from the tyranny of its corrupt rulers, went, a weary and disheartened exile, to the door of a monastery which was near this village. The reverend abbot opened its door, but before admitting this unknown wanderer, demanded what he wanted. Dante, sad and stern, repeated but one word, "Peace." As I read and re-read these letters the thoughts their contents compelled conjured images from the misty past of this tradition and repeated the far echo of that monosyllabic reply of Dante. It mixed strangely with my cogitations as if it had a right to be there.

But why?

What kinship has that mountain village of Tuscany, with its ruined castle and its ancient monastery, with the village in the Western World of which my letters tell? That has no ruins and though it has a thrilling history, that history is but of yesterday compared with that of the Tuscan summit I place by its side. And surely the stern face of the greatest medieval poet and patriot betrays no relation with those

we meet in our American village streets. How can Dante's demand for peace find any echo there?

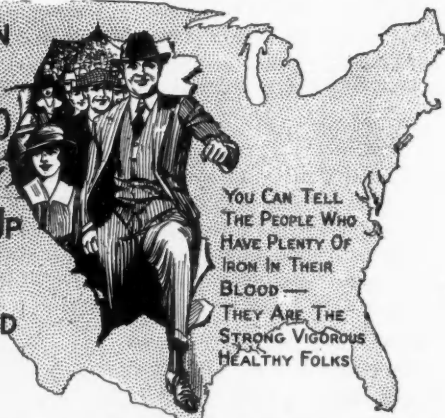
My friend, history repeats itself; in every age and every clime human nature's needs and instincts are the same, and on this elemental common property of humanity, all human progress builds her strongholds. In Dante's age these foundation forces which make for growth had made him what he was, the man most mighty in deed and word, among the powerful minority which led the forces of reform in his world.

For, mind you, it is always the minority which leads; sometimes a minority of one or two, like Susan B. Anthony and Antoinette Blackwell; sometimes of ten, like those who saved the city in the time of Noah; and ever since his day it has been the minority at first and then at last the great irresistible majority. For the trio or the ten swells into the thousands and the tens of thousands, and in the end, into a host innumerable and invincible; but let us not forget that all these come from, at first, the little minority. This fact of the potentiality of the minority is one of those facts which history shows to exist at every stage of evolution, at every age and every place.

And this is one of the things which connects the crumbling castle and the vanished monastery of the Tuscan hill-top where Dante asked for peace, with the modern valley village of which I am thinking this morning. For there the potential minority of history has arrived and pronounced itself and is one of those germs of evolution in which is wrapped up a future majority, before which all present opposition will fade away. The Nature of Things is on its side, and the Nature of Things is only another name for God.

Therefore, oh, all-powerful Minority, there are but two things for you to do, one is to wait, the other to work. "All things come round to him who waits," but only to him who works while he waits. And meanwhile, what about Peace? To him, or her, who waits and works at the task which God sets before the generations of men, one here, another there, there will often come a longing for peace. The work of the minority is not that of peace. Everything which attacks the established order disturbs the peace; every convert to the evolutionary cause of the minority is a disturber of the peace. Even the most timid soldier in the little army has lost already his own tranquillity, for his own convictions have robbed him of his ignoble content with things as they are. He—i. e.—she—sees how they should be, and the everlasting Ought implores instead a noble discontent which makes for war, not for peace. When a thought of this possible improvement which ought to come, flies into the soul, it is a shot from the armory of progress and a call to battle. So beware how, in the panic, you shrink from the

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the strength and endurance of weak, nervous, rundown people in two weeks' time. It is conservatively estimated that Nuxated Iron is now being used by over three million people annually, and it has been used and endorsed by such men as Hon. Leslie M. Shaw, former Secretary of the Treasury and ex-Governor of Iowa; U. S. Commissioner of Immigration Hon. Anthony Caminetti, also United States Judge G. W. Atkinson, of the Court of Claims of Washington, and others. Nuxated Iron is dispensed by all good druggists everywhere.

fight. You will gain nothing and lose much by it.

Woe to those who cry "Peace, Peace" when there is no peace. But Peace is on the way, it is coming, perhaps it is very near. For the order is, first war, then victory, then peace. There is no peace before the war is over; but the war will end, this war for woman's vote, as other past wars have ended and as other future wars will end, in victory; and then, not before, will come the true and honorable peace.

Therefore, I counsel my townspeople across the Atlantic, not to despise the day of small things. For the old order changeth and yieldeth place to new, and God fulfills Himself in many ways. So sang Tennyson and so prophesied one greater than Tennyson. "If this thing be of God, ye cannot fight against it," i. e., you may fight against it all you will, but it will prevail. We believe this thing of woman's citizenship is of God. The hour has struck and the mother, the wife, the sister, the spinster, half of the human race, must rise to her privilege and her duty to the society of the future. As in the family and the church so in the state, she must play her part as a citizen. Until then there must be war, peace would be base. Therefore, let her stand at the door and knock. If it be not flung open to her from within, let her force it from without. For all she asks, like Dante, is in one word—Peace.

ROSE ELIZABETH CLEVELAND.

Has Carried Equal Suffrage

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

OUR battle for the ballot in this state has been fought and won, yet the small band of suffragists in the state can hardly realize it. It was so hard to work here; if the National had not taken hold we would not have gotten the vote. I organized a suffrage club here in Dewey five years ago. One other young woman and I "got together." She appointed me temporary secretary and I appointed her temporary chairman, and it was three months before we could get any one to come to our meetings. Then they began coming until we had sixteen members, and we have had a few more or a few less members ever since. It was the only active suffrage club in the state—so you can see how hard it must have been for the National workers to build up and put through the campaign for us that they did. At Dewey we were organized and went ahead as they directed. Our town has 2500 people, and we gave our quota (31), and secured 300 names to the petition. I do believe I walked a thousand miles the fortnight before election getting signers; and I surely ran across some funny people. At one place I stopped in a town where two women on adjoining lots were in their back yards hanging their best clothes out to air. One was a Republican and one a Democrat, and neither had

the vote, and neither wanted it; yet there they were, quarreling like a pair of hens over the two political parties.

Well, the long fight is over now, and I am truly glad, for if suffrage had not carried in Oklahoma this time I would have sold my property here and moved to Kansas. I went to Washington, D. C., and carried the Oklahoma banner in the parade March 3, 1913, which surely tried suffrage grit; then June 7, 1916, I carried the Oklahoma banner in the wet parade at the Republican Convention in Chicago, where we were drenched to the skin and nearly perished through being buffeted about by the hard, cold winds off Lake Michigan. From Chicago I went to St. Louis, and held aloft the Oklahoma banner in the walkless parade, June 14, at the Democratic National Convention. So I think I have "carried equal suffrage."

Dewey, Okla.

MARY CRANGLE.

A Fairly Busy Woman

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

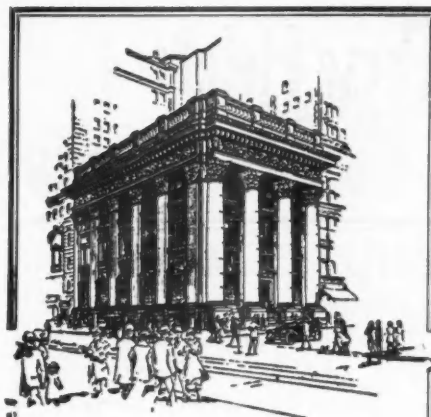
IN answer to your request, I am sending five subscriptions to the *Woman Citizen* and venture to renew my own. My time is not out, I think, but please renew from my expiration. Wish others might begin with November issues, so they could get the true inwardness of non-suffrage votes in the Senate, and that article about our boys being taught morals and so our girls must be, and that there are films and talks on that subject and on social hygiene to be had. I took my copies to our new Recreational Center and called the attention of the manager to this sort of education for the girls. We've leased a hotel, made it fresh and new all over; it will house 100 working girls, and there will be classes and clubs, dancing, a gym (in what was a saloon); more baths and more toilets. It was the Madison Hotel; we renamed it the Dolly Madison. There'll be a big cafeteria which is much needed. The War Work Committee and Y. W. C. A. are doing it with local committee help. We have a large munition plant and many factories. I'll tell those whom I haven't already told that it becomes the duty of those to whom I give the paper to read it; young men particularly. I hope high school pupils, too, will profit from the wonderful *Citizen*.

ANGIE RAND SCHWEPPE,

(Mrs. H. M.)

President Alton Branch of Illinois Humane Society.

P. S.—I'm sending draft for \$7 to Fatherless Children of France Committee—got it over the 'phone mostly. Aren't these busy times? I'm scullery maid, parlor ornament and club woman and my newest activity is helping out a woman undertaker by driving my machine for her funerals sometimes, and thereby shocking some of my less energetic neighbors. I'm over 60.



The Woman's Department at our Fifth Avenue Office is in charge of Miss V. D. H. Furman and is especially equipped to handle the accounts of women and women's organizations

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NEW YORK

The Power for Joy

(Continued from page 672)

realize it in tree and sky and pictures. He dances to beautiful music, and loves it better because he has composed with his own body.

"Some one has said that if each muscle struck a note when we moved, the harmony would be exquisite, as the instrument is nature's own.

"We can do no more for little children than to strive toward this end, and thus have their school days free from nervous friction, which shuts the door on so many beautiful ways of living."

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All in the Day's Work

THE housewife knows, from hard experience, the practical facts of the high cost of living, but in case she wants to prove it by figures it is a good thing to know from the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Federal Department of Labor that the bureau's index number for wholesale prices in August, 1918, was 203, as compared with 100 for the twelve months of the year 1913. Taking separate groups of essential commodities, the index number of farm products was 229, food articles, 192; cloth and clothing, 251 and fuel and lighting, 178. These are wholesale prices. We are apt to put the blame largely on the middleman, so it is interesting to note that in many cases, and these essential foods, the bureau found the wholesale increase much larger than the retail. One commodity in this group, for instance, had increased wholesale 286 per cent; retail, only 134 per cent.

THE *Monthly Labor Review* summarizes the report of the Massachusetts Minimum Wage Commission on the working conditions of office cleaners. The study covered 1,249 women, most of them employed in Boston office buildings. Hours were short, from 26 to 42 a week—and so was pay, for almost 80 per cent of these women earned less than \$8 a week, or, taking it by the year, three-fifths earned less than \$250. The work was hard. In addition to sweeping and cleaning heavy rugs and dusting, the women empty waste baskets and clean the cuspidors and washbasins. In some buildings these same women also wash the floors; in others this work is done by a special group of women. In most buildings at the present time a mop is used in washing the floors, but in a few floors are still scrubbed on the hands and knees. "Marblework," or the washing of marble floors and wainscoting of corridors and stairways is almost without exception done by a separate group of employees, usually women who are also responsible for the care of the stairs and toilets. This work is extremely hard, especially during the season when the streets are dirty, and the work is, in many cases, ren-

dered doubly strenuous by the necessity of carrying water from the basement.

OFFICE cleaning is, in many cases, night work. The majority of the women in this study were young, were married and had homes to keep up, and not a few, in addition to the care of their households, took in work by day. Hard work part of the night, a few hours' sleep followed by the work of the household by day, was the routine of these women, who nevertheless performed labor long recognized as women's. "At a time like the present," the *Review* justly comments, "when social workers and legislators are anxiously considering the demands which may be made upon women in the new occupations to which the war is calling them, it is important to bear in mind the conditions prevailing in some occupations which have long been looked upon as distinctively theirs."

Briefer Mention

ACCORDING to press reports German ships manned by women arrived at the port of Lula, Sweden, while the war was in progress.

Jane Pride, who has for some years conducted a department of the Boston City Record has recently, says *Boston Ideas*, been appointed city editor of the *Record*.

Mabel Farrington Gifford, head of the defective speech department of public schools in San Francisco, has found her place in war work. She will train teachers to cure stammering and other speech defects in shell-shocked soldiers.

The U. S. Employment Service records show that it is not women specialists who were called for by the war, but ordinary manual workers. Says the Bulletin: "The great need is for women who have training in industrial processes to fill manual positions in war industries the records of the employment offices in industrial centers show, and for women with sound business training, in addition to technical education of some sort for positions in offices of industrial plants."

LA MOUVEMENT FEMINISTE has an obituary note on Marie Leheru, the deaf and dumb and almost blind French playwright, whose plays, "Les Affranchise," "Le Redoutable," "La Triomphatrice" have been produced at the Odéon and the Comédie Française and one of whose plays, written on the eve of peace and called "La Paix," was, at the time of her death, at the age of forty, only waiting the end of the war to be produced.

FOREIGN reconstruction work of the Y. W. C. A. includes a Refugee Locating Bureau to find lost relatives. Workers will be placed at points on both sides of the Atlantic and Pacific to look out for young women traveling alone. Opportunities for training in leadership among their own people, such as the Y. W. C. A. has already for nine months given to Polish women, will be offered to foreign-born women of many other nationalities.

THE American Association of Labor Legislation presented a varied reconstruction program at its annual meeting at Richmond, Va., on December 27-28. This included the rehabilitation of crippled men, and the application of workmen's compensation laws to their needs; labor problems of demobilization and reconstruction, including the problems of women war workers, which were discussed by Mary Van Kleeck, chief of the Women in Industry Service of the Federal Department of Labor.

Besides these war subjects, the Association discussed the subject in which it has done pioneer work and which it has made peculiarly its own, namely, workmen's compensation and social insurance.

The Book Stall



The Invisible Brotherhood

NELLIE M'CLUNG has remarkable power as a story-teller. Great audiences, all up and down the country, have laughed and cried under the spell of her wonderful gift. But she has never told a more interesting story than "Three Times and Out," Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston, \$1.50, the true narrative of a young Canadian, a war prisoner among the Germans, who escaped twice, only to be recaptured, and the third time got away for good. When he got home, he came to Mrs. McClung and asked her to write down his story. At first she refused; but when she had heard it she changed her mind.

Private Simmons is a good observer. His clear, straightforward narrative makes us see, as if with our own eyes, what has been going on in the German prison camps, and on the farms where the prisoners were sent out to work.

"The woman who had the farm next to the one I was on was a widow, her husband having been killed in the war, and she had no horses at all, and cultivated her tiny acres with a team of cows. It seems particularly consistent with German character to make cows work! They hate to see anything idle, and particularly of the female sex."

He and the son of the farmer for whom he worked rode to the potato field, a mile from the house, while the daughters of the family walked. The girls questioned him about Canada, and when they learned that women there were not expected to work in the fields, they showed a manifest wish to emigrate.

The book is not the nightmare that might be expected by those who have swallowed whole all the stories of atrocities in the press. It tells indeed of atrocities which make one's blood boil—especially the cruelties practised upon the Russian prisoners, who, for some reason, were much worse treated than the men of other nationalities. But it tells also many instances of German guards who shared their own food with the prisoners, and secretly did them other acts of kindness. It had to be done secretly, for the government's policy was harsh, and tended to make men brutal.

"I had swung around on my chair, contrary to rules, when the guard rushed up to me with his bayonet, which he stuck under my nose, roaring at me in his horrible guttural tongue.

"I looked down at the point of his bayonet, which was about a quarter of an inch from my tunic, and let my eyes travel slowly along its length, and then up his arm until they met his.

"I thought of how the image of God had been defaced in this man, by his training and education. It is a serious crime to destroy the king's head on a piece of money; but what word is strong enough to characterize the crime of taking away the image of God from a human face!

"The veins of his neck were swollen with rage; his eyes were red like a bull's, and he chewed his lips like a chained bulldog. But I was sorry for him beyond words—he was such a pitiful, hate-cursed, horrible, squirming worm, when he might have been a man.

"As I looked at him with this thought in my mind the red went from his eyes, his muscles relaxed, and he lowered his bayonet and growled something about 'Englische Schwein' and went away.

"'Poor devil,' I thought. I watched him, walking away. 'Poor devil—it is not his fault.'"

PRIVATE SIMMONS tells of another guard who surreptitiously brought him an extra blanket on a cold night.

"He evidently belonged to the same class as the first German soldier I had met after I was captured, who tried to bandage my shoulder when the shells were falling around us; to the same class as good old Sank at Geissen, who, though he could speak no English, made us feel his kindness in a hundred ways; to the same class as the German soldier who lifted me down from the train when on my way to Roulers. This man was one of them, and I began to be conscious of the invisible brotherhood which is stronger and more enduring than any tie of nationality, for it wipes out the differences of creed or race or geographical boundary. As I slept, propped up in the corner of my cell, I dreamed of that glad day when

the invisible brotherhood will bind together all the world, and men will no more go out to kill and wound and maim their fellow men, but their strength will be measured against sin and ignorance, disease and poverty, and against these only will they fight."

Some of the women that he saw looked most sad and pitiable, some had hard faces, some seemed as indifferent as the Holstein cows grazing by the road. One was an officer's sister and could speak a little English. "But when I tried to find out what she thought about the war I found that Fanny was a properly trained German girl, and didn't think in matters of this kind."

A. S. B.

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It is a first class schoolroom text, but it is something more. It is a handy reference text for the man or woman who is not a scholar, but who wishes something condensed, reliable, and easy to consult close at hand. The English is excellent, and the general dress of the book attractive.

H. M. F.

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Stage Reflections

(Continued from page 673)

stantial sense and the philosophy of the play, which cannot be termed original. Her work is well done. Ted Lorraine as Tom Morgan is professional. What he has to say may be charged to the playwright; but the way he says it is strictly his own. You expect him any minute to say, "Don't look at me in that tone of voice," or some other equally clever thing in that style.

The play, in its smother of color, movement and sound, furnishes three hours of pleasurable rest from ordinary brain functions. If the spectator carries nothing away with him to think over, it leaves him with no sense of outraged ideals or tastes.

H. M. F.

The Mikado

RECENT performances at the Park Theatre have included "The Gondoliers," "The Mikado" and "Pinafore." They drew good audiences, and, though owing to the fact that the operas were not new, the surprise element which usually draws the laughter for the dialogue was lacking, there is every reason to believe they satisfied their audiences.

The presentation of "The Mikado" showed a pretty stage, more truly Mikadoese than Japanese, and a costuming which would indicate that, even in kimonos, styles and fabrics are subject to the whim of fashion. In the chorus work there was a noticeable "speeding up" over the tempos of the long, long ago. William Danforth as the Mikado and Frank Moulan as Ko-Ko showed a disposition to confuse the purposes of light opera with those of the musical comedy, but there was motive in their madness, as their various and vociferous recalls testified.

Herbert Waterous as Pooh Bah was musi-

cally, artistically and phonetically the success of the evening. His resonant, powerful voice, perfect enunciation, and thoroughly dignified conception of his part were a reminiscence of real old Gilbert and Sullivan days. Gladys Caldwell as Pitti Sing has a pleasing voice, but she, too, has tasted of the lure of the Great White Way, and interprets a Pitti Sing up to date—not to the distaste of the audience. Eileen Castles as Yum-Yum lacked what the authors might have termed verisimilitude, but her rendering of the solo in the second act was artistic. Both Miss Caldwell and Miss Castles have the divine gift of youthful individuality in the voice—that exquisite something which only youth can give and which too much cultivation so frequently destroys.

Josephine Jacoby in the role of Katisha, the terrible, was about the best looking woman on the stage, and either she had exercised the modern prerogative of a walk-out and had refused to be made into a faithful presentation of an acquired taste, or a singularly weak-kneed conception has grown up of the lady who is still not possible sufficiently decayed.

Miss Jacoby has a beautiful quality of voice within a short range, her upper tones lacking sombreness, her very low tones losing the timbre and sympathy of her middle register.

The management deserves compliment on the clear enunciation of the chorus and on the general élan with which the whole opera moved.

H. M. F.

Hampden's Hamlet

WHEN the board of the National Suffrage Association met in New York in November, Mrs. Catt gave it a party. It was a theatre party and the play selected was "Be Calm, Camilla." All the board was there—women from Texas, women from Kansas, women from Massachusetts, from Arkansas and Connecticut, women from Tennessee, New Jersey, New York, and Indiana. As a tired business woman's *divertissement*, "Camilla" was voted a success, but the way home was haunted by a little teasing query, "That man Hampden—he didn't do anything—he didn't have anything to do—he was just a background—but—"

But the truth was he was an artist. The sort of artist who, if he has to play scenery, plays it in a way to make the trees on the backdrop feel their artificiality.

It is this same Walter Hampden who, as Hamlet, is just now the sensation of Broadway, and playing to capacity business at the special matinées of the Shakespeare Playhouse at the Plymouth Theatre. Not only is the public crowding to the theatre for Saturday mornings at 10:30, and the odd afternoons, but the critics have unanimously declared that Mr. Hampden has given the stage the ideal Hamlet of the modern theatre. On account of the phenomenal success of this "Hamlet," and the con-

tinued demand for it, the Shakespeare Playhouse, that originally announced a schedule of plays that included "As You Like It," "Merchant of Venice," "Twelfth Night," etc., has been able so far to add but one other production to its "Hamlet" this season—Walter Hampden in "Macbeth."

In the few memorable Shakespearean revivals of the past half-century Hampden's "Hamlet" is placed in the front rank, by the critics, and Shakespearean students and lovers of the bard have crowded to see it, as one production of the New York season not to be missed.

The school public meantime has selected the Shakespeare Playhouse performances for large parties from the English departments of the high schools throughout Greater New York and surrounding towns, to introduce this memorable Hamlet to the generation of today.

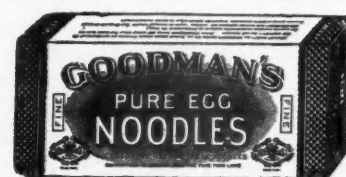
The Shakespeare Playhouse, which was responsible last season for half-a-dozen significantly fine productions of the master plays of the English-speaking stage, has provided Mr. Hampden excellent support for his "Hamlet," with Albert Bruning as Polonius; Mabel Moore as Ophelia; Mary Hall as Queen Gertrude; and Charles A. Stevenson as King Claudius. "Hamlet" is given every Friday afternoon at 2:30 o'clock and every Saturday morning at 10:30, at the Plymouth Theatre.

At the Longacre

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Vol. III, January 11, 1919. No. 33

See the Next Issue of

... THE ...

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for the

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The official answer will appear in next week's Woman Citizen

December 27, 1918

BUREAU OF CENSORS,
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Dear Sirs:

Some weeks since the press announced that a cable had been sent by German women to Miss Jane Addams to ask her to intercede with President Wilson in behalf of peace. In some of the press reports it was said that such a cable had been sent also to me. I have never received any such message, and I am writing to ask if you have any record of its receipt. Anti-suffragists, meantime, seem to have profited sufficiently by some private line of connection to put forth repeatedly the statement that such a message was sent me. I am at a grave loss to understand on what source they could draw for the authority to make the statement, and I shall be greatly obliged if your office can throw any light on the situation.

Yours very truly,

(Signed) CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT,
President of the National American Woman
Suffrage Association.

The Woman Citizen

The Woman's National Political Weekly

NEW STYLE VOL. III

JANUARY 18, 1919

NUMBER 34

"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

What Happened In New Hampshire?

IN New Hampshire this week we have the inspiring spectacle of some eight or ten men—and those men accredited lawmakers of New Hampshire—deliberately repudiating their own signatures. Those signatures were affixed to a petition calling on Senator Moses to vote for the Federal Suffrage Amendment. The repudiation was effected when the very men who had signed the petition voted on Tuesday in the New Hampshire Senate against a resolution instructing Senator Moses to cast his vote for the amendment.

What happened in the meantime?

The average man does not break a pledge lightly. Particularly he does not when the pledge is a written one. The fact that his name is signed, sealed, and delivered is considered irrevocable by the man of honor.

In order to come to some sort of understanding of the New Hampshire case, let us go back a little:

When George H. Moses was elected to succeed Senator Gal-linger, friend of woman suffrage and the Federal Suffrage Amendment, it was known that he was an opponent. The National American Woman Suffrage Association sent Miss Eva S. Potter to interview him after his election. Senator Moses told Miss Potter that he was not interested in the question, but that if his Legislature should instruct him by resolution to vote for the Federal Amendment he would do so. That was in November.

It was a long time to wait until the New Hampshire Legislature should sit, and time was precious. Therefore, Mrs. Anna Tillinghast, of Boston, Miss Eva S. Potter and Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore, representing the National, went to New Hampshire and, co-operating with the New Hampshire State Association, was able in a very few days to secure a petition from more than two-thirds of the Legislature of that state asking Senator Moses to vote for the amendment. As the Legislature is the largest in the entire country (426 members), this represented very strenuous work and a hearty co-operation on the part of the representatives of New Hampshire.

When the petition was completed, Senator Moses was doing his turn at influenza and consequently there was some delay in

presenting the petition. When at last it was presented, Senator Moses said that he must insist upon the resolution and declared that the petition did not serve the purpose.

This was a disheartening decision, but the National's workers girded on their armor afresh and began a new canvass of the Legislature, with the result that a majority in favor of the resolution was again polled. The Senate has a membership of 24.

When the Legislature convened, Senator Moses took a trip to New Hampshire, hired a room in a hotel and made it his office. There he saw a good many members of the Legislature, and it was current opinion that he was using his time and his influence against the resolution, which was certain to be introduced. The results seem to bear out this conclusion.

The resolution was finally introduced in the Lower House and after a public hearing before the entire House and Senate was put to vote. It carried by a majority of 74. The Legislature then adjourned for the week-end.

In the meantime a majority of the Senators having already petitioned Senator Moses to vote for the Federal Amendment, these men were seen and again signified their intention to vote for the resolution. One man, Mr. Andrew J. Hook, after an interview with Mrs. Tillinghast, said that he would vote for the resolution in the event that she could get a petition from a majority of the members of the Republican town committees in his district asking him to vote for the resolution. With patience undisturbed, a delegation of women went into his district, canvassed the town committees and returned with the petitions for which he had asked. They presented them to him and almost immediately the resolution was brought up—i. e., on Tuesday morning, January 14, and was disposed of by a negative vote of 15, six Senators only voting in its favor.

What became of the others pledged to vote yes?

Just what kind of man is it who makes a deliberate promise and then breaks it? Who or what could induce such a man to tell a deliberate falsehood? Who or what could have had greater influence with him than the National Committee of his political

party, the majority of his party in the Senate and the majority of his party in his own state Legislature? When a man tells a deliberate and a public falsehood, the fact becomes a political liability.

Take the case of Mr. Hook, who was among those who voted "no." Mr. Hook is a Republican. A majority of the Republicans in the New Hampshire Senate signed the petition to Senator Moses. A majority of the Republicans in the Federal Senate stand prepared to vote for the Federal Amendment. The National Republican Committee had just passed a resolution requesting the United States Senate to submit the amendment and the Legislature to ratify it.

Finally, Mr. Hook had himself made conditions that had been fairly and squarely met. Yet he broke a deliberate and definite promise.

Just what happened to Mr. Hook between the time he gave the pledge on Friday, the 10th, and Tuesday, the 14th?

A small but significant bit of evidence leads to the conviction that something quite out of the ordinary happened. After having made a very definite pledge, based upon the proviso that a majority of his committee men must first petition him for his vote, Mr. Hook sought an interview with Mrs. Tillinghast and said that if she could secure the vote of twelve men in the Senate to vote for the resolution, he would make the thirteenth and that she need not secure the petition.

She replied that the plans were all in readiness to do the work and she would go ahead with it. She did go ahead with it and the petition did reach Mr. Hook. Just why did he want to change the plan? *Because the opposition had already intervened with certain of those who had given their pledges, he knew that twelve votes could not be secured*, and he did not want his Republican committee men to put him in the position of breaking his word with them. He stands condemned, however, as a man whose word cannot be trusted.

Nine other men signed the petition and promised to vote for the resolution, yet voted against it. Their names are:

George H. Eames, Mayor of Keene; Benjamin G. Hall, Ex-Sheriff of Marlborough; Joseph P. Boucher, Northumberland; Guy H. Hubbard, Boscawen; George L. Sadler, Nashua; William F. Sullivan, Nashua; Gideon Lariviere, Manchester; Alvah T. Ramsdell, Dover; Oliver B. Marvin, Newcastle.

C. C. C.

Colonel Roosevelt to Senator Moses

TO the many effective utterances of Theodore Roosevelt in behalf of the Federal Suffrage Amendment there is now added the following letter, written on January 3rd, to Senator Moses of New Hampshire:

My Dear Senator Moses:

You know how fond I am of Cabot Lodge, and I think he has done wonderful work during the past three months in international matters. But it is a misfortune from the standpoint of the war and from the standpoint of party expediency, that he and Senator Wadsworth of New York and some of your New England Senators should have been so very bitter about woman suffrage. I earnestly hope you can see your way clear to support the National Amendment. It is coming anyhow, and it ought to come. When states like New York and Illinois adopt it, it can't be called a wild cat experiment. I very earnestly hope you can see your way clear to support the amendment.

Faithfully yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Sweden's Suffrage Reform

WHEN press dispatches made the announcement a few days ago that Sweden had adopted sweeping electoral reforms that included the enfranchisement of women, Mrs. Catt, president of the National Suffrage Association, got in touch at once with the Swedish legation at Washington, with the result that Mr. L. Joborg, Counsellor of the Legation, has sent her a comprehensive analysis of the cable from the Royal Foreign office at Stockholm. In his letter Mr. Joborg refers to "the *recently adopted* constitutional amendment which, among other things, grants women the suffrage on the same footing as men."

The crucial paragraphs of the cable point out that the reform "is *essentially carried through*, the different parliamentary parties having concerted with each other and the government to pass the measure during the ensuing parliamentary session."

"All parliamentary and local self-government elections are based on most extended universal suffrage for *men and women*, irrespective of taxability. Excluded are only persons under 23 years or under guardianship, paupers in poor houses, temporarily bankrupts and certain criminals. Every elector votes only in his legal domicile, plural voting being altogether abolished. The right to vote is purely personal, companies and other associations being henceforth excluded.

"The above principles apply also to the provincial assemblies electing members of the Upper House. This, therefore, also rests henceforth on a purely democratic basis. Electors of these provincial assemblies must be twenty-seven years old, and members of the Upper House, as now, at least thirty-five. The electoral period, now six years, has been extended to eight years."

The cabled message, as analyzed for Mrs. Catt by Mr. Joborg, contains as well the following information with regard to the full purport of Sweden's electoral reforms:

"The Lower House of the Swedish diet has since 1909 been based on direct and personal manhood suffrage, but paupers and persons liable for unpaid taxes were excluded.

"The Upper House is elected by provincial assemblies, the members of which are elected by communal suffrage, but only payers of direct taxes had the right to vote, and they had from one to forty votes in accordance with a scale calculated on basis of the total income for which they were liable to pay municipal rates. Companies and other associations were entitled to vote and plural voting was allowed. Tax-paying women voted.

"The different origin of both houses has effected in the Lower House a constant democratic majority of the Left, *videlicet* Liberals and Labor Party, and in the Upper House a constant conservative majority. The importance hereof is obvious, as both houses are constitutionally equal, all questions coming for discussion simultaneously in both houses. For the passing of new laws the assent of both houses is required and the budget is not treated as a whole, the various taxes and expenditure items being voted by each house separately. Budgetary questions are finally decided by majority, both houses voting together.

"By the reform the electors of the Lower House have been increased by about twenty per cent., hitherto excluded as receiving poor relief or liable for unpaid taxes. *Further must be added all women.*"

The italics above are ours. For something must be done by way of decorating Sweden.

Thus the last great Scandinavian country lines up for full suffrage for women: Finland, Norway, Iceland, Denmark, and now Sweden. Only last week we chronicled the fact that the women of the Netherlands are to be enfranchised at once.

The Legislature and the Social Evil

By Alice Stone Blackwell

MANY state Legislatures have begun their session with the New Year. In most of them, legislation dealing with venereal diseases will be introduced. It is of vital importance that the measures taken should be wise and well considered. Women's clubs, suffrage societies, and other organizations of women should keep a vigilant eye upon all bills dealing with the public health, and bring to bear all the influence that they can in favor of judicious provisions, and against those that are likely to do more harm than good.

Help the Government to Educate

Much benefit has already resulted from the campaign of education undertaken by the United States government along these lines, and women should give it all possible support. It is fundamental to the matter; for it is impossible to overestimate the harm that has been done by ignorance, and by the prevalence of false ideas as to the "necessity" of vice. Lack of hospital accommodation for sufferers from this class of trouble has been another crying evil. Women should give their earnest support to state legislation that provides for the instruction of the public on these questions, for free clinics, and for ample hospital facilities. It is well also to make these diseases notifiable, i. e., to require doctors to report them, without giving the patient's name.

State Regulation a Proved Failure

But, along with these measures, which are wholly praiseworthy, there has been a nation-wide effort to secure the introduction of certain others, which are worse than useless. In answer to questions from women, high government officials have acknowledged, in private correspondence, that they are seeking to have all prostitutes subjected to compulsory medical examination as frequently as possible, and to shut up all those who are found to be diseased, either in hospitals or in reformatories. This is in substance the European system of the state regulation of vice. It has been thoroughly tried out for more than a century, and everywhere it has utterly failed to protect the public health. Forty years ago, most European doctors approved of it. Now most of them are convinced that it is useless, and it has been condemned again and again by sweeping majorities at great international medical congresses of experts. Country after country has abandoned it, not chiefly upon moral grounds, but as a gigantic sanitary failure. Women and social purity societies, the world over, have fought it for half a century, as demoralizing and unjust.

Reasons Why It Fails

There are many reasons why it must be ineffective. Even when a woman has been medically examined and pronounced "safe" her next customer may make her unsafe for all who come after him. Again some women may themselves become immune to these diseases, and yet communicate them—as a woman who has had smallpox and is no longer subject to it herself can yet convey the germs of it to others, in her dress or hair.

No one thinks it practicable to shut up the men who are suffering from these troubles; and you can no more stamp out venereal disease than you could stamp out smallpox or bubonic plague by shutting up only the women who have it. Moreover, the experience of all European countries has been that the authorities are never able to bring more than a small fraction of the prostitutes under medical supervision. The experience of

the United States, so far as it has gone, has been the same. Fully four-fifths elude control.

It is claimed that if even a few of the diseased prostitutes are shut up, it must do some good. Not if it gives

the impression that they have all been shut up, and thus breeds a false illusion of security, which is an encouragement to vice. As Professor James Stuart of London has well said, the system is "a lighthouse to draw men on the rocks."

System Encourages Immorality

Much has been made of the fact that here the authorities do not give the woman a health certificate, as has been the custom in Europe. But, obviously, *when it is known that the government has undertaken to examine all prostitutes at short intervals and to shut up those who are diseased, prospective customers will look upon this as a blanket certificate that any such woman who is at large and is connived at in plying her trade has been lately examined and found free from disease.*

Double Moral Standard Set Up

To women, and to many men who have a strong sense of justice, another objection to the system has always been its one-sidedness. It is unfair to apply to profligate women measures that are not applied to profligate men. It is enacting the double standard of morals into law.

To meet this objection, most of the new American legislation on this subject has been made nominally applicable to men as well as to women, but without any expectation on the part of its framers that it will be impartially enforced.

A conference was called in New York city a few months ago by the Social Morality Committee of the National War Service Section of the Young Women's Christian Association to consider (among other things) whether the women were getting a square deal in the enforcement of the public health regulations along these lines. The reports and discussions made it perfectly clear that they were not.

Law as a School Master

Col. Snow, who is at the head of the government's anti-venereal disease work, said that he believed these laws should be enforced impartially, but he acknowledged that they were not, and said that they would not be until magistrates and the public at large were more fully educated in the direction of a single standard of morals. He said we must educate them. His own attitude was high-minded and fair; but he did not seem quite to perceive that since "the law is a school master," systematic one-sidedness in the enforcement of any law against women and not against men tends to educate people to think that the double standard is right.

At this conference, one official told how the police of New York City go to work when they suspect that an apartment is being used for disorderly purposes. They watch it, and if they see a man and woman enter, they wait a short time, and then break in and arrest them. They question the two separately and both deny any intention of wrong-doing. Then they say to the man:

"We are pretty sure that you and this woman came here for a disorderly purpose. If you persist in denying it, you will both be brought into court; but, if you will admit the fact, and give evidence against the woman, we will let you go. Your acknowledgment, in addition to our testimony, will be enough to convict

her; and you need not appear in court at all." This offer, he said, was usually accepted. The official told this without any appearance of shame. Such a procedure tends directly to teach the masculine offender a mean and unchivalrous attitude.

Innocent Girls Arrested

Another objection to the state regulation of vice is that it always leads to arrests of innocent women. The Chicago papers lately reported such an instance. Two young women were walking along the street. Some sailors bade them good day. They answered; and then the girls and the sailors walked along together, chatting about the influenza. When they had gone about half a block, a police automobile drove by. It stopped and several police officers sprang out and arrested the young women. They were forced to undergo a medical examination; were shut up for several days and kept away from their work (both were regularly employed, one in a grocery store, the other elsewhere) and their names and addresses were published in the papers with the fact of their arrest. When they were brought into court, they were dismissed because there was no evidence of their being bad characters. These girls had no redress. A wide field is opened for police blackmail of women. The history of this legislation in other countries is full of such cases, and of others much worse.

Women Should Be Vigilant

The women who watch the bills introduced in the different Legislatures should seek especially to guard against legislation which gives the right to arrest persons on suspicion and force them to submit to medical examination; and against the giving to the police or to health officers *carte blanche* to do whatever they please. Efforts are being made to establish in each state a bureau of venereal diseases and to give almost unlimited power to the man at its head. In New York, for instance, the law specifies certain very good things that this officer may do, and then adds that he may take such other measures as he chooses—a blanket permission which, in effect, makes him an irresponsible dictator in matters of health.

The United States authorities at the head of this crusade against venereal diseases really wish to eliminate prostitution. But the reports at the New York conference made it clear that in many cases the local civil authorities and the doctors are not in sympathy with the effort.

System Fast Degenerating

Congress has appropriated a large sum of money to be apportioned among the states to pay for the shutting up of "infected persons" (meaning infected women.) In the plan as originally outlined it had been proposed that, while the women were shut up and undergoing treatment, an effort should be made to reclaim them and to put them in the way of earning an honest living. In some instances this effort has been made, and with success; but it was clear at the conference, and has become clearer since, that in most places no systematic effort is being put forth along these lines; that the educational and reformatory features urged by the Federal Government are apt to be dropped out of sight by state and city authorities; and that the whole thing is tending more and more to become simply the old, often-tried, always futile attempt to make vice safe for men by applying rigorous medical measures to women.

Let Us Avoid Europe's Blunders

It is an ungracious task to point out flaws in an effort that aims at destroying so great a scourge as these venereal diseases. But those who have followed for fifty years the progress and failure of the attempts in Europe to do it by forcibly medicating profligate

women, owe it to their own country to utter a warning against our repeating this costly blunder. Every one interested in this question should read Dr. Abraham Flexner's book on "Prostitution in Europe." Going into the matter from a strictly scientific standpoint, he shows how the net result is to make things worse instead of better.

On the educational side of the effort, however, all can unite; every woman's club in the United States ought to try to have Dr. Katherine B. Davis's film play, "The End of the Road," presented as widely as possible. It is the finest thing yet evolved in the way of education through the eye, upon this important subject.

One More Hospital

THE name of it is the Jeanne d'Arc and it really promises to be the last unit in the chain of the Women's Overseas Hospitals which have been conducted in France by the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

Mrs. Raymond Brown, Director General of the Hospitals, writes the Central Committee which operates the hospitals, under the direction of the National Suffrage Association, as follows:

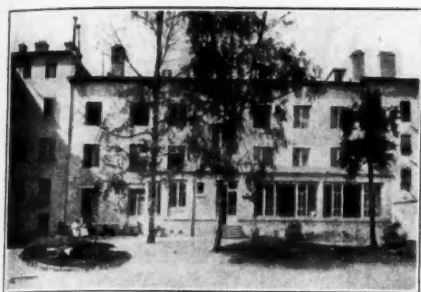
"We have secured a place for our hospital at Nancy and Dr. Lefort and her Unit are quite enchanted with it and with the opportunity of work. We were all glad to undertake the dispensaries but it seemed necessary that there be some place to send patients in need of hospital treatment. The Red Cross Hospital at Toul for women and children contained 700 beds which were always crowded; but it was given up on 24 hours notice last summer to the American Army and since then there has been no place to send these women and children. All of the doctors, both civil and military, with whom we have spoken, confirm the need.

"We have taken a house that was a girls' boarding school and it is ideally arranged for a hospital, with large dormitories suitable for wards, modern plumbing, heating and electric lighting. One edge of the building was injured by a bomb and the house was considerably looted during the many months the cellar was used as an *abri* in the nightly bombardments. There still remain many beds and a good deal of furniture which will adapt itself admirably to hospital needs. Dr. Lefort and most of the staff moved in on Saturday. They already have a housekeeper and expect to be ready to receive patients in less than two weeks. They will need very little extra equipment. The Red Cross has a good deal of hospital material from its own military hospitals and I saw the zone manager and made arrangements for him to let us have things which they were discarding which we would need. While the rent for the building is high—1000 francs a month—since it is furnished and in good state of repair, what we pay in rent will be saved in equipment. The budget I am enclosing will show you how we are disposing of the staff and our estimated expenses for six months.

"AS I have written you before, we think that six months will be sufficient to meet the needs, although we have a hope that we shall make our hospital, which by the way we are going to call the Jeanne d'Arc, so valuable that the community will retain it as a permanent one.

Dr. Finley and her small Unit are in charge of about 150 beds in a hospital in Metz occupied by returned prisoners who, many of them, are seriously ill with pneumonia and grippe. They are working very hard.

"The Hospital at Foug: The Children's Bureau of the American Red Cross have asked us to undertake another piece of work at Foug. Foug is a munition town near Toul. The Red Cross has been an entire year building a small hospital of 25 beds for



"A HOUSE THAT WAS A GIRLS' BOARDING SCHOOL"



IN THIS "DORTOIR," WHERE THE LITTLE FRENCH GIRLS USED TO SLEEP, THE PATIENTS WILL BE COMFORTABLE



WHERE THE LITTLE FRENCH GIRLS USED TO EAT

women and children, combining it with instruction on pre-natal care and the care of infants. The hospital was inaugurated only a week ago. It is a little gem, completely equipped with many hospital supplies and a large supply of food from the Red Cross Commissary. It is now run by a doctor (man) and an English nurse and two French nurses. As I have told you many times, the Red Cross has been withdrawing from all civilian work and this personnel are among the last to leave Lorraine. They are going on the first of January, and the Children's Bureau wants us to take the hospital and they will transfer to us all the supplies. If we do not undertake it, the entire plant is bound greatly to deteriorate and will likely fall into complete disuse for lack of personnel and funds to run it. It is a good, logical part of our work in Lorraine, and I should like to undertake it. I append it as part of our program. All this work of dispensaries, Nancy Hospital, Foug Hospital, could be taken care of by Dr. Lefort."

THE dispensary work to which Mrs. Brown refers has become of prime moment in the hospital program. Of it she says:

"As I wrote you, the running expenses of these dispensaries are met by various cities in the States, and the dispensaries are called by their names. The one at Neuves-Maison is supported by St. Paul; the nurse in charge is from St. Paul and it seems fitting that we have placed Dr. Barsness there, who is also from that city. There are a few nurses already under contract in the dispensaries whose maintenance will continue to be paid for by the people in America, so that our nurses and aides can be stretched out to cover more ground than otherwise could be possible. Each dispensary center takes care of a large number of villages in its vicinity and the centers are all near enough to Nancy for Dr. Lefort to keep an eye on them.

"We have been asked by the Mayor to open a dispensary in Chalons, and M. Mirmont, the Préfet of the new Lorraine, has asked us to establish one at Chateau Salins. I am sending you a copy of the very simple agreement that we have with the American Fund for French Wounded.

"We already have most of the personnel needed. If we need anyone else, there are French nurses who have served with the Red Cross whom we can get.

"At the urgent request of a voluntary French Red Cross nurse, who has been at Ognon all summer, a small group of us have undertaken some work in the Aisne. I went up there last week in the old Dodge car (which has been in Ognon all summer and which we had put in order) to select a locality and make arrangements for this work. Relief work in the vicinity has been divided among the various organizations. Anne Morgan's Committee for Devastated France has been assigned to an area west of Soissons, but there was no one doing anything for the region east of Soissons lying on the road to Rheims."

Mrs. Brown adds her meed of praise to the awe-inspiring courage of the French people.

"I never saw such misery and such courage in meeting suffering as I saw in those villages. They have been swept over twice by the Germans, and after the Germans were driven back the first time the people moved back to their damaged homes from which nearly everything had been stolen, bringing new livestock and newly purchased necessities of living, only to be driven back the second time and to have the Boches take everything they had left! The Germans have swept the country clean. All the houses of some of the villages are utterly destroyed, but in many, parts of them are left standing and the people have gone back to try to take up their lives again. The Government is anxious to have them go back to prepare the soil for spring planting; but is not able to meet the demands needed. Families have come back and are trying to keep house in a corner of a building with the roof half torn off, cooking on a few sticks of wood laid on stones, sleeping on straw with no coverlets, and with no clothes except what they have on their backs. Many of the women and children, if not actually ill, are suffering from privation and need medical care. The need is not so much for hospitalization as to relieve the immediate simple physical wants.

"OUR first plan was to establish a tiny hospital in Soissons itself, using Soissons as a center to ship out to the villages to the East. This has now been changed, and we have been given the use of a half-demolished chateau in a village named Lime, south of Braisne. The first truck-load of supplies goes out this week. The first need is beds and bedding; the Red Cross is breaking up numerous hospitals and has endless supplies of this kind. I had hoped to get beds and bedding from them for nothing, but they have decided to charge a little something for all the supplies disposed of in this way, and I have bought 100 beds, each bed carrying mattress and pillow, two blankets and six sheets for five dollars each. I am also buying towels, kitchen towels, plates, knives, forks, etc., all at nominal prices. I have obtained donations of food from the Free Food for France Fund, of some clothing from the Duryea War Relief, and we are buying some of the things that the peasants are used to in the way of clothing.

"We have changed the use of the 3-ton truck. Mrs. Griffith and Miss Ford have been in Havre for several weeks awaiting its unloading from the steamer. We have given the shower equipment to the Service de Santé, who have now dismounted it, and the truck came into Paris the day before yesterday."

Mrs. Brown adds that a date can now be set for the winding up of the hospital work of the suffragists in Europe. Her estimate places the date as no farther away than June.

Most of the women of all the units are expected to return to the United States at about that time. Such of the hospital program as can be utilized to advantage by the French Government will be turned over to the authorities to be continued in the best interests of the community.

PROGRESS OF THE SUFFRAGE FEDERAL AMENDMENT UP TO DATE

KNOWN IN THE

65TH CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES AS
SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 2
and HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 1

*Proposing an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States Con-
ferring upon Women the
Right of Suffrage.*

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several states as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said Legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE

"SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

History of Amendment

First introduced in the Senate, January 10, 1878, by Senator A. A. Sargent, of California.

REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE:

In the Senate:

1878, Adverse majority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1889, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1890, Without recommendation.
1893, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Without recommendation.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1916, Favorable majority.
1917, Unanimously.

In the House:

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.
1917, Sept. 24, Woman Suffrage Committee created, yeas 181, no 107.
1917, Dec. 15, Reported from Judiciary Committee without recommendation.
1918, Jan. 3, Reported favorably from House Suffrage Committee.

VOTED UPON:

In the House:

January 12, 1915: yeas 174, nays 204 (378 voting).
January 10, 1918: yeas 274, nays 136 (410 voting).

VICTORY!

In the Senate:

January 25, 1887: yeas 16, nays 34 (50 voting).
March 19, 1914: yeas 35, nays 34 (69 voting).
October 1, 1918: yeas, including pairs, 62; nays 34.

Present Status in Senate:

October 3, Motion for reconsideration passed.
Back on calendar.
Jan. 1, 1919. Date for vote pending.

Missouri News

THE convening of the Missouri Legislature last week found the suffragists of Missouri alert with interest in the legislative program. The Republican landslide at the last election caused a complete reversal of the political status here. Not for many years has there been a majority in the lower House. The House has a total of 75 Republicans and 67 Democrats, and on joint ballot 89 Democrats and 87 Republicans. This situation points more emphatically than ever the wisdom of the non-partisan policy of the National Suffrage Association. As soon as the results of the election were established the state board of the Equal Suffrage League sent to the National for organizers a request that Miss Alma Sasse, a Missouri girl, be allowed to come to her native state was granted. Miss Sasse was exhausted from the strenuous Oklahoma campaign, but after a few days at home gallantly responded. Missouri is particularly fortunate in having Miss Sasse. Aside from her ability as an organizer, she is the daughter of a prominent Republican lawyer at Brunswick, Missouri, and her interviews with the newly elected Republican members have been valuable.

Miss Marie Ames is the other organizer sent to Missouri. She comes to us with a fine record won in the Michigan campaign. She has been very effective in the districts where she has been sent, galvanizing dormant district and county chairmen into life, starting and reviving petition work, organizing Men's Advisory Committees and collecting money.

MISSOURI suffragists, under the leadership of Mrs. Walter McNab Miller, and assisted by the local women, are keeping open house at Jefferson City during the Legislature. In charge are Missouri women who keep in touch with women from all over the state, and do the necessary legislative work. Miss Ames and Miss Sasse will help throughout the session. An important meeting of the State Board of the Missouri Equal Suffrage League was held in Jefferson City on January 8.

On January 13, Mrs. Miller wired the National that the Governor, in his annual message, had recommended that the Missouri Legislature memorialize the United States Senate in behalf of the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

There is a majority for suffrage in both houses of the Legislature, and the Federal Amendment can be ratified. If it is not passed by the United States Senate in time to come before the Legislature the Missouri women intend to ask for some form of suffrage, and are sure they can obtain it. Governor Gardner is behind all suffrage legislation. It is one of his administration measures. Mrs. Gardner is an enthusiastic suffragist, and will be of great assistance to the organization this winter. She is a woman of unusual charm and magnetism, and her influence is marked.

Within the

Mrs. E. M. Grossman of St. Louis is State Chairman of Press and Publicity. The members of the Legislature received from her department Christmas presents of "The Votes for Women" lead pencils, wrapped in holly paper, and sent in long white envelopes bearing Christmas seals. On New Year's a bright yellow card went to the same men inscribed thus:

"When the suffrage bill comes in
Hope you meet it with a grin.

Bet a copper to a hat

There ain't no better wish than that."

MR. HUGH K. WAGNER of St. Louis, a member of the Legislature and one of the candidates for speaker of the House, gave a luncheon at the Missouri Athletic Association for his associates in the Legislature from St. Louis, and the members of the Executive Committee of the Equal Suffrage League of St. Louis. Mrs. Walter McNab Miller, the state president, in her usual gracious manner, talked to the guests about the national situation, and the recent suffrage victories, and displayed the new "victory map" in which the men were most interested. Mrs. George Gellhorn followed with one of her happy talks, and then there was an informal discussion. One of the members, who appeared in his uniform, having been in the army during his entire campaign, said: "If the soldiers could give the women of this country suffrage they certainly would have it."

St. Louis League

THE St. Louis League has just elected a new chairman and executive secretary. Mrs. Ernest W. Stix, who has rendered splendid service in the league as city chairman, and Mrs. Lucille Lowenstein, the capable and brilliant executive secretary, sent in their resignations. Mrs. Stix, having to be out of the city on a prolonged absence because of her father's illness, and later an illness of her own, felt that she must give up the responsibilities of her office. She has accepted the chairmanship of the City Finance Committee and is doing great work in that capacity. Mrs. Lowenstein, as executive secretary of the Children's Code Commission, found that her time was so occupied with the work in preparing the code for the Legislature that she had to relinquish her position with the suffrage league. Suffragists are proud of the far-reaching task she is performing. Mrs. George Gellhorn, one of the most popular women and brilliant workers in St. Louis, has just been elected as the Chairman of the Equal Suffrage League of St. Louis. Mrs. Frederic Blaine Clarke was elected by the Executive Committee to fill Mrs. Lowenstein's term.

The *Western Watchman*, one of the leading

Organization

Catholic papers of the country, published in its Christmas issue a letter penned by Bishop Gallagher of Detroit, written during the Michigan campaign. It is one of the most generous and fair-minded statements ever given out by any churchman, Catholic or Protestant.

The petition work in Missouri has gone ahead in spite of war work and influenza bans. Kansas City has so far carried off the palm, her petition work being of the steady variety, and averaging 1,000 signatures a week.

To the Minnesota Legislature

"I recommend the immediate adoption of a resolution memorializing Congress to submit the Woman Suffrage Amendment to the States, and its ratification by this Legislature when so submitted."—GOVERNOR BURNQUIST.

With a State Significance

THE Colorado Equal Suffrage Association recently gave a reception to the incoming Governor and his wife which was noted in the Colorado press as "one of the most brilliant social affairs which has ever been given with a state significance."

In North Carolina

NORTH CAROLINA has just held the largest suffrage meeting in its history. It took place in the city of Raleigh, the capital, and was addressed by William Jennings Bryan. He held an audience of 3,000 people spellbound under his gifted appeal for justice to the women of that and other States.

Proof Conclusive

MRS. FRANCIS E. BREWER, who is making a trip through the West to invite the women voters to attend the voters' conference to be held in St. Louis in April, writes that the most prominent politician in Wyoming said recently with great emphasis, "Wyoming women are the finest on the face of the globe; they think just like men."



"GIVE OUR MOTHER THE VOTE. YOU HEAR US! WE ARE TALKING!"

Sallie and Annie Haynes—daughters of an ardent young suffragist—Mrs. John Taylor Haynes of Trenton, Tenn. This picture was taken by the side of a rest room that the suffragists opened for women and children, at the Gibson County Fair.

The Way Illinois Does It

THE following resolution was handed to the Senators from Illinois by Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout, president of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, to be presented by them to the United States Senate. It is an expression from 168 Illinois organizations, composed of women who have been untiring in all war work and are today leading in all reconstruction and readjustment activities.

"The Illinois Woman's Legislative Congress, a delegate body representing the following organizations from all parts of the state, in convention assembled, December 27 and 28, 1918, at the Congress Hotel, Chicago, Illinois, do hereby urge the United States Senate to take speedy and favorable action on the Federal Suffrage Amendment."

Auburn Park Woman's Club, Austin North End Woman's Club, Altrui Club, Aurora Woman's Club, Arion Aid and Benevolent Society, Cynthia Westover Alden Sunshine Society, Chicago Woman's Club, Chrysolite Club, Chicago Literary Score, Community Club of Englewood, Chicago Heights Woman's Club, Chicago Woman's Patriotic Association, Catholic Woman's League, Chicago South Side Club, Champion Social Science Club, Current Topic Club of Blue Island, Chicago Federation Colored Women's Clubs, Council of Jewish Women, Chicago Political Equality League, Catholic Woman's League of Rogers Park, Chicago Association of Collegiate Alumnae, Committee on Public Affairs, Civic Federation Peoria Child Welfare League—Peoria, Carbondale Civic and Suffrage League, Chicago Lawn Club, Church Federation, Chicago Equality League of Rogers Park, City Club State Council, Doxners Grove Woman's Club, De Kalb Woman's Club, Des Plaines Woman's Club, D. A. R.—Peoria, Englewood Woman's Club, Every Wednesday Club, Englewood W. C. T. U., Every Wednesday Literary Score, Eighteenth District Federation of Women's Clubs, Eugenic Educational Society, First District Ill. Federation of Women's Clubs, Friends in Council, Fifth Ward Civic League, Federation Woman's High School Teachers, Fellowship Club, Glen Ellyn Woman's Club, Galesburg Woman's Club, Grant Park Woman's Club, Good Will Workers, Hollywood Woman's Club, Hadassah—Chicago Chapter, Hyde Park Housewives Committee, Hull House Woman's Club, Hyde Park Travel Club, Illinois Sunflower Club, Illinois Colony Club, Improvement Association for Blind People, Illinois League for Nursery Education, Independent German-American Woman's Club, Irving Park Woman's Club, Isaiah Woman's Club, Illinois Federation of Women's Clubs—Third District, Illinois Congress and Parent Teachers' Association, Illinois W. C. T. U., Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, Ken-Rose Wom-

(Continued on page 698)

WHERE WOMEN VOTE

WOMEN HAVE FULL SUFFRAGE

in the

Isle of Man	Norway
New Zealand	Iceland
Australian Federation	Denmark
Great Britain	Russia
Canada	*Sweden
Finland	†Holland

and in these

UNITED STATES

Wyoming	Oregon
Colorado	Alaska
Idaho	Montana
Utah	Nevada
Washington	New York
California	Michigan
Arizona	South Dakota
Kansas	Oklahoma

Women Are Recognized as Possessed of Full Suffrage by the New Governments Now Forming Out of the Old Man-Suffrage Chaos

in

Germany	Austria-Hungary
---------	-----------------

WOMEN ARE PROMISED FULL SUFFRAGE

in

Belgium	Italy
	France

WOMEN HAVE PRESIDENTIAL AND MUNICIPAL SUFFRAGE

in

Illinois	Nebraska
North Dakota	

WOMEN HAVE PRESIDENTIAL SUFFRAGE

in

Rhode Island

WOMEN HAVE MUNICIPAL SUFFRAGE

in

South Africa	Vermont
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WOMEN HAVE PRIMARY SUFFRAGE

in

Texas	Arkansas
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WOMEN HAVE SCHOOL OR TAX SUFFRAGE

in

Kentucky	New Jersey
Minnesota	Connecticut
New Hampshire	Ohio
Massachusetts	Delaware
Mississippi	Wisconsin
Louisiana	New Mexico
	Iowa

WOMEN VOTE FOR PRESIDENT IN TWENTY-ONE STATES

* Just granted, according to press despatches of Jan. 2.

† To be granted by middle of January, according to word from the president of the Vereeniging voor Vrouwenkiesrecht.

CAN YOU DEFINE ORGANIZATION?

By Edith J. R. Isaacs

Chief of Woman's Publicity,
Second Federal Reserve District

IF you ask a dozen of the most successful Liberty Loan workers in different parts of the country what it was that made their work a success you will have a dozen different answers. One will say organization and vision; another, patriotism and organization; a third, hard work and organization; a fourth, publicity and organization; a fifth, cooperation and organization, but down the line to the last of the dozen, no matter what other qualities are included, the one which all women agree is indispensable to success in the Liberty Loans is the power to organize.

This is a little disconcerting to one who is trying to find, in this first experiment of American women in financial cooperation with Uncle Sam, something which will make their experience of service to them always, whatever their sphere of life. It does not seem, off-hand, as if a vague abstraction like the power to organize could have anything to do with making a woman a better mother or a better wife or friend or housekeeper or doctor or lawyer or business woman.

It is even more disconcerting when you find that this power to organize is, to most of the women who have it, a quality not only indispensable but indefinable. If you ask Mrs. J. O. Miller, of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, a member of the National Woman's Liberty Loan Committee, and State Chairman for Pennsylvania, who has made the state record by the sale of almost \$230,000,000 of bonds, she will shrug her shoulders.

Mrs. Miller's organization is as nearly perfect as possible. The women under her and the women over her are agreed about this. If you want to organize your state, or your county, or your town for the Fifth Liberty Loan there is nobody who will be more ready to give you the benefit of her experience than Mrs. Miller. She will tell you exactly how she planned her campaign; how she got the best woman in each county for chairman and then passed on the responsibility and initiative for their local campaigns to them. She will show you the splendid form of daily report which kept her in accurate touch with every detail of her work, as it progressed. She can show you the records and explain the system of the women's clearing house of Allegheny County, where the women handled \$1,000,000 in checks and \$200,000 in currency without a single error. But there is one thing she does not know; and that is what that special power to organize really is which makes it possible for her to do all of this for the Liberty Loan, and at the same time to maintain a powerful state suffrage organization, bring up a family and manage a home successfully.

BUT Mrs. Jacob Baur, Vice-Chairman of the Chicago Liberty Loan Committee and Chairman of the Woman's Organization, knows. "Don't you remember," she asks, "what Herbert Spencer says:

"Organization is the ability to bring all available knowledge and all available energy to bear upon a particular problem at the precise time when needed."

That is it, of course, and it is perfectly simple when you know it. It is the possession of that quality which has made the women who are successful as Liberty Loan leaders the same ones who have been successful in any other woman's enterprise they undertook, not only in business, clubs, or suffrage, but as mothers and homemakers. All of these women were able to turn to the account of the Liberty Loan, at the exact moment when it was

needed, every ounce of energy, enthusiasm and ability in their district, whether that district was large or small. The special advantage of the Liberty Loan as a school for women workers

was that not only the states, but the counties and the townships had their local quotas, so it was proportionately just as important for the township leaders to organize their groups for success as for the state chairman; and every woman in command was eager to teach the woman just below her, and to learn from her, too.

Two women from a Southern county in Alabama came to Mrs. Solon Jacobs, the State Chairman, and said: "We cannot read or write, but there is a girl in our county who can, and we can work. Let us do our county together." Those women were organizers of the kind that are going to be much needed in the Fifth Liberty Loan.

The women in Indiana were organizers who worked up "Kitchen Conferences" in their Liberty Loan district with the aid of the Food Administration, sending two speakers to each conference, one to show the advantage of conservation, the other to show the advantage of investing the savings of conservation in Liberty Bonds. For the Fifth Liberty Loan there is an enormous opportunity to develop such conferences to include not only conservation but cooperation. The women who can organize to show what labor-saving devices and group service can save for the housekeeper and how that saving can bear interest if invested in Liberty Bonds will do something whose good effect may be carried far ahead into days of reconstruction.

The woman who raised \$9,000,000 through the sale of bonds by Chicago school-children and who carried on a successful Americanization campaign from the school to the home at the same time, was an organizer.

THE woman in a little suburb of Carnegie was an organizer who, given a quota much larger than the town thought it could raise, made out a list of every parcel of unimproved property in the town, found the owners (or the trustees, in the case of estates) and urged that since all of their property would share in the advantage of a successful outcome of the war all of it should support the war. She raised almost seven times the town's quota in that way and many other towns and counties have followed her to success.

Out in Wisconsin, where, as Florence Kelley once said, women always have more light and less heat on any given subject than most other women, they have, under the leadership of Mrs. John Mariner, formed a war organization that is already showing what it may mean to reconstruction days. The form of organization is so simple that every city in the country could copy it. It is called the Women's Ward Organization. The city of Milwaukee is divided into wards, each with a woman leader; each ward is divided into precincts, in the same way, and each precinct into blocks with 2157 block captains. Each block captain is responsible for war service in her territory, of any kind which she is called upon to perform and at the same time she is expected to mark out certain women in her group who are specially fitted by training or temperament for special work. In this way the same group of women who work for the Liberty Loans carry on the financial campaign for the Red Cross and are better able to do it than the most ardent and expert Red

Cross nurses could. In the child welfare campaign the women's ward organization weighed and measured 25,000 children.

In the Fourth Liberty Loan this Women's Ward Organization was put to a severe test. During the first week of the Loan they were given entire charge of the house-to-house distribution of literature and of the general public education through the homes. During the last week they were again given entire charge of a house-to-house canvass for the purpose of "cleaning up the district." The men's committee were so enthusiastic over the results of their cooperation that, in spite of an agreement under which the women were to get credit for 25 per cent of the county sales, they passed a resolution voluntarily offering them credit for 50 per cent.

"As man to man," I asked the Director of Publicity for Wisconsin, "and not for publication, did the women earn that 50 per cent?"

"Earn it," he said with unbounded enthusiasm, "every dollar of it, and with a patience, insight and endurance which men never could have had. And you can publish it all you like."

THERE never was a better illustration of the new meaning of the old phrase that "the home is woman's sphere." The home is a unit to a woman and, from her experience, she knows how much that home, singly and in union with other homes, is coming to mean in every movement—financial, social, educational or political. Organizing the service of the home for the nation, and organizing the service of the nation toward the making of better homes, that is the work of America's women in the days to come. And Milwaukee women know it. You cannot talk to one of them today about just the Liberty Loan. Before you have been on the subject two minutes she is talking of community service, or household cooperation, or ward relief, or suffrage, or almost anything else in the world that is interesting the minds of men today. She has organized her mind so that all of these things are one big related subject. To her the Liberty Loan is not only the money collected through the sale of bonds but the work that is done with that money. Her ward organization is not only a group for war work but the result of that work when it is put to the service of progress after the war.

And this is the feeling which the Liberty Loan campaigns have helped to create all over the country. More than any other special form of war work such a campaign gives every woman who wants it the chance to develop her "power to organize" according to her opportunity. The woman who has no time to spare but who organizes her own home so that it saves some money for the Fifth Liberty Loan does a thing that is well worth doing. But the woman who has time and energy to spare should write to her State Liberty Loan Committee, or to the National Woman's Liberty Loan Committee, at the Treasury Department, Washington, D. C., and ask to get into the ranks of those who are in action.

The Fifth Liberty Loan may be the last of the Loans. There is room for every progressive woman in the country in the ranks of its workers. There is need for every one. And above all, there is opportunity for everyone who hopes for a life after the war that shall be richer and fuller than what has passed.

What It Means

"IF the amendment fails in the Senate now it will mean that state Legislatures will be unable to ratify for two years, which will mean a long and unwarranted delay. It will mean that half of the adult population, and a half as important as the other half, will continue for an indefinite period in the class with criminals, insane persons and minors."—*Times*, Indianapolis, Ind.

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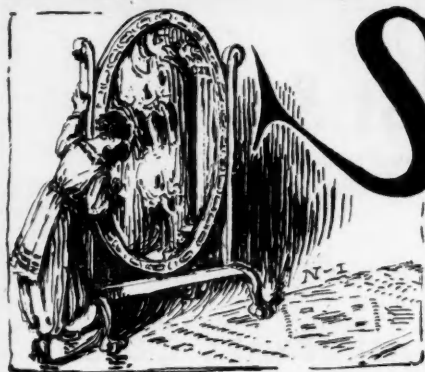
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HERE the Woman Citizen will present from time to time a survey of the plays and players of the American stage.

Tiger! Tiger!

TO the man devoted, with perhaps unconscious Eastern sensualism, to the idea of femininity retained in a condition of superlative innocence and ignorance, even the expurgated edition of "Tiger! Tiger!" which is still running to good houses at the Belasco, will bring disgust and annoyance. His concern, as he will magnanimously plead, will be not for himself and his outraged ideals, but for the "ladies present."

Yet it is to be questioned if women have not some reason to thank Mr. Knobloch (and, incidentally, Mr. Belasco) for this study in sex relations. Not only in what the playwright consciously presents, not only in what is written between the lines, but chiefly in the reflections which must arise from the motivation and the standards involved, has he furnished women with meditation.

It is not a problem play. The word "problem" implies the possibility of solution. The situation in "Tiger! Tiger!" is entirely fortuitous. It is not a matter to be regulated by changes in our educational system, or in law or economics, or by the enfranchising of women, or by their general admission to professions, or by widening or narrowing the scope of divorce laws. There remains, then, the question whether very many people enjoy having their sympathies excited and their emotions moved by a play which can claim only "art for art's sake" for its justification.

Your reviewer, from what she had already heard and read of the play, was prepared for merely an audaciously frank and realistic exposition of a propaganda that, for the last ten years, has been rife in our literature, our drama, our women's periodicals, our women's pages in the newspapers and our "heart-to-heart" talks with young girls, the terrible warning to women that if they do not make themselves "pleasing" to men they will not get husbands: the admonitions to wives to "hold" their husbands by the arts of the underworld rather than by the at-

Stage Reflections

IN particular we want to bring down to center the interpretations of woman and her ways, the ideals of womanhood as they are staged. We have an idea that there is room for a little genial exchange as to woman's point of view and men's on the subject.

tractions of character. It did not take her long to discover, however, that Mr. Knobloch had nothing so pragmatic in mind, but was engaged, with the joy of the artist, in delineating the tragedy which grows out of his recognition of certain facts.

BRIEFLY put, those facts are:

(a) We are, by the processes of our present educational and social systems, and by our ideals, endeavoring to put inhibitions upon the instincts of both men and women. This process, it is claimed, results, in the case of women, in a diminution of their natural attractiveness for the male, and in a passivity and coldness in their mental attitude toward the opposite sex which will be likely to cost them marriage and motherhood.

(b) The same inhibitions and prohibitions in their effects upon man incline him to forego his privilege of courtship and to become the lover of the woman who courts him—by the recognized devices of good society or of bad.

(c) There are left, in the primitive men and women, unaffected by these inhibitions and prohibitions of our complex social system, dynamic individualities which are likely to produce either great happiness or great unhappiness for themselves or for those who love them. They will not submit to the restrictions of law and social order. They leap all bounds. They revive the "great passions" of the earlier stages of our development; they disturb the normal conduct of life and are incapable of adjustment to our social system.

(d) The ideal marriage implies the perfect physical and mental union of the parties to it as well as their social coordination.

In the triangle produced by the fortuitous concourse of three individualities acting under these conditions, Mr. Knobloch has shown an infinite gain over his contemporary psychologists



MEANTIME, we shall not, we feel sure, make the mistake of taking ourselves too seriously as we hold this mirror up to the stage.

by repudiating all the traditions of stereotyped drama. Sally, the cook, the cave woman, is not a bad woman, not the heartless, mercenary, remorseless vampire who knows only how to sway the passions of men. She is just a sweet, kind-hearted, ignorant girl, made to worship a man and to cook his food and to nurse his babies, overwhelmed by the torrent of her own emotional capacity. Evelyn Greer, the girl whose birth, education and natural graces of heart and mind fit her to be the wife of Clive Couper, M. P., is not a haughty, purse-proud, unfeeling woman of the world who would crush poor Sally with her scorn and contempt. Couper is not the typical stage villain, or the stage weakling. He is merely a decent sort of fellow waiting for a girl to come along and court him. Evelyn, who should have done it, was too emotionally immature, too well educated and too well bred to do it. It remained for poor Sally, who was neither educated nor immature, and whose misfortunes had cleared her of the fear of punishment which keeps many women in order, to call out the "Tiger! Tiger!" which lurked within his nature.

THE author goes subtly into other phases of the affair. Sally, whose liaison with Couper threatens to cost him a career, and stands between him and a *mariage de convenance*, nevertheless is an incentive in his life to a fuller self-expression. She stops his drinking. She—not consciously—rouses him to effort. The tie between them, originally entered into by the man in the exercise of the masculine right to sex indulgence, grows to be more than a physical one. It does involve some spiritual element. Sally's refusal to accept money or help of any sort from her lover, the very lavishness with which she gives all and demands nothing, take the affair entirely out of the ordinary.

To ignorant young girls, and to unthinking older women, the danger of the sort of love scenes depicted would lie in giving a false impression of irregular life. It would suggest that

men treat their mistresses with the same delicacy, the same refinements of feeling, that they do their wives and sweethearts. There is a prevailing feminine supposition to the contrary. It is one encouraged by male relatives.

The "hole" in the fabric of Mr. Knobloch's philosophy comes in the third act when Couper says "Damn you" to Sally when she tells him she is going to end their affair and marry the man in her own sphere of life, who will give her a home and his children to love and care for. He fell back on the masculine prerogative to demand something for which he would not pay. In the eyes of his friends, his affair with Sally would cost him a career. He knew it cost him really nothing. He never once seemed to look upon himself as a man bound. But he looked upon Sally as bound—Sally, who had received neither the honors of the wife nor the evil gains of the courtesan, owed him a loyalty which he had never given and never would give to her. Her sacrifice—for she is, in reality, acting in accordance with the prayers of his best friend, who pointed out to her the harm she might do his public career—is rewarded with "Damn you."

No higher compliment has been paid to women by men playwrights than Mr. Knobloch pays in the fourth act when he lets the two women meet in the dismantled rooms of the dead man, and Evelyn, rising above the feminine jealousy and spitefulness which indicate women's lack of solidarity, delivers the dying messages of Couper to Sally. No cleaner or more tensely sad scene can be divined than that of Sally, left alone in the rooms which had witnessed the only joys she had ever known, which were fragrant with the memories of a great and unselfish love. The curtain leaves her to her mute anguish among the possessions which are the only remaining physical manifestations of his tastes and personality. It is not a ranting grief, but a patient, courageous sorrow quite characteristic of the girl whose life, in all but one phase, had been only repression.

And there you are! There is no moral, no particular solution, no quarrel with fate or society. It is quite up to date and yet a little bit Greek. And it is shocking or not, exactly as you choose to look at it.

M. H. F.

Three Wise Fools

"THREE WISE FOOLS" is one of those dramatic efforts which please because they abound in homely touches of human nature and are bristling with altruistic sentiment—one of those beloved triumphs of camouflage with which man deceives himself and revels in the contemplation of himself usurping the functions of Divine Providence. It is idealistic in conception, realistic in treatment.

True to life? It is indeed. Nothing could

be truer than it is in the characters of the three old bachelors—the three wise fools, relapsing into an orgy of sentiment over a young woman whose personality—as indicated by playwright and presentation—is most vividly expressed in tears, squirms, embraces and transparent skirts. It presents man in his idealized role—the adoring, sentimentally reminiscent, indulgent protector of (young) femininity. Its fidelity to a time-honored conception of feminine worth is as complete as its devotion to a time-honored masculine ideal. Of course we laugh with them and at them, those three old bachelors who are so human and really and truly such fools. Furthermore, it is that most satisfactory of all laughs—where the tears brim upon the smiles. Emotions—not tense, rending, but gentle wave-like successions of mirth and pathos—succeed one another for the two hours which the play lasts.

The play consists of a first and a third act of pure comedy—which is to say character study—interrupted by a second act of stereotyped melodrama which hinges, as most melodrama must, upon somebody's weakness of character. In this case, it happens to be the young woman's. Had Sidney Fairchild possessed either brains or the essentials of a fine womanliness, she would not have remained in the home of her protectors without acquainting them with the fact that her father was a convicted felon. All the beauties of bare shoulders, heaving bosom and dainty raiment ought not to obscure, and would not to women at least, the fact that Sidney Fairchild failed in the fundamentals of plain honor. But, had she not

done so, the author would have been out his second act, and the opportunity to exploit the great feminine virtue of emotional loyalty. For in the hour of stress Sidney does what is politically described as "straddling" the dilemma. She blows the police whistle to prevent the crime and pilots the criminal to safety. These acts, in conjunction with a mule-like obstinacy in refusing a confidence which common decency demands, give rise to the misconceptions which permit the further display of character study in the third act.

Claude Gillingwater in the role of Theodore Findley, the most crabbed and profane of the three bachelors, whose treatment and personal abuse of a self-respecting and elderly housekeeper, are calculated to make her means of earning her livelihood a hell to her, is, of course, the most sentimentally rejuvenated of the three. All the male parts are well taken, and—what is much more to the point—the management succeeded in harmonizing their physical make-up with their characterizations. The main defect is in the female part, which, weak in itself, is further weakened by Miss Menkin's deficiency of voice and lack of dramatic ability, as well as her orientalizing of the part. Sidney is not an American woman's ideal of woman.

"Three Wise Fools," having had a successful run in New York, will probably take to the road, if it is not already there. Whatever else it is, it is wholesome. By all means send the young people to it. It is absolutely hackneyed in its treatment of female character, but it sins more in omissions than in commissions.

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Of Rather Special Interest to Women

waitresses, laundresses, seamstresses, chemists, bacteriologists, or as representatives of the Red Cross or other organizations. The numbers in the individual camps have ranged from 4 or 5 to 2,365. The Commission, whose report on women camp workers was published just before peace was declared, urged the formation of an American W. A. A. C. S.

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GOVERNOR SMITH of New York has given great satisfaction to the women of the state in appointing Frances Perkins to the State Industrial Commission, and has shown good judgment in making his selection. Miss Perkins is a woman of brilliant capacity whose talents have long been specialized in the interests of labor conditions.

As State Industrial Commissioner, Miss Perkins, who in private life is Mrs. Paul Wilson, wife of a former secretary to the late Mayor Mitchel, will receive the same pay, \$8,000, as Lewis Nixon, the shipbuilder, appointed Superintendent of Public Works, and Charles F. Rattigan, Democratic leader of Cayuga, who has been made Superintendent of State Prisons.

There is, therefore, nothing niggardly in Governor Smith's recognition of the availability of the new woman voter as a public asset, and his action is being highly commended by women of all political faiths as reflecting great credit upon the Democratic party as well as himself.

THE Commission on Training Camp Activities reports that between October, 1917, and August, 1918, 10,363 prostitutes or inexperienced young girls fallen into temptation have been under the care of its section to protect women against moral dangers. By its activities "red light" districts near training camps have been done away with.

Its report on another type of women shows that in fifty-four military areas no less than 13,047 women were employed. They have been serving as cooks, clerks, librarians, telephone and telegraph operators, dietitians, nurses,

BASED largely upon standards adopted by the War Labor Policies Board for its war contracts the Women in Industry Service of the Federal Department of Labor recommends to state Legislatures a list of subjects for reconstruction legislation regulating women's work. In respect to hours, the Service urges an 8-hour day, 48-hour week, with three-quarters of an hour for meals, ten-minute rest periods, Saturday half holiday, one day's rest in seven, and no night work (10 p. m.—6 a. m.). With respect to wages, the two standards are: (1) wages should be established on the basis of occupation and not on the basis of sex. The minimum wage rate should cover the cost of living for dependents and not merely for the individual. (2) Women doing the same work as men should receive the same wages, with such proportionate increases as the men are receiving in the same industry. Slight changes made in the process or in the arrangement of work should not be regarded as justifying a lower wage for a woman than for a man, unless statistics of production show that the output for the job in question is less when women are employed than when men are employed. If a difference in output is demonstrated the difference in the wage rate should be based upon the difference in production for the job as a whole and not determined arbitrarily.

In respect to working conditions, the provisions recommended cover adequate washing facilities, with individual towels, separate toilets kept in a clean condition; general cleanliness in the workroom; restrooms; proper ventilating and lighting; drinking water, with individual

cups; the avoidance of continuous standing or sitting, with standardized seats adapted to the work, comfortable uniforms and caps, and very careful provisions against accident and fire.

In line with these provisions for comfort and health are the forbidding of tenement work and the following standards on which it is proposed that a forbidden list of occupations for women shall be based: (a) constant standing or other postures causing physical strain; (b) the repeated lifting of weights of 25 pounds or over or other abnormally fatiguing motions; (c) operation of mechanical devices requiring undue strength; (d) exposure to heat over 80 degrees; (e) exposure to dust, fumes, or other occupational poisons without adequate safeguards; (f) work with poisons, such as lead, which have been proved to be more injurious to women, and their posterity, than to men.

Special company workers charged with engaging workers and selecting those best fitted for the particular jobs supervising working conditions; a woman to look after the welfare of women employees, and shop committees for the adjustment of problems between employers and workers, are other recommendations of the service.

THE Fourteenth National Child Labor Conference held in New York was an after-the-war conference. It did not consider the child labor and school problems created by the war, but it laid down a national program for child protection, the faithful following out of which would gradually straighten out the war results in over-work for children, neglect of education and increased juvenile delinquency.

The three planks in this platform for child protection were Federal aid to elementary education, public measures for the protection of children's health and a Federal Child Labor Law.

To take the first step toward realization of the first plank, Dr. George D. Strayer, president of the National Education Association, urged the passage by Congress of the Hoke Smith Bill (Senate Bill No. 4987) which would provide \$100,000,000 annually of Federal money aid to the states for improving rural education, training teachers, combating illiteracy, promoting physical education and recreation, and Americanization, such aid to be in exactly the amount appropriated by the individual states.

The sentiment of the conference was that this Federal grant to education would, among other desirable results, help the movement for raising the legal working age to sixteen years.

The care of children's health by public agencies, from infancy to factory age and beyond, was the subject of the second session of the conference. Dr. Lydia A. De Vilbiss described the Kansas Child Hygiene Bureau; other speakers, the oversight of health by school authorities, and Mr. George A. Hall, of the New York Child Labor Commission and Mrs. Florence Kelley, the protection of the working child's health.

THE third plank for child protection was a Federal Child Labor Law. To prove that only by such a law can the nation give equal protection to all its children Miss Grace Abbott, of the Federal Children's Bureau, showed that the minimum standards set by the Federal Law recently declared unconstitutional "served not only as a protection to the children in those states which fail to provide even that minimum, but also made possible the enactment and enforcement of higher standards in states whose initiative has been checked by the competition of low standard states." The enforcement of this law also served to show how grossly neglected the working children of some states are. "During the nine months the Child Labor Law was in force," said Miss Abbott, "certificates of age were issued to 19,696 children between 14 and 16 years of age by officers of the Child Labor Division. Of this number 5,294 were unable to sign their names legibly. The American theory is that a normal child will have completed the eighth grade by the time he is fourteen years of age. Of the 18,521 white children to whom working certificates were issued by the Children's Bureau in the states of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia and Mississippi, only 744 had reached or passed the eighth grade; of the 1,174 colored children, only forty had attained that standard." The conference held that only a federal law is adequate to protect these children in states which have so low a standard of responsibility.

What She Resents

"THE American people are forward-looking in politics. This attitude very naturally results from our form of democratic representative government. Such a government opens wide the door of political opportunity to every class of citizenship. In a very large sense, each individual is the architect of his own fortune under conditions nowhere else so favorable. He may rise to the highest positions of influence, or he may go through life without influence. Whatsoever he purposes in his heart to be, is for him to limit."—Editorial, *Richmond Times-Dispatch*.

*It must be great to be a politician
For a wise and forward-looking guy.
For every voter knows
If his ambition grows,
The limit he can set for it's the sky.*

*We have been told that in this land of freedom
Any man can rise as he desires.
No one can say him nay
As he hikes along his way
To that goal to which his yearning soul aspires.*

*I certainly would dislike to be a woman
In a country that we say is democratic.
It must be rather boring
To watch the men a-soaring
While her condition must perforce be static.*

*It must be fierce to want to carve your fortune
Lying right before you big as life;
And then to have it said:
"Why, just go right ahead,
But you'll have to carve it, dear,* without the knife."*

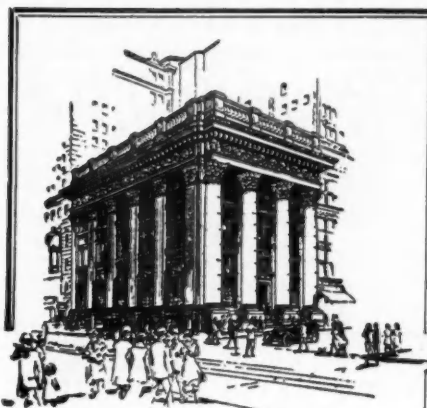
*THEN, too, you know the ladies want to
open
The door that leads to opportunity.
Of course the door is locked,
And yet when they have knocked
They're told: "Come in, but do not use the key."*

*They say this to the woman of ambition
(There's nothing, I am sure, could make ME
madder.)*

*"Why certainly aspire
To climb a little higher
Come up, my dear,* but do not use the ladder."*

*Now tell me, fellows, wouldn't you get wrathful,
And claim your bosses surely were the fools,*

* Note the kindly tone.—Ed.



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What Mrs. Fawcett Can Claim

THE papers of Great Britain are full of praise of the women voters at the December elections. Upon all occasions the opposition insisted that women were indifferent and did not want to vote and that if the franchise were granted they would not take the trouble to go to the polls.

Quite contrary to this prediction, the women turned out by the millions. The London Times which, like the New York Times, has not been able heretofore to see the wisdom in the woman suffrage movement, made the following comment:

"Whatever the motive which brought women to the polling booths, they demolished at one blow one of the stock arguments of the opponents of woman suffrage. . . . Mrs. Fawcett and other pioneers can fairly claim that the position they defended with such courage and conviction has been amply vindicated."

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Personal

MRS. BEATRICE FORBES-ROBERTSON HALE is to finish her work with the Food Administration, January 31, and start on a lecture tour of the East and Middle West which will last three months, under the management of William B. Feakins. At the end of April she will go to England to prepare lectures on "Reconstruction in England," "The Labor Movement in England," "Post War Conditions of Women in England." She will return in June and speak during the summer in Chautauquas.

TWO women occupied seats at the meeting of the Republican National Committee in Chicago last week. They were Mrs. Josephine Corliss Preston of Washington, who held the proxy of S. A. Perkins, National Committeeman from that state, and Miss Mary Garrett Hay of New York, who held the proxy of Herbert Parsons, National Committeeman from the Empire State. Nor were they figureheads, either, their counsel being sought all through the proceedings.

Mrs. Medill McCormick of Illinois, chairman of the Woman's Executive Committee of the Republican party, read a comprehensive report of plans for engaging the interest and employing the talents of women in the national affairs of the party.

Foremost among the formal proceedings of the meeting was a declaration in favor of the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

Illinois

(Continued from page 691)

an's Club, Ravenswood Woman's Club, Roseland Woman's Club, Rest Haven—Sarah Greenbaum Lodge No. 16, Rochelle Civic Council, Riverside Woman's Club, River Forest Woman's Club, Rock River Falls Woman's Club, Rogers Park Woman's Club, Social Service League of Jewish Women, Scanlan School Parent-Teachers' Association, Sixth Ward Civic League, Sanitary District—Public Affairs Committee, Social Workers—Women and Children in Industry Club, Seventh Ward Auxiliary, Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, Seventh Ward District, Federation Women's Clubs, Sycamore Woman's Club, Second District Illinois Federation Women's Clubs, The Elgin Woman's Club, The Woman's Club of Austin, Tuscola Woman's Club, Twenty-fourth Ward League, The Arche Club, The Woman's Club of Berwyn, The Mothers' Relief Association of Chicago, Twenty-sixth Ward Civic League, The Tuesday Club, Temple Judea Woman's Club, Teachers Club—Peoria, Chicago Teachers Federation, Tenth Congressional District Woman's Trade Union, United Railway Auxiliary Club, University of Chicago Settlement Workers, Universalist Church Woman's Club, Virden Woman's Club, Woman's Association of Commerce, Woman's Club of Harvey, Wicker Park Woman's Club, Windsor Park Woman's Club, Woodlawn, W. C. T. U., West Side W. C. T. U., Woman's Club of Libertyville, Woman's Club of the Allied Drug Trade, Woman's Club of Clyde, Winnetka Woman's Club, Woman's Culture Club, Woman's Protective Association, Woman's Church Federation of Oak Park, Woman's Club of Joliet, Woodstock Woman's Club, Women's Committee, State Council of Defense, Woman's Club of Wilmette, Woman's Club of Rock Island, Wilson, Mary Gaynor, Delegate at Large, Woman's Suburban Church Federation, Woman's Medical Club, Woman's Church Federation, West End Catholic League, Woman's Catholic League, Woman's City Club, Woman's Trade Union League, Woman's College Club, Woodlawn Study Club, Young Woman's Auxiliary of the Jewish Relief Society, Woman's Club of Moline, Woman's Department Club of Wheaton, Woman's Club of Hinsdale, Western Springs Woman's Club, W. C. T. U. of Cook County, Woodlawn Woman's Club.

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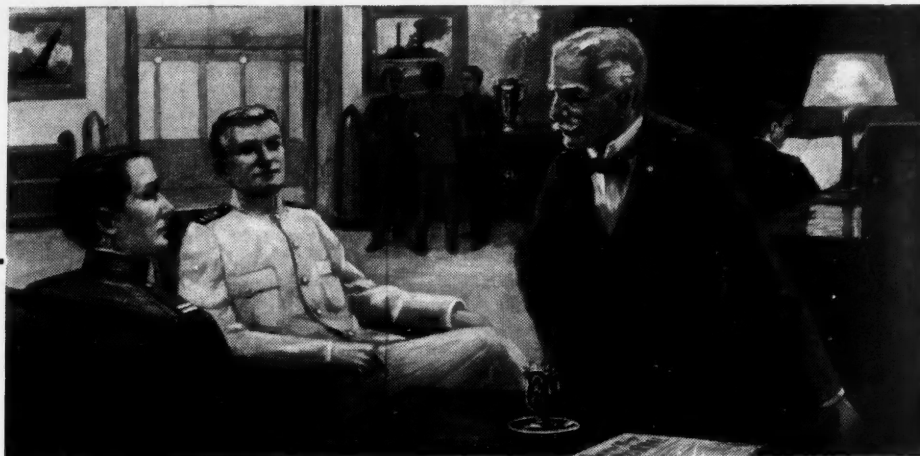
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The Men's side—then—The Women's side

See the issue of January 25 for the Men's side.



The Last Word About the War

And How Colonel Sibley Was Helped to Write It

SCENE: (Army and Navy Club, New York, where Commander Ellsworth, U. S. N., and Captain Trowbridge, U. S. A., are having a conference and an after-dinner cigar in the Club Library and are joined by Colonel Sibley, U. S. A., retired)

The Colonel: Well, comrades, I win!

The Commander: Been fighting again, Colonel? Who says you're retired?

Colonel: I was retired, but now I'm in action again or soon will be, and this time with the pen instead of the sword.

Captain: How's that?

Colonel (Drawing closer to the table and glancing around): Well, comrades, I don't mind telling you in confidence that I just signed up with the Editor-in-Chief of a big magazine (name censored for the present) to write a series of articles on the Great War.

Commander: Tell us about it.

Colonel: Well, it's going to be a long campaign. The Editor, whom I have just left, wants an extended series of articles, to begin with an exhaustive survey of the causes which led up to the War.

Captain: The causes? All of them? Well, you've sure got your work laid out for you.

Commander: I should say you had.

Colonel: The Editor feels that way

himself. He's now concerned chiefly about what has happened up-to-date and the authority upon which my statements will be based. The Editor's a big gun in the business, you know, and his rivals will be getting his range if he exposes himself. He wants to secure a strategic position so that he can't be successfully attacked on anything he prints.

Captain: Well, what did you suggest?

Colonel: I'll tell you. While he was talking I was thinking and I finally told him that what he wanted as a reserve-force was some late general reference work of recognized reliability that he could fall back on. "That's it," he said, and then asked: "Which one?"

Commander (Turning his head and glancing at a set of The New International Encyclopaedia in its special case): I'll bet I can tell which one you named.

Captain (Glancing at the set): Ours, of course.

Colonel: You're both good guessers. Of course I named The New

International and the Editor nodded his head and said: "That's the very work I had in mind, not only as an authority on the causes of the War and what has already happened, but when peace comes I hear the publishers are to bring the war-volume down to date at once and are to send it to all subscribers in exchange for the war-volume now in their possession so they'll know the last word about the conflict."

Commander: Well, that settled it, I suppose.

Colonel: Yes, I told the Editor that the selection of The New International as our authority simplified the problem and he added that it not only simplified the articles, but solidified them and made them so authoritative that he would be able to follow out with safety his plan to publish the series of articles in book form.

W.C.
914

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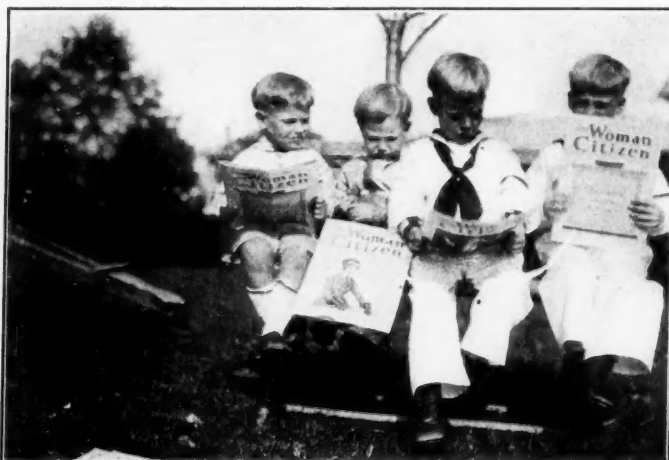
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Founded June 2, 1917

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Vol. III, January 25, 1919. No. 35

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See Page Seven Hundred and
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"WHEEL OF PROGRESS"

The Woman Citizen

The Woman's National Political Weekly

NEW STYLE VOL. III

JANUARY 25, 1919

NUMBER 35

"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

What Happened In New Hampshire?

(Second Flash: The First Flash Appeared Last Week.)

THE inexplicable change of front of the New Hampshire Senate with regard to a resolution endorsing the Federal Suffrage Amendment has set that state agog.

A few straws which indicate the way the wind blew have been noted. It seems rather clear that Mr. Moses thought himself quite safe when he demanded a resolution. He was shocked when he received a petition signed by more than two-thirds of the Legislature and wriggled out from under by declaring that a petition wouldn't do; a resolution he must have. Then he went to New Hampshire and apparently requested his special friends to save him from the responsibility of his own proposal. He was shocked again when the House stood by its sentiments and passed the resolution by a majority of 74. Something desperate had to be done. Something desperate was done.

Some of the things which probably had some effect: (1) One Senator reported that he would vote against because Senator Lodge wanted him to; (2) A letter was printed in the press signed by Senator Wadsworth and Senator Dillingham protesting against the right of the National Republican Committee to speak for Republicans in the matter of the Federal Suffrage Amendment; (3) A wire is reported to have been received by other New Hampshire Senators of the same import signed by Senators Lodge and Weeks, and (4) On Monday morning three men, namely, Merrill Shurtleff of Lancaster, alleged to be the personal representative of Senator John W. Weeks and reported to be the best lobbyist in the state, assisted by Burns P. Hodgman, clerk of the District Court, and John Brown, of Governor's Council, appeared

and by some mysterious process these mighty three persuaded men to repudiate honorable pledges and vote the other way.

What did they say? What did they do? The noble defense set up by the gentlemen is thus described in the *Manchester Union*, Saturday, January 18:

"A group of Senators explained to the *Union-Leader's* legislative representative that their agreements to support the Moses suffrage resolution were made before the House voted on the subject at all. They readily agreed to it in the full belief that it would be killed in the House of Representatives. When the House passed it and actually put it up to the Senate, an entirely different situation confronted them, and they resent the charge of "shifting" their votes. * * * When pledges were being secured by the suffragists, the Senators had reason to feel, they claim, from conversations with the House leaders, that the resolution would die in the House. It is also alleged that Senator Moses had no idea the resolution would get as far as it did at the time he agreed to be guided in his action by the sentiment of the state as expressed by the vote of the two Houses on a concurrent resolution. * * * As one Senator said today, "You can't depend on this House of Representatives; it is liable to do most anything."

Jubilee Suffrage Convention

FIFTY years of organized struggle for votes for women! Fifty years since Wyoming led the world in enfranchising women!

The National American Woman Suffrage Association will hold its fiftieth annual convention in St. Louis during the entire week of April 21-26.

The convention will be noteworthy as the celebration of fifty years of active and continuous work on the part of the organization for suffrage both by state referenda and Federal amendment. It will be, as well, the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary since the first commonwealth of the world, Wyoming, granted suffrage to women.

The Convention Call, which will be issued shortly, will feature an invitation to the women voters of every suffrage state in the Union to attend for the purpose of discussing the possibility of concerting action by all the women voters of the United States and of the world, to the end that more satisfactory legislation for women and children, and for the general welfare of society, may be secured, not only in this country, but in all the countries of the world.

It is clear from the evidence that Mr. Moses conspired to prevent the Senate from passing the resolution instructing him to vote YES on the Federal Suffrage Amendment. It is equally clear that Senators Lodge, Wadsworth, and Weeks threw down the gauntlet to the majority of the Republicans in the United States House of Representatives, the United States Senate, the New Hampshire State House of Representatives and the National Republican Committee by taking

a vigorous hand in the campaign to reverse the attitude of the New Hampshire Senators.

But these items do not account for the change of two Democrats who had signed the petition and voted NO. What else happened?

Whatever it was, it is clear that the New Hampshire Senate received a visitation from that menace of American politics, "invisible government," and that some men yielded to its influence.

Further news from New Hampshire is awaited with fairly vivid interest.

Full and Amended Report on Vote in New Hampshire Senate

LAST week, owing to a misunderstanding of our wire to New Hampshire, there were included in the list of men who signed the petition and yet voted against the resolution, the names of some who had made their commitments in favor of the resolution in other ways than by signature to the petition. Notable among these was the name of George H. Eames, mayor of Keene, whose case is fully analyzed further on. Full report on New Hampshire follows:

Signed Petition and Voted Yes

Daniel J. Daley, Democrat, Berlin; Fred H. Perry, Republican, Charlestown; Herbert B. Fischer, Republican, Pittsfield; John J. Donahue, Republican, Manchester; Richard H. Horan, Democrat, Manchester.

Did Not Sign Petition, But Voted Yes

George W. Barnes, Republican, Lynne.

Signed Petition and Absent

Frank N. Keyser, Republican, Haverhill (illness of wife); John L. Meader, Republican, Rochester.

Signed Petition and Voted No

Joseph P. Boucher, Republican, Northumberland; Benjamin G. Hall, Republican, Marlborough; George L. Sadler, Republican, Nashua; William T. Sullivan, Democrat, Nashua; Gideon Lari-viere, Democrat, Manchester; Alvah T. Ramsdell, Republican, Dover; Oliver B. Marvin, Democrat, Newcastle.

Signed Petition, Also Gave Pledge to Woman Interviewer or Member of Legislature and Yet Voted No

Joseph P. Boucher, William T. Sullivan, Alvah T. Ramsdell.

Did Not Sign Petition and Voted No

George A. Blanchard, Republican, Moultonborough; Burt S. Dearborn, Republican, Laconia; Clarence M. Woodbury, Republican, Manchester; Benjamin T. Bartlett, Republican, Derry; James A. Tufts, Republican, Exeter.

Exceptions

Arthur P. Morrill, Concord, President of Senate, signed petition and would have voted YES had it been possible to complete a majority.

Guy H. Hubbard, Republican, Boscorwen, signed petition and after visit from Mr. Moses asked to have name removed from list. Voted NO on resolution.

George H. Eames, Keene, did not sign petition, but promised the interviewer to write a personal letter to Mr. Moses asking him to vote YES on federal suffrage amendment. Two members of Senate reported after interview that he said he would vote for resolution. He voted NO.

Andrew J. Hook, Republican, Warner, did not sign petition and was only interviewed after the resolution had passed the House. He said he would vote for it if a majority of the Republican Town Committeemen in his district would sign a petition asking him to do so. There was but a single day in which to cover ten towns, but it was done and a petition signed by 95 such committeemen, (all but three in his district) was secured. Most of these were presented to him Tuesday morning, with the information that the remainder would arrive in the afternoon. He declared himself perfectly satisfied with the result. He voted NO.

Summary

TOTALS: Voted YES on Resolution Republicans
Democrats
Voted NO Republicans
Democrats
Absent Republicans
The President not voting Republican

Signed Petition and Voted YES Republicans
Democrats

Did not Sign Petition but Voted

YES Republican

Signed Petition and Absent Republicans

Signed Petition and Voted NO Republicans

Democrats

Did not Sign Petition and Voted

NO Republicans

Exceptions to general classification,

as per report

DEMOCRATS—

YES 2

NO 3

REPUBLICANS—

Republicans absent 2

YES 4

NO 12

The President not voting 1

Some Roosevelt Reminiscences

THEODORE ROOSEVELT'S recent work for equal suffrage is still fresh in remembrance. The older suffragists like to recall also the help that he gave us in the early days, when friends were comparatively few.

Roosevelt both spoke and voted for woman suffrage when a member of the New York Legislature. He recommended it in his inaugural message to the Legislature when he became Governor. He was the first Governor of New York to take such action, and the innovation made a great stir. Reporters flocked about the daring young Governor to ask his reasons. According to the press reports, he gave them two. He said that many women had a very hard time, working women especially, and that if the ballot would help them, even a little, he was willing to see it tried. He added that his home town of Oyster Bay had long been badly in want of a new school house, but the friends of education had never been able to get the town to vote the needed appropriation till the women were given a vote upon such questions. Then the mothers voted the appropriation for the new school house at once.

ROOSEVELT was a sturdy upholder of an equal standard of morals for men and women. He reminded parents that it was their duty "to bring up their children clean in life, clean in thought, their sons as well as their daughters; to inculcate courage in their daughters as well as in their sons."

As Police Commissioner of New York he ordered the police to arrest the men as well as the women when they raided disorderly houses, an order that caused great consternation. It had been the custom to arrest the women and let the men go.

In 1901, Maurice Gregory of London visited this country, as a delegate from the European societies for the abolition of the State regulation of vice. He had an interview with President

Roosevelt, presented him with a set of resolutions and a copy of Mrs. Josephine E. Butler's "Reminiscences of a Great Crusade," and spoke of the injustice of putting the whole penalty on the woman. President Roosevelt answered:

"I called attention to this phase in a message as Governor of New York, insisting that men must be held equally guilty with women. It is the only fair way. I told the police in New York when they made raids to arrest the men as well as the women. Indeed, I would rather hold the men and let the women go. It is mean and detestable to strike at the woman and let the man alone." (*Woman's Journal*, Nov. 2, 1901.)

OF the State regulation of vice, Roosevelt said in a letter published in *The Philanthropist*:

"At one time I used to acquiesce when people said that the evil should be licensed for the purpose of controlling it. Since you called my attention to the results in Paris and Belgium, I have made some inquiries, and I cannot sufficiently express my horror of the system." (Quoted in *Woman's Journal*, May 25, 1901.)

During his presidency an order was sent out to the War Department, telling the officers to instruct their men on the dangers of vice to health and efficiency, and emphasizing the importance of their setting a good example. "Officers should do all in their power to encourage healthy exercise and physical recreation, as well as to supply opportunities for cleanly social and interesting mental occupations," said the order.

Again and again Roosevelt urged that mothers must be wise and strong, as well as tender. He rejoiced in Mary E. Wilkins's "The Revolt of Mother," and in that delightful equal rights satire "Sally Ann's Experience," by Eliza Calvert Hall.

To the New York Assembly of Mothers, he said:

"I believe the mother, to be a sincere mother, must be more than a cross between the head nurse and the housekeeper. She must have an interest in outside things, to keep her own self respect, and when she loses that she loses the respect of her children."

There was a proposal in 1899 to retrench expenses by cutting down the school teachers' pay. Roosevelt, who was then Governor, notified the Legislature that he would veto any bill which reduced the teachers' salaries by a dollar.

A. S. B.

For Your Information

TIME was when German women turned their eyes toward America with envy of the American woman's superior political status. Not all American women were enfranchised, but some of them were, a few million in the West. That was back in pre-war days. Sunday between twenty and twenty-one million German women cast their first ballots as fully enfranchised citizens. If all the fully enfranchised women in America had voted Sunday about seven million suffrages would have been cast. Yet there are in the United States of America some twenty-seven million women over voting age. Between the twenty million and the suffrage stands a bulwark of reactionarism which makes a German junker look like the dawn of progress. German junkerdom is down and out, but the United States Senate minority is still with us.

"BABUSHKA," Mme. Breshkovsky, who arrived in this country a few days ago, left Seattle for Chicago on Tuesday. The *Woman Citizen* is besieged with inquiries as to her plans, but beyond the fact that her itinerary includes an early trip to Boston, we are unable to give details of her itinerary or plans.

Open Letter to Chairman Will H. Hays

NEW YORK, January 20, 1919.

MR. WILL H. HAYS, Chairman National Republican Committee, 923 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR:

WE note with interest that you are being publicly asked why you pledge the Republican Party to the Federal Suffrage Amendment. We note, too, that this question comes from an anomalous organization that threatens you with the voting strength of its effort to get itself deprived of the vote, a "Voters' Anti-Voting party"!

As the Republican Party pledged itself to the Federal Suffrage Amendment by vote of the National Republican Committee, the question as addressed to you and as impugning your authority in pledging the party to the amendment is irrelevant, and the task of answering it may as well devolve on us as on you.

While we hold no brief for the Republican Party or the Democratic Party as such, the answer is that the Republican Party, like every other political party, must keep abreast of the times, no matter what group within it, under no matter what device, seeks to stamp it with the reactionarism of a dead and gone day. If those who are opposing woman suffrage today had lived one hundred years ago, history would have found them arrayed in opposition to extending the suffrage to the unpropertied classes. Seventy-five years ago exponents of the same grade of progress were opposing education for women. Forty years ago they were opposing woman's right to enter the gainful occupations. Any political party today, whatever reactionary elements it may harbor, and both Republican and Democratic parties harbor reactionary elements, must take cognizance of woman suffrage as an inevitable step in the world's progress.

You, sir, being of progressive mind, are able to recognize at a glance the inherent right and justice of woman suffrage, and the urgent reasons for its endorsement by the Republican Party, for the sake of both principle and expediency, but as you may not be as familiar as we are with the world-wide facts that sustain the case, may we point out here that in its stand for the Federal Suffrage Amendment the Republican Party is but keeping up with the spirit of liberation manifest today even in the monarchical countries of Europe. Already the women of fifteen foreign countries are in the enfranchised class, while Holland's women are likewise reported to be on the eve of enfranchisement.

In this country the women of Wyoming, Colorado, Idaho, Utah, Washington, California, Arizona, Kansas, Oregon, Alaska, Montana, Nevada, New York, Michigan, South Dakota, Oklahoma are voting on equal footing with men; the women of Illinois, North Dakota, Nebraska and Rhode Island have been given presidential suffrage, and the women of Texas and Arkansas are possessed of primary suffrage, so that the women of twenty-one states of the Union, at least, will vote for the next President. The total number of women over voting age in these states is approximately 11,000,000, about 40 per cent of the total number of women over voting age in the entire country. As in none of the full suffrage states has the will of the people ever found expression in a repeal of a woman suffrage measure, we believe it self-evident that in this great body of voters the Republican Party may safely overlook the rare and anomalous voter who wants its help in getting himself or herself forcibly prevented from voting.

THE NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

The Sad Plight of the Antis

"MANY PEOPLE HAVE BEEN WAITING WITH GREAT INTEREST FOR MRS. CATT'S REPLY TO THE CABLEGRAM INSPIRED BY FRAU SCHWIMMER AND SENT BY A GROUP OF GERMAN FEMINIST SOCIALISTS ASKING HER TO GET AMERICAN WOMEN TO COME TO GERMANY'S AID."

The above quotation is from the official organ of the anti-suffragists, headed by Mrs. James W. Wadsworth. There was no more ground for the above statement than for others which anti-suffragists circulate to the detriment of the woman's cause. But in this case it has been rather particularly easy to get a particular refutation.

The correspondence below is self-explanatory:
New York, December 27, 1918.

Bureau of Censors,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sirs:

Some weeks since the press announced that a cable had been sent by German women to Miss Jane Addams to ask her to intercede with President Wilson in behalf of peace. In some of the press reports it was said that such a cable had been sent also to me. I have never received any such message, and I am writing to ask if you have any record of its receipt. Anti-suffragists, meantime, seem to have profited sufficiently by some private line of connection to put forth repeatedly the statement that such a message was sent to me. I am at a grave loss to understand on what source they could draw for the authority to make the statement, and I shall be greatly obliged if your office can throw any light on the situation.

Yours very truly,

(Signed) CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT,
President of the National American Woman
Suffrage Association.

EXECUTIVE DIVISION
MILITARY INTELLIGENCE BRANCH
In replying refer to

M. I. D. 10-1

WAR DEPARTMENT
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF
WASHINGTON.

January 10, 1919.

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt,
American Woman Suffrage Association,
171 Madison Avenue, New York City, N.Y.

Dear Mrs. Catt:

Your letter of December 27, 1918, to the "Bureau of Censors" was forwarded to this office for answer.

In reply we have to say that a thorough search of its records by the Bureau of Naval Communications discloses no record of any message from the German women to you, and no one has any recollection of such a message.

The message from the German women to Miss Jane Addams was sent by wireless from the Nauener Radio Station in Germany, and your name was doubtless involved through someone's carelessness. There is evidently no foundation for the statement.

Yours very truly,

JOHN M. DUNN,
Colonel, General Staff,
Acting Director of Military Intelligence,

By:

Rupert Hughes
Rupert Hughes,
Major, U.S.A.

"STAND UP!"

"YOU
WEAK-
KNEED
JELLY-
FISH!"



NOW that you have read the correspondence, ask yourself what is the animus that can inspire so constant an effort to belittle and malign women in particular and in general, for it is not only the personal attack in which anti-suffragists indulge; the generalization that belittles women is likewise snatched up and made much of.

In the same number of their official organ as that from which the above quotation comes, there appears, by way of illustration, a reprint from a Boston paper in which a man sets forth an opinion adverse to the woman bank worker. It is just a private valuation of woman as an economic factor and it is unfavorable to her. The opinion may or may not be well based. Woman suffrage is in no way involved. The point is that if the opinion had not been adverse, if it had acknowledged the woman worker's capacity to serve in gainful occupations, it would not have been reprinted by the antis. Nothing beyond the haremlike or Prussianesque ideal of womanhood! Nothing that lifts woman out of subordination to man as the governing agent of life.

What manner of persons are these who thus stand forth so vitally afraid of woman and her works in the governing of state and nation? Why this insistent and almighty fear that leads even unto the circulating of false testimony in the effort to "keep women out of politics"? What affiliations, what connections are likely to be menaced by woman's entrance into the political arena as a responsible factor in government?

If you have an answer, let us have it.

THE Woman Citizen

EDITORIAL OFFICES

171 Madison Avenue, New York

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

ALICE STONE BLACKWELL
CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

ROSE YOUNG

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

MARY OGDEN WHITE MARY SUMNER BOYD
ROSE LAWLESS GEYER MARJORIE SHULER

Convictions and

NEW YORK STATE has joined the insistent chorus of 1919 state Legislatures that are recording convictions in favor of the passage of the Federal Amendment by the present Congress. The Graves-McNab resolution, which calls upon the United States Senators from New York to "do everything in their power to secure the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment in Congress," was passed unanimously by the Assembly on January 15. The same resolution, with only two dissenting votes—those of Senator Henry M. Sage of Albany and Senator John Knight, both representing Senator James W. Wadsworth's home district, and both Republicans—was passed by the Senate the day previous.

In speaking to the question, Senator Walker said: "The resolution might prove a convenience to Senator Wadsworth in prompting him to vote for suffrage now on the ground that he has heard 'from the folks at home.'"

During the discussion in the Senate Senator Black asserted: "People are losing their respect for executive bodies because men like the senior Senator from New York stand for their personal principles rather than the thoughts of their people."

Mrs. Ida B. Sammis, Republican, made the only speech on the resolution in the Assembly.

The full text of the resolution follows:

WHEREAS, The Woman Suffrage Amendment has long been pending before the United States Senate, and

Whereas, This Amendment has been passed by the House of Representatives, and

Whereas, By an overwhelming majority, the citizens of New York state have enfranchised New York state women, and

Whereas, The women of the United States have rendered devoted and patriotic service during the trying period of the war, and

Whereas, The great governmental, industrial and social program before this country is of the deepest interest to women citizens as well as to men; therefore be it

Resolved, That we urge the two United States Senators from New York state to do everything in their power to push for the passage of the Federal Amendment in the Senate, and

WADSWORTH IN PACKER EXPOSE

**Heney Says Senator Wrote
Swift, Introducing Lawyer
and Saying He May Want
Some Advice.**

By JUDSON C. WELLIVER.
(Staff Correspondent of The Globe. Copyright, 1919, by J. C. Welliver.)

WASHINGTON, Jan. 16.—Senator Wadsworth of New York came into the Heney story about the packers today as one of the men in Washington on whom they relied for information. Mr. Heney read a letter written by Henry Veeder, attorney for Swift & Co., from Washington to L. F. Swift. Veeder was in Washington to get defeated the Borland resolution for investigation of the packers. He wrote to Mr. Swift that he had seen Senator Wadsworth, Mr. Mann, and the chairman of the Federal Trade Committee and learned that the Borland resolution "would not be taken up at this session"; also, that if an investigation by the Federal Trade Committee were ordered it would be conducted by the commission's own examiners, without publicity or public hearings and without examination and cross-examination of witnesses. This was one of the plans the packers particularly wanted adopted.

Later in the sitting, Senator Wadsworth, recurring to this letter, said that "it may be neither important nor interesting, but I would like to say that I was not in the confidence of either Mr. Mann or Mr. Hurley, and Mr. Veeder got no such information from me."

At this point Mr. Heney, addressing himself to Mr. Wadsworth, said: "Oh, senator, there's another letter here, which I will read into the record later; I can't put my hand on it at the moment. It is to yourself from Louis F. Swift, introducing Mr. McManus (one of the Swift lawyers) and saying he may want some information and advice from you."

Wadsworth's Memory Refreshed.

"Yes, I believe I do recollect being called on by Mr. McManus," said Senator Wadsworth.

(Facsimile from the New York Evening Globe.)

His Convictions

"Senator Calder, who voted for the woman suffrage amendment when the test vote was last taken in the Senate on October 1 last, said tonight:

"I bow to the will of the state Legislature and will vote for the amendment when it comes up again just as I voted for it before."

Senator Wadsworth, who has been a staunch opponent of woman suffrage, and whose wife is a very active worker in the National Anti-Suffrage organization, said tonight that he would not change his vote.

"I have the greatest respect for the Legislature of the state of New York," said Senator Wadsworth, "but my vote against the amendment last October represented my convictions and I cannot surrender my convictions in this matter."—N. Y. Times, January 16, 1919.

Non-Convictions

We, furthermore, express our earnest hope that the United States Senate, as a body, will give the two-thirds vote necessary to pass the Federal Amendment on for ratification to the various state Legislatures at once.

SOUTH DAKOTA lost no time in joining Michigan and Colorado in the ranks of the states whose Legislatures are memorializing the United States Senate to urge the passage of the Amendment.

It took the Washington state Legislature just five minutes on January 14 to pass its resolution calling upon the Senate for immediate favorable action. A telegram to Mrs. Catt from Mrs. Emma Smith De Voe reads:

"The memorial passed both Houses of the Washington Legislature today. Senator Ralph Metcalf, Tacoma, and Representative Mrs. Frances Haskell, of Tacoma, secured its passage in less than five minutes. Thus Washington state speaks with no uncertain sound after an experience with woman suffrage for more than nine years."

Arizona, Wyoming, Illinois, Nevada, Idaho and Missouri are other states whose Legislatures are scheduled to pass memorials urging the Senate to place the United States among the progressive nations. The following message comes from Miss Julia George:

"Today (January 14) California Senate adopted joint resolution urging United States Senate to pass at once Federal Suffrage Amendment that it may be submitted to the Legislatures of various states before next Presidential election. Also, adoption of Mrs. Dorris's resolution urging favorable action in Congress was recommended by the Assembly Committee on Federal Relations."

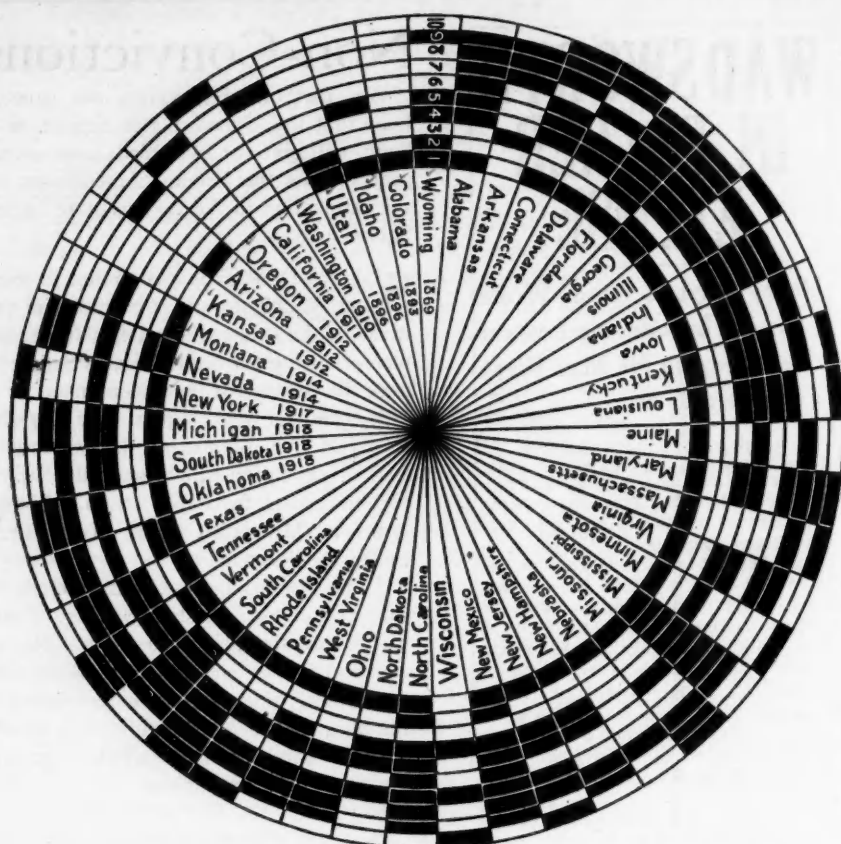
On January 16 the resolution was adopted by California's Lower House.

Indiana's Legislature took absolutely unprecedented action at its opening session when it passed an endorsing resolution, in joint session, with only one dissenting vote.

The Nebraska Legislature has likewise passed a strong memorial, requesting Senator G. M. Hitchcock to vote in favor of the amendment.

North Dakota, Utah, Kansas, Oregon, Montana, Wisconsin and Arkansas are eight other states whose Legislatures have called on the United States Senate to pass the amendment.

Before this is read there will be still others.



THE WOMAN CITIZEN'S WHEEL OF PROGRESS

(Mrs. J. C. Holman, of St. Paul, originated this wheel)

White Spaces Indicate Good Legislation, Black Spaces Poor or No Legislation. Full Suffrage States Are Shown in the Order in Which They Won Suffrage

Circle 1 Industrial Welfare Commission to regulate hours, wages and working conditions of women and children.

2 Child Labor—14 year limit. Guarded exemptions during vacations are allowed and poverty exemptions, when these are neutralized by Mothers' Pensions laws.

Circle 3 Compulsory education—State wide.
4 Eight- or nine-hour day for women.
5 Minimum wage.
6 Mothers' pensions.
7 Equal guardianship.
8 Age of consent, 18 years—chaste or unchaste.
9 Red light abatement.
10 Prohibition.

THIS summary of the legislation for 1918 will be followed by monthly articles, giving the standard or model laws in each of the ten circles of the diagram, followed by an eleventh model for married women's property rights laws.

ALMOST a dozen white spots on the "wheel" is the creditable grist of social legislation from twenty Legislatures, all of them primarily interested in war emergencies and many of them in special war session.

Virginia has passed a mother's pension law and a state-wide compulsory education law. The standard of the latter is not high, but this state has taken the first steps toward amending its constitution to permit of a better law.

The concentration of men in camps has thrown an X-ray on commercialized vice and has speeded up the prohibition movement. There has been war legislation on prostitution and drink around camps in many states. Besides this, by referendum vote, the four states of Wyoming, Nevada, Ohio and Florida have

adopted state-wide prohibition.

In Texas a prohibition statute has passed. This has been declared unconstitutional by a lower court, but Texas will still be classed in the dry column until the case has been decided in the highest court.

Though this has no place on the schedule, it may be said also that five of the fifteen Legislatures which in 1918 ratified the Federal Prohibition Amendment were in states still wet; this indicates an even wider extension of prohibition sentiment throughout the country than is recorded in the white spaces on our schedule.

Four states have been added to the number having Red Light Abatement laws. These are Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina.

Among the states which have not yet satisfied the demands of one or another of our circles, but which are making progress, is Maryland, which might possibly make claim for a white place in the Red Light circle. Its law contains, however, the provision that it is to be in effect only for the period of the war and two years thereafter, and is in reality of a piece with the legislation for protection of camps during the period of the war.

Georgia has apparently done its sorry best in raising the age of consent from ten to fourteen years. This is after sixteen years' work; perhaps another sixteen will raise it to the standard. Texas has raised the age of consent for chaste girls to eighteen, but left for the child called "unchaste" the old limit.

Mississippi has adopted a compulsory school law, which the counties are permitted to adopt by local option, but she intends apparently to go farther, for she is taking a census of her educable children.

Many states have shown the effect of the strong public protest against attacks on the labor laws early in the war by strengthening or extending their woman and child labor and compulsory school laws. Only one made an attack on labor legislation. This was Maryland, which provided for the exemption of mentally retarded children over fourteen years old from certain requirements of the law.

Immediately after the Federal Child Labor Law was passed, several southern states raised their standards to those of the Federal law. Though the latter law has been declared unconstitutional, no southern state in session this year has lowered its standard.

Louisiana, a state which still stands "black" in its legislation for women workers, has this year appointed a commission to study the labor of women and children, with a view to maximum hour and minimum wage laws.

Juvenile delinquency, a problem increased by war, has been a subject for legislation in Louisiana and in other states.

Laws Every Woman Should Know

UNDER the law of the United States a loyal American woman who marries an alien enemy becomes herself an alien enemy, while a woman enemy alien who marries an American becomes herself a loyal American. By allowing the woman no choice of allegiance this law works injustice both to her and to the country.

Under the jury law a woman is not *homo*, a human being, *propter defectum sexus*. The woman suffrage states are as quickly as possible remedying this "defect of sex" by special legislation, making a woman a human being in the sense of the jury law.

In Virginia and Georgia the state universities are closed to women, though they are paid for

(Continued on page 711)

Attorneys Favor Women Jurors

A BILL to enable women to serve on juries which has been under discussion for some time by the Brooklyn Women's Bar Association has elicited comment from the district attorneys of several counties of the state.

Denis O'Leary, District Attorney of Queens County, says:

"In my estimation this should be done at once. Women are today citizens with the same rights of franchise as men. There should be no distinction in their rights of responsibilities. I know of no good reason why women should not be jurors, and I favor the passage of legislation to enable them to act in that capacity."

HAMILTON J. HEWITT, District Attorney of Delhi, says:

"In view of the fact that women have been granted the right of franchise in this state I believe it is their duty as well as privilege to act as jurors the same as men. I doubt, however, the necessity of increasing the number of jurors in country districts, as litigation has decreased materially therein in the last few years."

WILLIAM H. MUNSON, District Attorney of Orleans County, says:

"I believe the jury system as it exists now often leads to injustice and results in a great number of cases in mistrials. I believe the average woman to be just as competent to determine the rights of litigants and decide questions of fact upon the evidence as men are, and I am firm in the belief that women would be less susceptible to outside influence. Personally, I have had one or two instances where I believe the verdict of the jury was influenced by something other than evidence, and I am confident had women been acting as jurors no such result would have occurred."

GUY B. MOORE, District Attorney of Erie County, says:

"Full citizenship, including the right to vote, having been granted to the women of the state, I have been surprised that a movement of this character has not already been inaugurated. So far as Erie County is concerned, I cannot say that there is a necessity for such a proposition because we now have a large jury list, but so far as the desirability is concerned I think it would be an act in the public interest, not only in this county but in the state at large. Complete confidence in our judicial system is essential for any free government. It is not necessary for me to say that one of the most essential parts of the judicial machinery consists of jurors whose duty it is to determine questions of fact in the trial of lawsuits. I feel sure that were women qualified to act as jurors that they would bring to the discharge

of that duty common sense and a desire for truth and wholesomeness that could not help but elevate the character of our jurors, and the result of that would be more satisfactory verdicts rendered by juries, and consequently an increase in the confidence that the people in general would have in our judicial proceedings. For these reasons I believe the bill to be a very desirable one and trust that it will be placed upon the statute books of this state."

THE desirability of women on the jury panels of the state was placed before the Brooklyn Women's Bar Association by its president, Miss Amy Wren, some time ago, and as a consequence a committee composed of Mrs. Jeannette Brill, Mrs. Ida Schleider and Miss Helen McCormick, was appointed to draft a bill. In order to test the reception of such a measure by the division of the judiciary which would be most affected, Miss McCormick, chairman of the committee, communicated with the several district attorneys of the state whose opinions are quoted. This proposed bill, having a provision to make service of women elective and not mandatory, will not meet the opposition which a bill to enable women to serve as jurors met in the last Legislature, that bill making it obligatory for women to serve under exactly the same rules and requirements as men.

A bill of dubious legal merit has already been introduced in the Assembly which would allow women to sit on trial juries in the municipal courts.

Federal Suffrage for Swiss Women

SWISS women have their eyes fronted west and are watching with interest the growth of suffrage in the sister republic of the United States, because its progress is analogous to their own—"Much more than theirs is analogous to that of the other European countries," says Madame Goud, Editor of the *Mouvement-Feministe*, published in Geneva.

Fifty years ago the Swiss women began their agitation for political and civic equality with men. "At last," writes Madame Goud to the *Woman Citizen*, "we rejoice in the fact that for the first time in Switzerland, the question of votes for woman has been placed on the Federal basis. Before this it has always been discussed only from the cantonal standpoint (our cantons here might be said to correspond to your states)."

The Swiss women are therefore struggling for a Federal law enfranchising women, after fifty years of canton-by-canton agitation, very much as American women are seeking the enactment of the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

Michigan, My Michigan

*The sunsets on your inland seas,
Michigan, my Michigan!*

*Their painted surface 'neath the breeze,
Michigan, my Michigan!*

*Here beauty spreads her glorious feasts
Of glowing tints, from west to east,*

*Upon your sky and sunset seas,
Michigan, my Michigan!*

From Manitou to Maumee Bay,

Michigan, my Michigan,

Broad fertile farms reach all the way,

Michigan, my Michigan,

From Mackinaw's enchanting isle

To shores where groves of peach-bloom smile

And scent the air mile after mile

In Michigan, my Michigan!

Your opal lakes 'mid forest trees,

Michigan, my Michigan,

Your verdant isles with cooling breeze,

Michigan, my Michigan,

Your rich peninsula's expanse

Shows to the earth the stride immense

You've taken in the world's advance,

Michigan, my Michigan!

Your sons and daughters both are free,

Michigan, my Michigan!

You are a true democracy,

Michigan, my Michigan!

From Lake Superior's crystal waves

To shores where storm-swept Erie raves

Women are citizens, not serfs or slaves,

Michigan, my Michigan!

SYLVIA S. VIDETTO.

Detroit, Michigan.

Laws Every Woman Should Know

(Continued from page 710)

by the taxation of women as well as of men.

Only in six equal suffrage states and in the District of Columbia, where civil service regulations set the standard, are women given an eight-hour day, though in almost all states legislation sets this limit for men in public service.

In Mississippi, New Jersey, Nebraska and North Dakota the highest state executive offices are closed to women by the constitutional provision that they can be held only by qualified constitutional voters; in Louisiana many county positions are thus closed to them.

Though education is preeminently the function of women, the last census showing four times as many women as men teachers in the United States, only five states—in all of which women have the vote—have a statute prescribing equal pay for men and women teachers.

This year the last states removed their restrictions on the practice of law by women, but this does not relieve the American wife of a foreigner, who in most states of the Union cannot practice law.

PROGRESS OF THE SUFFRAGE FEDERAL AMENDMENT UP TO DATE

KNOWN IN THE

65TH CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES AS
SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 2
and HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 1

Proposing an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States Conferring upon Women the Right of Suffrage.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several states as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said Legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE

"SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

History of Amendment

First introduced in the Senate, January 10, 1878, by Senator A. A. Sargent, of California.

REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE:

In the Senate:

1878, Adverse majority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1889, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1890, Without recommendation.
1893, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Without recommendation.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1916, Favorable majority.
1917, Unanimously.

In the House:

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.
1917, Sept. 24, Woman Suffrage Committee created, yes 181, no 107.
1917, Dec. 15, Reported from Judiciary Committee without recommendation.
1918, Jan. 3, Reported favorably from House Suffrage Committee.

VOTED UPON:

In the House:

January 12, 1915: yeas 174, nays 204 (378 voting).
January 10, 1918: yeas 274, nays 136 (410 voting).

VICTORY!

In the Senate:

January 25, 1887: yeas 16, nays 34 (50 voting).
March 19, 1914: yeas 35, nays 34 (69 voting).
October 1, 1918: yeas, including pairs, 62; nays 34.

Present Status in Senate:

October 3, Motion for reconsideration passed. Back on calendar.

Jan. 1, 1919. Date for vote pending.

North Carolina State Convention

"SHAME on the Democratic party if it should allow the Republican party to have the honor of giving women the right to vote," said William Jennings Bryan in an address before the Annual Convention of the North Carolina Equal Suffrage Association, held January 10, at Raleigh, North Carolina.

Colonel Bryan urged that Democrats of the South should not be behind the Democrats of the North and deny to women the privilege of the ballot. "Democracy means the right of the people to rule," he explained, and called attention to the fact that the majority of the Democrats in Congress favor woman suffrage and that a narrow margin of a vote or two would give the necessary two-thirds which would submit the amendment to the people of the states.

"You can't keep it from coming," said Col. Bryan, "and you might as well help, and reap some of the honor." He expressed the hope that the North Carolina Legislature would look favorably upon the suffrage amendment, having profited by the changes that have come since the United States Senate last voted on the measure.

Mrs. John S. Cunningham of Durham, as president of the North Carolina Suffragists, presided at the mass meeting which featured the suffrage conference. Occupying seats on the platform were Governor Bickitt, Lieutenant-Governor O. Max Gardner, Speaker Dennis G. Brummitt, Chief Justice Walter Clark and a number of members of the General Assembly. More than 3,000 persons, including men of state and local prominence, as well as the suffrage body, were present to hear the address. It was the largest public assembly in many months.

THE business sessions of the conference brought out the fact that suffrage is making rapid progress in North Carolina. Mrs. T. P. Jerman, Legislative Chairman, reported that suffrage is receiving a more dignified and more sympathetic hearing than ever before. An intensive legislative program was outlined, to be definitely determined later.

North Carolina women are not content with their disenfranchised state and will put forth every effort to gain some measure of the franchise at this session of Legislature provided the Federal Amendment is not before the Legislature for ratification this year. The work of organizing the women throughout the state in suffrage leagues will be pushed with vigor.

The newly elected officers who will lead the suffragists for the coming year include: Miss Gertrude Weil of Goldsboro, president; Mrs. T. P. Jerman of Raleigh, first vice-president and chairman of Legislative Committee; Miss Harriet Berry of Chapel Hill, second vice-president, chairman of finance; Mrs. Al. L.

Within the

Brooks of Greensboro, third vice-president; Mrs. H. G. Connor of Wilson, recording secretary; Mrs. L. D. Wooten of Goldsboro, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Julius Cone of Greensboro, treasurer; Miss Harriet Elliott, chairman of Congressional Committee and Organization Committee, and Miss Martha Haywood Raleigh chairman of publicity committee.

Women Voters to Convene

SOUTH DAKOTA'S Universal Franchise League has called a meeting of South Dakota women to be held at Pierre, on January 29th and 30th. This will open a new chapter in suffrage history in that state, as it marks the first time that South Dakota women will gather as full-fledged citizens.

The convention will be in the nature of a celebration of the great victory of November 5. "The Franchise League will stay in existence until every woman in the United States has the ballot," says Mrs. John L. Pyle, president of the League. An intensive program will be outlined for the future at the gathering, and there will be a review of the work of the past year.

South Dakota legislators recently took occasion to elect two young women to fill positions never vouchsafed to women before. One of the positions was that of bill clerk of the Senate.

Bazaar Nets Good Sum

THE Bay State Allied Bazaar held recently in Boston under the auspices of the Ways and Means Committee of the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association netted \$11,200, as reported by Mrs. Benjamin F. Pitman, chairman of the Bazaar.

About \$5,000 of this amount went to the Allied War Relief organizations that cooperated with the suffragists in the Bazaar. The suffragists, from their share of the proceeds, gave \$2,500 to the committee on Americanization; \$1,000 to the Suffrage Coffee House at Ayer and \$1,000 to the Women's Overseas Hospitals.

Indiana

WITH the Federal Suffrage Amendment still hanging fire in the Senate of the United States, Indiana suffragists are pressing for state action. On Friday, January 17, a presidential suffrage bill was introduced in the House by Chas. A. Johnson, representative from Grant county, conferring upon women citizens the right to vote for presidential electors. This bill, after its passage by the House, will be presented to the Senate, where it has many friends waiting to push it, so that whatever happens to the Federal Amendment, Indiana women expect to vote for President in 1920.

As a result of conferences between Senate

Organization

leaders and the Woman's Franchise League of Indiana the amendment to the state constitution, commonly known as the Beardsley amendment, has been withdrawn in the Indiana Senate, and as soon as action on it is completed, a new amendment is to be introduced. This new amendment which will be introduced by Senator Beardsley, who is a sincere supporter of suffrage and whose wife is third vice-president of the Franchise League, will provide that the voters of the state must be citizens. This will entitle Indiana women to vote and requires foreigners to complete their naturalization and become full citizens before they are allowed to vote. There is increasing sentiment in favor of both provisions, as the majority of Indiana people feel the necessity of confining the vote to citizens.

To Continue Soldiers' Club

THE Soldiers Club at Wrightstown, which is conducted for the boys at Camp Dix by the New Jersey Woman Suffrage Association, will not close while there is a single undemobilized soldier at the camp.

Since the Club was opened, fifteen months ago, over 150,000 soldiers have been entertained there. Individuals and the local branches of the Suffrage Association all over the State have contributed about \$19,000 to this work.

Appeal to Wadsworth

A NON-PARTISAN women voters association was formed recently in Buffalo for the purpose of convincing Senator James W. Wadsworth that his Buffalo constituency favors the passage of the Federal Amendment.

The 75 women voters who met at the home of Mrs. Mary D. Carberry and formed the new association have arranged for a lively program of resolutions and letters from the voters in that district to demand that Senator Wadsworth change his attitude and vote for the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

Have Earned the Right

"WOMEN have earned the right to vote," says Col. Hiram I. Bearss, hero of Chateau-Thierry, who has returned to his home in Peru, Indiana, after eighteen months' service in France.

"What women have done here and over there entitles them to every consideration. They have earned the right to vote.

"They did remarkable work—coming into areas under fire of long-range guns. They displayed wonderful initiative and remarkable administrative ability, coupled with that sympathy and understanding which are so essential over there. They showed a power of organization along lines in which I did not dream they possessed ability."

Mrs. Frank Bearss, the mother of Col. Bearss, has been a suffragist all her life, but as the mother of a family and the mistress of a large household, had found no outlet for her suffrage interest until she became one of the first members of the Peru Franchise League. Mrs. Bearss marched in the historic suffrage parade in Chicago, June 8, 1916. Not even the rain and bad weather prevented her taking part in that demonstration, and she is a consistent attendant at suffrage conventions and meetings.

Missouri President Honored

MRS. WALTER McNAB MILLER, State Chairman of the Missouri Equal Suffrage League, has been appointed Associate Secretary to the Missouri Association for Relief and Control of Tuberculosis. Dr. Miller is the State Secretary. This is a delightful combination of husband and wife co-operating in a magnificent work. Mrs. Miller's experience and popularity in many movements, and especially suffrage and the Food Administration work, mean that she brings a valuable contribution to her new position. Mrs. Miller, at the urgent solicitation of the suffragists in Missouri, consented to remain as state chairman of the suffrage organization until after the Legislature. This means that she is giving all her spare time and strength to suffrage. Her wide acquaintance with politicians and her knowledge of the political situation make her services invaluable at this time. She will be in charge of the legislative work, and be at Jefferson City whenever the importance of the occasion makes it necessary.

Miss Mary E. Bulkley, a member of the Executive Committee of the Equal Suffrage League of St. Louis and the State Board, has just published a book, "An Aid to the Voter in Missouri." It has been revised by Dean Loeb of the University of Missouri, and has an introduction by Dr. Anna Howard Shaw. It gives a thorough, simple and brief explanation of every situation that any Missouri voter could meet, and will be illustrated by maps and charts. The St. Louis League is planning to give a course of lessons on "Citizenship," using Miss Bulkley's book as a text book, and it will be available for clubs and organizations, who will be eager to be well informed upon the new duties so soon to be theirs.

Seat 108

SEAT 108 in the New York Assembly, which has heretofore been occupied by Assemblyman Welsh, an anti, is now the seat of Mrs. Ida B. Sammis; one of New York's two Assemblywomen and prominent suffrage worker. Assemblyman Welsh's friends have jocosely read his conversion into the fact; for has he not given his seat to a representative of suffrage ideals?

(Continued on page 720)

WHERE WOMEN VOTE

WOMEN HAVE FULL SUFFRAGE

in the

Ile of Man	Norway
New Zealand	Iceland
Australian Federation	Denmark
Great Britain	Russia
Canada	Sweden
Finland	Holland

and in these

UNITED STATES

Wyoming	Oregon
Colorado	Alaska
Idaho	Montana
Utah	Nevada
Washington	New York
California	Michigan
Arizona	South Dakota
Kansas	Oklahoma

Women Are Recognized as Possessed of Full Suffrage by the New Governments Now Forming Out of the Old Man-Suffrage Chaos

in

Germany	Austria-Hungary
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WOMEN ARE PROMISED FULL SUFFRAGE

in

Belgium	Italy
	France

WOMEN HAVE PRESIDENTIAL AND MUNICIPAL SUFFRAGE

in

Illinois	Nebraska
North Dakota	

WOMEN HAVE PRESIDENTIAL SUFFRAGE

in

Rhode Island

WOMEN HAVE MUNICIPAL SUFFRAGE

in

South Africa	Vermont
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WOMEN HAVE PRIMARY SUFFRAGE

in

Texas	Arkansas
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WOMEN HAVE SCHOOL OR TAX SUFFRAGE

in

Kentucky	New Jersey
Minnesota	Connecticut
New Hampshire	Ohio
Massachusetts	Delaware
Mississippi	Wisconsin
Louisiana	New Mexico
	Iowa

WOMEN VOTE FOR PRESIDENT IN TWENTY-ONE STATES

* Just granted, according to press despatches of Jan. 2.

† To be granted by middle of January, according to word from the president of the Vereeniging voor Vrouwenkiesrecht.

That Street-Car Case

WHATEVER one's idea may be of woman's sphere; whatever one may think with regard to protecting woman, for the race's sake, from the injurious effects of certain kinds of manual labor, even at the expense of her right of free contract; and however dense personal or class ignorance may be in regard to the involuntary nature of the average woman's response to the economic conditions of the times, there can be but one opinion, in the long view, as to the disaster of men and women in industry pitting themselves against each other. To those who have the labor movement as well as the woman movement at heart, such a situation must appeal as a very tragedy of stupidity.

Organized laboring men have one very strong argument with which they back up their action when they take a stand in opposition to the employment of women in some line of industry. It is that capital is but exploiting the unorganized women at the expense of the organized men.

The salient facts in the Cleveland case were that women were called in to take men's places on the street-cars because of a shortage of men, due to war conditions. The war over, the men employees protested the continuance of women in the service. A bad tie-up by strike impended. The War Labor Board was appealed to. It dismissed the women without a hearing. The women of the country, in industry and out of it, protested. The case was reopened and hearings were held last week. The board's final decision will be reviewed later.

Meanwhile, the *Woman Citizen* presents below the men's side of the case as vouched for by the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America. It will be followed by a review of the case as the women see it.

CHINA AND CRYSTAL AT PRE-WAR PRICES

10% TO 50% SAVINGS

OUR extensive stocks of exquisite CHINA and CRYSTAL STEMWARE will be offered during January at pre-war prices.

A discount of 20% will be allowed on all china, including the most expensive plates of Minton, Doulton, Copeland, Worcester, Limoge, etc., to the least expensive dinner set.

Discounts ranging from 10% to 50% will be allowed on all crystal stemware when purchased in sets of five dozens or more.

OVINGTON'S

312-314 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

YOUR letter of December 10th to President W. D. Mahon, of our Association, bearing upon the Cleveland woman-conductor subject, has been handed to me for reply.

You ask for a review of the situation and the reasons for the men's opposition to employment of women.

I do not know of any better way to place before you the Cleveland situation than to enclose to you a copy of an enactment of our General Executive Board upon the subject at its recent meeting, in which Local Divisions were instructed relative to the matter of acceptance of women in the positions as conductors.

In Cleveland the company ignored the provision set forth in this communication and employed women, designing to give them special privileges in employment, which could not be done without imposing added burdens upon the motormen, as well as interfering with the seniority rights of men. In other words, it would change the entire protective policies of our association in respect to favoritism in employment. Our organization has fought for years to deprive companies from discriminating in employment of men. It would be a long volume for me to undertake to explain the abuses that street railway company managements impose upon unorganized employees in the way of making favorites of some and imposing burdens upon others. This our organization has stopped wherever we are organized and insists upon equal rights to all and special favors to none.

STREET railway work, due to the character of it, peculiar to it, except in the operation of steam road trains, is not an employment conducive to the health physically and otherwise of women. This is due to the vibration of the car, which you can experience yourself if by standing on the platform of a street car for three or four hours, or perhaps less. It comes to us in our vital statistics relative to the causes of death of our members. Atmospheric conditions, and other features are to be considered. Much has been said relative to the companies paying the same rate of wages to women as to men. You will very likely understand this from the fact that the company had nothing to do with fixing the specific wages for women. Wages upon street cars where we are organized are fixed through the efforts of the organization. In no instance are the wages voluntary, but have come through efforts of the organization in effecting collective agreements. On union roads are paid better wages than on non-union roads. In ordinary circumstances I do not know for what wage companies could employ women. Our men do know, however, that as a general proposition, in non-union employments women work for less wages than men and it has been an up-hill fight for organized labor to effect equal wages for both sexes in the same class of work; and where such a condition does prevail it is only through organization that it can be maintained. To say that the women were getting the same pay as men, is absurd when it is understood that if the men had permitted, women would have worked for less.

The average life of a woman upon street-railway service would be far less than one year.

Don't think that union street car men are devoid of love for women. The fact is that they think too much of them to stand idly by and see them imposed upon by being installed as street car conductors. And I do not wish to make any suggestions relative to the moral side of the question. A majority of the women who entered the street railway service were respectable. But they were put in the same prison pen with others that were not respectable.

It is up to the men to protect their occupations and the dignity thereof—the company won't do it.

I think it unnecessary here to charge the companies with ulterior purposes.

Bear in mind, we have many women in membership in our organization, who will testify to you, upon elevated roads in Chicago and Boston, relative to the benefits they have received from our organization. They are as loyal members as we have got. You can discuss our organization with them, if you so desire.

Yours very truly,

(Signed) R. L. REEVES.

This is the enactment to which Mr. Reeves calls attention:

TO the Local Division of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America.

BROTHERS:

The General Executive Board of your Association have had before them the question of the employment of women as conductors by the various street railway companies with which we have contracts. You are aware that the question of employing women as conductors was brought up by some of the companies just as soon as the Government declared war, and before a man had left our shores for Europe some companies were advocating that women be employed as conductors. Your Association opposed this proposition, claiming that the time had not yet come for the employment of women as conductors upon the street and electric railways of America. These early agitations on the part of the companies for the employment of women was, in our opinion, an attempt upon their part to use women in order to reduce wages and demoralize, if possible, our Organization. However, the situation has changed and many of the companies are now claiming that it is impossible to continue the operation of their cars without we allow women to be employed. We still contend that the position of conductor of a street or electric railway car is not the place for a woman, and that she should not be put in that position without it becomes absolutely necessary. But in order to remove any criticism that there may be placed upon our Association, or any wrong impression that may be given the Government as to the attitude of our Association, we hereby instruct all of our Local Divisions as follows: That if it is necessary during the period of the war that women be employed as conductors on the cars, that they be accepted into employment as follows:

First—Where women are employed as conductors they shall be employed and enter the service the same as men were employed.

Second—They shall take their seniority starting at the foot of the extra list and working up the same as men would work up in the employment.

Third—They shall be entitled to the same guarantees, the same wages and conditions that the men are entitled to.

Fourth—That they shall, when employed on systems that require permits to be taken out, take their permits for membership in the organization the same as the men take the permits.

Fifth—That when women do enter the service, they shall become members of the Organization, being entitled to the same protection, benefits and conditions that men are entitled to, coming under the working conditions and provisions of the agreement in the same manner.

Hoping that your Division will clearly understand this rule, and with best wishes, we remain,

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) J. B. LAWSON, Chairman,

General Executive Board.

(Signed) R. L. REEVES, Sec.



Women's New Box Tailleurs

Combining the distinctiveness and smartness so essential to the well-dressed woman. Rich in simplicity of style and detail.

In materials that victorious Paris has introduced for the coming season: Shepherd check, French serge, gabardine and block gabardine.

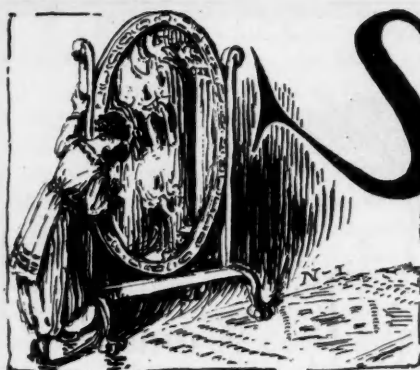
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Stage Reflections



HERE the Woman Citizen will present from time to time a survey of the plays and players of the American stage.

Nothing But Lies

IT is only a happy conjunction with a stage, footlights, an audience, and William Collier which permits "Nothing But Lies" to be described as a play. The author has made merely a pleasing vehicle for the results of Mr. Collier's secret cogitations upon human nature. It abounds in what is known as "business"—not merely nefarious, every-day business with which it is remotely connected in plot, if its successive incidents may be called plot, but stage business, the adroit disposal of extinguished matches, the significant movements, poses and facial expressions which portray Mr. Collier's philosophy, the engulfing of a healthy young man and a mandolin by a steel safe, the expressive manipulation of cigars within the orifice of human misunderstanding.

It is a man's play, as the preponderating masculinity of the audience bespeaks even before it unfolds its tale. The characters are well known types. Only Mr. Collier is extraordinary—though that should not belittle the sound work of his co-laborers. It is the kind of performance, where, when "the shouting and the tumult dies" a contagious chortle of reminiscent glee, or the explosion of a convulsive guffaw somewhere in the house, starts the audience afresh into honest testimonial of its appreciation. It depicts that humor which is strictly American, but is by no means horse play. It delineates man's humorous view of his daily difficulties enhanced by the presence in the background of the eternal feminine who, in the dynamic phraseology of Kipling, "plays hell with his sword arm."

GEORGE WASHINGTON CROSS in the person of Mr. Collier loves Anna Nigh in the radiant materialization of Olive Wyndham. Anna's delusion that she loves truth, conjoined with her fiancé's genius for subverting it to the exigencies of the moment, leads to various complications which smooth themselves out, of

N particular we want to bring down to center the interpretations of woman and her ways, the ideals of womanhood as they are staged. We have an idea that there is room for a little genial exchange as to woman's point of view and men's on the subject.

course, to a happy finish. But while the love incident furnishes the motive for the play, it is so handled as to convey the impression that author and actors would have preferred to dispense with it.

THERE is love-making which, to the carnal mind, might seem to lack verisimilitude. Perish the thought that its limitations arose either from concession to a prudish public or to a desperate determination of Mr. Collier's to guard this one revelation of his personality from the comments of an unfeeling public. There is a delicacy and a restraint in his æsthetic sippings of the nectar of his sweetheart's lips which do not comport with the popular conception of male human nature as disassociated from Mr. Collier's interpretation of it. A man who could, for love of woman, lie to the extent which George Washington Cross does, could not—except through Mr. Collier—impart such a quaintness of acceptability to an osculation so brief. No schoolboy gourmet's devouring anticipations and realizations of the delights of an all day sucker sully the connoisseur's enjoyment of the reward for which George Washington Cross lies and lies again. The Collier kiss should go down in history as a masterly solution of a stage problem. It eliminates the features which have so long been considered objectionable and substitutes a rite, the chasteness of which is exceeded only by its evident savor.

The women of the play are not of the stuff which makes heroines, but they are unobjectionable and—in Lorna Temple as interpreted by Florence Enright—amusing. All the emotional, impressionable, gum-chewing stenographers in New York or vicinity should make a pilgrimage to the Longacre to see themselves as others see them. This, of course, is not in-

MEANTIME, we shall not, we feel sure, make the mistake of taking ourselves too seriously as we hold this mirror up to the stage.

tended for stenographers not included in the aforementioned classification.

Miss Wyndham is to be congratulated, in a day when women have gone mad in the craze to display their persons, for attiring herself not only tastefully, but modestly. In fact, the atmosphere of "Nothing But Lies" is distinctly wholesome.

M. H. F.

Everything

WHEN Abraham Lincoln said, "For the people who like that sort of thing, that is about the sort of thing they like," he coined an expression which is applicable to "Everything" as to scores of greater and lesser things. "Everything" is *sui generis*. It could not exist outside of a metropolis like New York, it would lose some of its perfect flavor in any other metropolis. It is saturated with the spirit which lights Broadway by night and sends the Woolworth building towering above its fellows.

The visitor from the vast empty spaces of western prairies can here find the same allurements that drag his farm wagon into the nearest town on circus day. The small boy who reads the funny pages of the dailies has here the spectacle of people who fall over as realistically as the man who is married. Everything which tickles the palate of the circus-ring fiend is here in multiple. "60 clowns-count 'em—60" chants the program exultantly and they are there, plus a few overlooked. And they do all that sixty clowns may be expected to do, and more. There are lights, there are electric effects, there are color, movement, and a blare of sound, there is the sense that everything is being carried out on a scale bigger, intenser than anywhere else in the world. There is a sop to patriotism, others to sentiment; the trained dog contributes his mite, and the trained elephant plays ball. The human monkey and the human tiger, the giant on stilts, and the "coon-led" band, the acrobat, the bareback rider, the high kicker and the low comedian are included on one mammoth bill of fare. It is the possibility of un-

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The assortment comprises copies of higher priced models of the season; developed in dependable quality Fabrics; all lined; every popular color represented; all sizes in the lot, but not in every model.

NO C. O. D'S.—NO APPROVALS—NO RETURNS

limited mental indigestion, the delight of the small boy, the soothing medley of sound, light and wonder which leaves his elders titillated. And we wonder—at the very moment that we question what anybody sees in it—if next week we shall not feel it our duty to take the children.

M. H. F.

A Prince There Was

IT would be impossible to object to anything in the spirit of "A Prince There Was" which fills the highest expectations of optimism. Love has ever been regarded as the proper vehicle of reform, so that the galvanizing of an enervated young millionaire and dipsomaniac through his interest in the short story writer who is sojourning incognito in the cheap boarding house for the purpose of adding "versimilitude to a bald and unconvincing narrative" falls in with all the traditions of an idealistic public. The millionaire is drawn to the boarding house through the influences of a little girl whose abilities as a houseworker and a "get together" promoter would make Mozart's achievements at the piano at six' and Michael Angelo's infantile sketches pale into insignificance. All the contrasts that make for gurgling joy are there. The suite of rooms at the Plaza thrills the imagination of those spectators who are only too familiar with such interiors as that of Mrs. Prouty's boarding house. The

dull ugliness and the rude wit of the boarding house denizens are a welcome change to the representatives of an effete cultured class where the plain truth is not palatable, and such egregious self-complacency as Shorty's has not the entree. There are the various "appeals" to the diverse elements of the audience. The boarding house keeper bears the cross which those worthies always have done and probably always will. The young woman of expressive gestures and of a seasoned Broadway sophistication is there. The miracle is effected in the case of the worthy old gentleman whose article on international law turns him, in the twinkling of an eye, to a recognized authority. The valet is there—it is wonderful how a democratic American audience can hang upon an interview between a millionaire and his valet.

Lastly, Mr. George M. Cohan is there—a first rate actor, a psychologist, and a first class business man.

All told, the play furnishes two hours of clean and fine amusement.

M. H. F.

Fra Diavolo

SOMEbody in the management of the Society of American Singers is lacking in the sense of eternal fitness. It was excusable to emphasize the possibilities of low comedy in the dialogue of "The Mikado." It is inexcusable to try to turn "Fra Diavolo" into

burlesque opera. Apart from the fact that the conversational interludes have none of the pyrotechnic features which lend themselves to exaggerated humor, the quality of the score, which is more dramatically musical than tuneful, forbids it. Then, too, broad fun which will work well enough with tenseness when it is extraneous to it, will not weave in and out with it.

It would be impossible to suspect William Daneforth, whose restraint as the Inquisitor in the Gondoliers was admirable, with transforming himself into the bellowing Beppo unless there was pressure from the stage director. His make up, however, was the ultra success of stage mummery, and it must be admitted that he made his buffoonery alternate with a consummate art.

Orville Harrold, in the third act, carrying his audience away by his singing, was not a convincing Fra Diavolo in his make up, which smacked of a French hairdresser or of a prestidigitator. Blanche Duffield, as Lady Allcash, was good to look at and sang her numbers in her unfailingly secure and pleasing style. Bianca Saroye was a rather neutral Zerlina, but her voice is pure and fresh and even. Herbert Waterous is always dependable, always sings well, and gives his part a conscientious and intelligent treatment.

M. H. F.

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grade foods at moderate prices.

Among Those Who Urge U. S. Senate to Act

the right of women to hold office by their appointment as private secretary to the Governor and as state librarian, and to many positions upon our State Administration Board, and we respectfully petition the General Assembly to enact that all positions under the state, county and city governments shall be thrown open to women on the same terms with men, and all other opportunities for usefulness and pecuniary profit, so that there may be hereafter an avenue open to merit without distinction of sex.

Adopted by the Committee.

J. A. SMITH, Chairman.

Maine Governor Favors Quick Action

"WOMAN'S fitness for an equal share in the responsibility of government has been further demonstrated by the heroic part she has played in the activities and sacrifices of the war, and the strong impulse toward democratic ideas all over the world has served to emphasize the injustice of denying her the right of suffrage. Furthermore, the governmental problems of the next few years will have to do largely with questions of improved education, welfare of workers, care of dependents and protection of children. With problems of this type, women are especially well qualified to deal. I urge you, therefore, to take whatever action seems to you best calculated to hasten the adoption of equal suffrage in the State and Nation." —Governor Milliken in his message to Maine Legislature, January 1, 1919, 79th lawmaking session of state.

Appeal to Senator Wadsworth

THAT those who work for the Red Cross are not content to see American women deprived of their citizenship rights was manifested when the Nye Park, Buffalo Auxiliary of the Red Cross passed a resolution urging United States Senator James W. Wadsworth to

HOTEL LE MARQUIS

12 East 31st Street, New York
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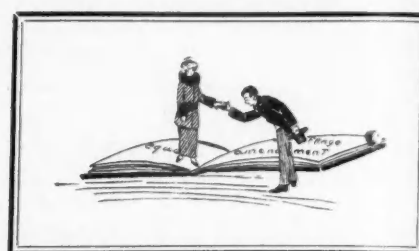
Combines every convenience and home comfort, and commends itself to people of refinement wishing to live on American Plan and be within easy reach of social and dramatic centers. Especially adapted to ladies traveling alone.

Room and bath \$4.00 per day with meals, or \$2.50 per day without meals.

Illustrated Booklet gladly sent upon request.

D. H. & W. J. KNOTT.

JOHN P. TOLSON, Manager.



What North Carolina Farmers Want

Text of resolutions adopted by the Farmers' Union at Wilson, N. C., December 12th, 1918.

WHEREAS, the farmers of North Carolina are deeply impressed with the great services rendered by their mothers, wives, sisters and daughters for the maintenance of good government, and convinced that their capacity, intelligence and patriotism entitle them to a share in the government, and that their admission to the ballot will elevate its exercise.

Resolved:

1. We earnestly request our Senators in Congress to vote for the passage of the Constitutional Amendment, submitting to the several states the question whether the women shall share in the right of suffrage on equal terms with men.

2. We earnestly petition the General Assembly of this state by statute.

(a) To confer upon the women of North Carolina on equal terms with men the right to vote in all primary elections, as has been done in Arkansas and Texas;

(b) To confer upon the women of North Carolina on equal terms with men the right to vote for electors for President and Vice-President;

(c) To confer upon all municipalities in the state the right, by popular vote, in each municipality to confer upon women therein the right to vote in all city elections.

(d) We express our gratification that our Executives and Legislatures have recognized

announce at once his decision to vote for the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

Mrs. John W. Cameron, a former president of the Buffalo Federation of Woman's Clubs urged the resolution and called upon the women of New York to use their ballots to the full and take more interest in the primaries this year than last.

Conscious of the fact that women can best serve their country as full citizens, she advocated closer co-operation in all political affairs.

Nebraska Club Women Petition Senator Hitchcock

THE Nebraska Federation of Women's Clubs is on record as follows in behalf of the Federal Suffrage Amendment:

Whereas, the women of the state of Nebraska, looking forward to their full right of citizenship in the near future.

Resolved, That the Nebraska Federation of Women's Clubs approve of the organization of a Legislative Council of Nebraska, composed of representatives of all women's organizations in the state, and appoint a representative from the Nebraska Federation of Women's Clubs to the Legislative Council.

Resolved, That the Nebraska Federation of Women's Clubs at this its twenty-third convention, now representing more than ten thousand women, respectfully request our senior United States Senator, Hon. Gilbert M. Hitchcock, to vote favorably on the Federal Amendment for woman suffrage when it is next submitted to the Senate.

Chicago Women Demand Early Action

WHEREAS, There has been brought to a peaceful termination a world fought war for the same fundamental principle of self-government for which the Chicago Equal Suffrage Association has labored for many years, and

WHEREAS, In the conduct of the war women have demonstrated that they are equally concerned with men in national affairs and have given service of equal importance to the safety of the nation, and

WHEREAS, Woman suffrage has been given or promised by our Allies and even some of the Central Powers as a result of the greater understanding which the war has brought of the principle of self-government and the service of women, and

WHEREAS, Our work as women of the nation, and the service of our men as soldiers of the nation, have given us a greater sense of national unity than ever before, making it especially fitting that we should address ourselves to the representatives of the nation, therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the Chicago Equal Suffrage Association, in mass meeting assembled at 1.30 o'clock on the afternoon of December 31, 1918, in The Casino at Chicago, Illinois, appeal to the Senate of the United States to speed the coming of universal woman suffrage in this country by the immediate passage of the Federal Woman's Suffrage Amendment.

CHICAGO EQUAL SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.
(Mrs. Jacob Baur) by Bertha D. Baur, President.

(Mrs. George Packard) by Caroline H. Packard, Recording Secretary.

Is Your Country Friend or Foe?

Concerning the bogie of state rights, nobody has been any clearer than Senator Phelan, of California.

"Let us consider a Southern State," says the Californian, "whether it be Alabama or South Carolina, with equal suffrage under the law. I do not know why the Senator from Alabama [Mr. Underwood] should express so much fear of the Federal Government. What is the Federal Government? Is it an alien and a hostile government seeking to destroy by power of taxation, constitutional amendment or otherwise, the individual state? The Congress of the United States alone having the power to submit a constitutional amendment or to pass laws, is composed of the representatives of the states, and in the lower House it is in proportion to population, but in this Chamber absolute equality between states, small and great, is guaranteed in the Constitution of the United States, even against the power of amendment to change it.

"There is no danger whatever of the equality of representation in the Senate ever being destroyed except by revolution. Hence it is rather absurd for gentlemen to grow excited over dangers that menace states when the states themselves control the power of the Federal Government. If they wish to impose restrictions upon themselves, it would have to be done in this instance by two-thirds of this entire body and ratified then by three-fourths of the states. There cannot possibly be any danger of the Federal power usurping the state government when its exercise is so safeguarded."

Governor of Iowa Urges Suffrage

IOWA will soon be white on the suffrage map if the 38th General Assembly, now in session, carries out one of the important recommendations urged by Governor W. L. Harding in his message to that body on January 14.

"The constitution of the state should be changed from its present form limiting suffrage to males, and permit female citizens to vote. In the meantime the state statute should be changed giving to women primary suffrage," said Governor Harding.

The Governor in recommending that the present Legislature give its very careful consideration to the question of extending the franchise to women, made the point that it is "a right which is due to this class of citizens now disfranchised because of sex." He further insisted "this correction in the fundamental law of our country needs to be made immediately in order that as a nation we be not placed in an awkward position with the countries across the water that we are trying to lead to democratic ideals."

Cleveland Suffragists Meet

THE Cleveland convention, which is the fourth that has been held by the Woman's Suffrage Party of that city, is in session at the Hollenden Hotel. The program includes discussions and addresses on some of the most important issues of the day. The political situation as related to women was presented by Mrs. Medill McCormick, Chairman of the Woman's Committee of the Republican National Committee, and Mrs. George Bass, Chairman of the Women's Bureau of the Democratic National Committee.

"Women in Industry and Reconstruction" was the subject of the address of Mrs. Raymond Robins, President of the National Women's Trade Union League, at the mass meeting Friday evening.

The enrollment and organization work which is being carried forward so successfully by the Ohio suffragists, was one of the important matters before the convention body. Mrs. Charles H. Simonds, Chairman of the State Enrollment Committee; Miss Grace D. Treat,

member of the committee, and Mrs. J. C. Wallace, Chairman of the Enrollment Committee of Cincinnati, were the speakers at the session Friday afternoon when Enrollment and Organization was the general topic for discussion.

The question of "National Suffrage" was presented by Mrs. Paul G. Woolley, Chairman of the Cincinnati Emergency Committee on the Federal Amendment.

National American Woman Suffrage Association

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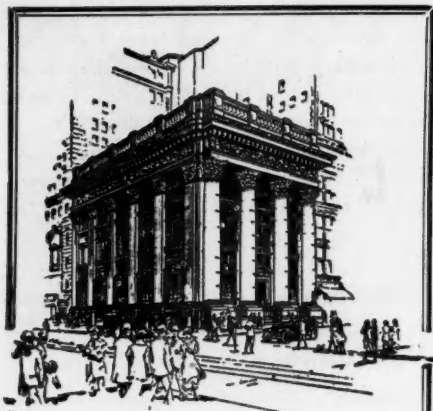
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Within the Organization

(Continued from page 713)

Appeal for Senator Pollock's Support

THE Equal Suffrage League of South Carolina in annual session at Columbia, January 15, sent an urgent appeal to Senator Pollock to vote for and do all possible to bring about the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment. The appeal was as follows:

"The South Carolina branch of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, in annual convention assembled in Columbia, sends greetings to Senator W. P. Pollock, requesting and urging his outspoken and unqualified support of the Susan B. Anthony federal amendment now pending in the Senate and suggesting the appropriateness of such a declaration at this time while his future fellow citizens are convened for the purpose of securing their long deferred rights. Such a course would be maintaining the professed platform of the Democratic party; would be in keeping with the expressed wishes of the President of the United States; would be doing justice to the women of South Carolina, who in times of war as well as in times of peace, have borne well their part, and would place his state in line with the progressive and enlightened elements of our country; would enlist from the eventually enfran-

chised women of the nation a kindly sympathy and a material support and would secure for himself the unique and enviable position of a Southern Senator who rose above the blinding prejudice of the past, and, shaking off the environment of precedent, stands before the nation as the evangel of the new thought in the South and boldly advocates 'Special privilege for none—justice for all—even women.'"

RESOLUTIONS endorsed by the convention included a minimum wage of \$12 a week for women employed in mercantile and manufacturing establishments; the recommendations of the state and county superintendent of education, which include the Illiteracy Commission of South Carolina, which is asking for an appropriation of \$25,000; the calling of a constitutional convention to devise ways and means through which may be created the necessary votes for appropriation; an act to provide for physical education in the schools of the state; the establishment of a bureau of child health; a home for morally irresponsible women. During the year the women purpose to devote considerable attention to constructive study of the laws of the state dealing with the right of franchise.

The program dealt with suffrage and war service work of women. Miss Kate Cathcart of Winthrop College spoke on the Woman's Land Army. Educational conditions in the state were emphasized in the address of Miss Lou Gray.

THE election of officers resulted in Mrs. Harriet P. Lynch of Cheraw being elected honorary president. This was in appreciation of her services as president of the State League during the past three years. The official board elected includes:

Mrs. Harriet P. Lynch, honorary president; Mrs. Julian B. Salley, of Aiken, president; Mrs. Leroy Springs, of Lancaster, first vice-president; Mrs. Henry Martin, second vice-president; Mrs. T. J. Weston, recording secretary; Mrs. Christopher Fitzsimons, corresponding secretary; Mrs. A. C. Hammond, treasurer; Mrs. Walter E. Duncan of Aiken, auditor.

The following standing committees were appointed: Education, Miss Will Lou Gray of Columbia; legislative and congressional, Mrs. W. C. Cathcart; finance, Mrs. T. C. Duncan; press, Mrs. Stanhope Sams of Columbia; resolutions, Mrs. E. H. Workman of Newberry.

Richmond Convention

NINE years ago a little group of women met and formed the first state suffrage league of Virginia, electing Mrs. B. B. Valentine president. Mrs. Valentine is not only president of the State League, but was president of the Richmond branch until the convention, held early in January, in Richmond, when she de-

clined to accept nomination for re-election to the latter office.

"That little band of women isolated, nay ostracized by a blind intolerant public has now grown to such large proportions that in our annual meeting for the nomination of officers and members of the Equal Suffrage League of Richmond we actually suffer from an embarrassment of riches," said Mrs. Valentine. "We find it difficult to choose from the hundreds of women who in 1919 are ready to serve the cause of freedom. The status of women in Virginia is distinctly better than it was ten years ago. The war has accounted for a part of this progress, but an examination of the code of Virginia will reveal the steady enactment of laws for women and children due to the persistent work of suffragists in the lobbies of the Legislature—work infinitely slower and more difficult because we lack the powerful pressure of the ballot in the hands of women."

THE officers elected at the convention include: President, Miss Lucy Randolph Mason; first vice-president, Mrs. Kate Langley Bosher; second vice-president, Miss Katherine Heath Hawes; third vice-president, Mrs. G. Harvey Clarke; fourth vice-president, Miss Cally Ryland; fifth vice-president, Mrs. Milton E. Marcuse; recording secretary, Miss Nora Houston; treasurer, Mrs. Grace H. Smithdea; auditor, Mrs. Henry Aylett Sampson. Chairmen of standing committees appointed by the new president to serve for 1919: Legislative, Miss Adele Clark; ward, Mrs. F. L. Jobson; *The Woman Citizen*, Mrs. W. P. Adkins; program, Mrs. D. Miles Taylor. Mrs. Taylor will be assisted by Mrs. Eudora Ramsay Richardson, Miss Helen Stockdell and Mrs. Charles G. Bosher.

Miss Mason is a pioneer suffragist in Virginia. She was one of the speakers at the hearing given on the suffrage question by the Virginia state Legislature in 1914. She is the author of several articles on suffrage and previous to taking the presidency of the League was chairman of the Industrial Welfare Committee. At one time she was Extension Industrial Secretary of the Y. W. C. A. She was recently appointed by the government on the Federal Amendment Service Community Labor Board as representative of employed women. She is the great-great-granddaughter of George Mason, author of the Bill of Rights. Chief Justice John Marshall is also one of her direct ancestors.

A Foot of Dimes

A "FOOT OF DIMES" drive has been started by the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association to aid the campaign for universal suffrage. Miss Fannie C. Osgood, of Boston, treasurer of the association, originated the idea.



Correspondence



Where "Putnam's" Stands on Suffrage

ONE of the victims of influenza during the height of the epidemic in New York was Robert Putnam, of the firm of G. P. Putnam's Sons. His untimely death recalled to a prominent suffragist the firm's uncompromising stand for suffrage during the campaign years in New York state. Through her courtesy we are able to reprint a letter that gives vivid evidence to this effect, which was sent out from the firm's office on December 6, 1916. The letter was addressed to C. T. Atkinson, of Newark, New Jersey, and read:

"We do not find it desirable to undertake, as a publishing investment, a book of this special character. Our contribution to the cause would be the service of the imprint of the house. We may add that this imprint would not be given to a work *opposing* equal suffrage. The members of our publishing board are practically unanimous in favoring the measure.

"Yours truly,

(Signed) "G. H. PUTNAM."
(G. P. Putnam's Sons)

Inspiring

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

THROUGH the president of our state suffrage association, Mrs. Brooks, we have been doing our part in helping our sister Oklahoma, and the result is certainly most "soul satisfying." Oklahoma, stretching along our southern border, is a wonderful state, settled for the most part by a young class that is making every effort to provide the state with sound laws.

Think what she has accomplished—no old rock-bound prejudices to break up, for her people came from the four points of the compass. Old Michigan and new Oklahoma! Isn't the news inspiring—what faithful untiring work it took to get such splendid results.

M. F. LADD.

Wichita, Kansas.

Autocracy Here and There

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

WE have certainly done our duty by the war; my daughter lost her only son; her great pride, joy and hope.

We have paid the price, and should have the vote.

It is up to us now to hold on tight to the principle, "Moral force instead of brute force" must prevail. We women are not breeders for cannon fodder.

This war has brought some discipline, and we

will not let the country get in the same old rut again.

Talk about autocracy in Germany and Russia—how about the autocracy of men in this country!

I wish you all good luck about passing that amendment.

T. STEEPER.

Hoboken, N. J.

The Armenian View

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

PLEASE send for one year (or longer) your fine and invaluable paper to the following address: Mrs. H. Milkesetian, 733 E. 14 Street, Oakland, Cal.

Hurrah! Some of our Oakland boys are just returning

"Go ring the bells and fire the guns,
And fling the starry banners out.
Shout Freedom till your lisping ones
Give back the cradle.

This subscription is for an Armenian family. The son, a cobbler, is subscribing for his mother. The copy of December 28th which I just showed him secured the subscription. I have shown him others. This man thinks Alice Stone Blackwell a wonder. Her intense sympathy with Armenia wins them.

MRS. ARDEN DE WAYNE WHIPPLE.
Oakland, Cal.

Praised by Lucy Stone

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN CITIZEN:

ALL my life I've written and spoken for woman suffrage. My first published article was my sophomore exhibition essay in Monmouth College, Ill., in 1873—45 years ago: "Shall Women Vote," accepted and praised in a personal letter by Lucy Stone, and published in the *Woman's Journal*. My signature was M. G. Charlton, as I expected to make journalism my profession, and I knew I would get better pay if the editors thought I was a man.

Then for forty years as a journalist I wrote for woman suffrage in hundreds of papers, especially while I was superintendent of press for the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union, under the name of Charlton Edholm. For thirteen years I lectured continuously on rescue work among girls, and always advocated woman suffrage as a solution of the "traffic in girls," and in my book by that name I pleaded for woman suffrage. As the book was read by one-half million readers, I feel I did a little in the great work.

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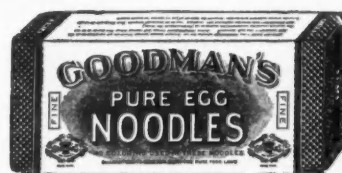
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Count in North Dakota, Too

ON page 638 of the Dec. 28, 1918, issue of your paper I notice this heading: "Seven States Have Women at Head of Public Schools." You might have made sense read eight, for North Dakota, on Nov. 5, 1918, elected Miss Minnie J. Neilson to be State Superintendent of its public schools. She is the third woman to hold this position in North Dakota in the last twenty-six years.

EMMA G. WHEELER.

Mandan, N. Dak.

Jumble In

"JUMBLE IN" has moved again! This time it is located at number 13 West 39th Street. As "Jumble In" is housed through the courtesy of real estate agents, it is necessary to move whenever paying tenants are found. But this never seems to keep its large clientele from finding it.

To name it "Jumble In" was itself a stroke of genius: It might be almost anything, mightn't it? As a matter of fact, it is one of the most popular activities organized by that indefatigable body of workers, the Stage Women's War Relief, during its single year of existence. A purely unselfish desire for service animates these women of the theatre. It keeps them in their various work rooms through

summer heat and winter cold, and it finds expression in ever-widening fields of usefulness. It was this same wish to serve that prompted Mrs. Chauncey Olcott on February 11, 1918, to found and establish a shop, where gifts could be converted into money to be used in its turn for the men in the Service. The shop was first opened at the corner of Forty-third Street and Sixth Avenue, and a request was sent out for donations of clothes, furniture, jewelry, bric-a-brac—in short, anything that could be sold. People of the theatre, trained in promptness, and with hearts notoriously big, responded with an overwhelming rush of gifts. The shop was established with great success, and another source of supply was added to the Stage Women's War Relief service fund.

AS this activity grew, the need for better quarters became apparent. At last, through the courtesy of Mr. Cornelius Vanderbilt and Mr. Douglas Robinson, a charming room was donated at 33 West Forty-fourth Street, just off Fifth Avenue, and on the ground floor. The shop, in charge of Miss Marjorie Taylor, is succeeded by the Thirty-ninth street place.

On entering, the voyager is confronted by the friendly faces of his favorite players, smiling at him from dozens of autographed photographs. Unhappy he is, if his purse is limited; for fancy being forced to choose, for instance, between Lou Tellegen and Mae Marsh, or Molly Pearson and Dustin Farnum. And Miss Taylor assures us plaintively that she "could have sold Douglas Fairbanks a dozen times."

THE shopper longs for a limitless purse, as he picks his way among the treasure. Here shimmers a wonderful frock, sent by generous Louise Dresser; there gleam the exquisite ivory sticks of a fan given by Miss Emma Froman. Many of the things donated are of such value that Miss Taylor makes regular trips to an appraiser, that she may know exactly their worth. This service has been given largely by McCreery & Co., who have also given the shop dozens of coat hangers and much valuable help. The beautifully turned wooden knitting needles, in the quaint jar in the table across the room, have a history. They were made laboriously one by one, by hand—the friendly work of a convict in the Eastern State Penitentiary who

sent them to the Stage Women's War Relief as his "bit" toward winning the freedom he himself may not share.

The variety of gifts is endless, ranging, for instance from a mahogany davenport fit for a king, to a set of beautiful furs; from sets of the most exquisite hand-embroidered baby clothes to a curious string of wooden beads.

But it is apparent that to give this splendid effort the success it deserves, things bought must be replenished, and then must be sold in turn. So if you have treasures you are willing to part with for the sake of the men who have fought for us, bring them to the "Jumble In." And if you have money you are willing to spend, come and spend it there.

Silver Wedding of Holland Suffragists

IT is expected that a wonderful and unexpected gift will be acclaimed at the silver wedding of the Dutch Women Suffrage Association on February 5, 1919, when it will be 25 years to a day since the first Suffrage Association was formed in Amsterdam.

The suffragists of the Netherlands had planned to follow the good Dutch custom of commemorating the quarter-century periods of associations and organizations, even though they could at that time celebrate only the securing of eligibility for women, and the election of one woman M. P. to the Dutch Parliament.

But fortune and the Dutch Cabinet surprised the suffragists by a *volte-face* and a support of Heer Marchant's woman suffrage bill. The Dutch Premier has promised Government support of this measure which mean its adoption.

At the celebration of February 5, will be presented a memorandum book of historical sketches, portraits, photographs of suffrage processions and meetings; but the future of the suffrage movement has become so dazzling that these retroactive features are bound to be lost in the triumphant present.

At the office of the association, 627 Heerenracht, Amsterdam, the Secretary, Rosa Manus, and the President, Dr. Aletta Jacobs, will receive congratulations by letter, cable, and telegram from the whole suffrage world.

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**See Page 714
of this issue for**

The Men's Side

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Published every Saturday

Ten cents a copy; yearly subscription (\$2 numbers),
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Vol. III, February 1, 1919. No. 36

Note Change of Date for

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women! Fifty years since Wyoming led the
world in enfranchising women!

The National American Woman Suffrage Asso-
ciation will hold its fiftieth annual convention in St.
Louis during the entire week of **March 24-29**.

This change has been made necessary by the
convention of the Liberty Loan Committee in April,
which hosts of suffragists must attend.

The convention will be noteworthy as the fiftieth
mile mark of brilliantly successful work for suffrage
on the part of the organization, both by state refer-
enda and Federal Amendment. It will celebrate the
fiftieth anniversary since the first commonwealth of
the world, Wyoming, granted suffrage to women.

And it will glorify the most wonderful twelve-
month of world-wide suffrage victories ever
chronicled.

The Convention Call, which will be issued shortly,
will feature an invitation to the women voters of
every suffrage state in the Union to attend for the
purpose of discussing the possibility of concerting
action by all the women voters of the United States
and of the world, to the end that more satisfactory
legislation for women and children, and for the gen-
eral welfare of society, may be secured, not only in
this country, but in all the countries of the world.

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See Page Seven Hundred and
Thirty-six for the Women's Side
of the Cleveland Street-Car Case

The Woman Citizen

The Woman's National Political Weekly

NEW STYLE VOL. III

FEBRUARY 1, 1919

NUMBER 36

"We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government."

For Your Information

NEBRASKA women had a Victory Day all their own on January 25, when Partial Suffrage went into active effect in that state. The operation of the state law giving women the right of presidential and municipal suffrage has been suspended for nearly a year by the efforts of the opponents of suffrage to have the suffrage act submitted to a referendum. The law became active again last Saturday by a decree issued in the District Court making permanent a temporary injunction enjoining the submission of the suffrage act to a referendum vote. Nebraska suffragists had reason to know that the petition for a referendum in Nebraska was a fraudulent petition and it was so proved. The court's decision leaves anti-suffragist women in an amazing company of procurers of false signatures and false testimony.

AS a result of the elections in Germany the world is congratulating itself because of the triumph of the constructive forces of government in that country.

Concurrently it is taking note of the fact that the women of Germany, having been in the majority at the polls, must be regarded as a determining factor in the situation. It is also noting that women candidates, 34 of them, have been elected to the National Assembly. And it is smiling in its sleeve at America, mother of democracy, which delays the enfranchisement of women.

A FORMAL demand for the extension of the right of suffrage was contained in a proclamation sent to the French Parliament recently by the French League of Rights for Women. Attention is called to the fact that in enemy and allied countries the women have been enfranchised. A delegation of the working women of France has called on President Wilson to urge that the Peace Conference include woman suffrage. In reply the President, while pointing out the unwieldiness of the Conference as an agent for the handling of domestic problems, expressed the hope that occasion might offer to present the cases both of labor and of women to the consideration of the Conference.

"Women Vote, Why Can't We?"

THE granting of the ballot to the women of England is cited by a prominent Japanese newspaper as a reason why the right of suffrage should be extended to all classes of men in Japan. The *Tokio Miyako* believes that the present franchise system is inadequate in that only a limited number of men have the privilege of voting. In a recent statement the newspaper editor makes the following argument for electoral reforms:

"In Japan there are only 1,500,000 electors, all are men. The

comparison of the two figures indicates that we men of this country are not given a right equal to one-fourth of that of the British women to participate in national politics. Japan now possesses an army as large as that of Great Britain. Officials encourage young men who are going to enter the military service, saying that to become a soldier of the Emperor is the first and noblest duty of a Japanese. That is all right, but why are the majority of our countrymen not allowed to take part in national politics, while they are all requested to enter the military service? In a word, the authorities recognize the full value of a Japanese man as a soldier, but before their eyes our value as voters is hardly as much as one-fourth that of a British woman."

AT its last board meeting the National American Woman Suffrage Association adopted the following resolutions concerning treatment of women during war:

"Whereas, There is indisputable evidence that in the present war the Central European Powers have not only permitted but have systematically organized and encouraged their armies to commit all forms of sexual offence upon the women of the invaded states; and

"Whereas, Those responsible for the execution of such criminal policy can be ascertained as definitely as those responsible for inhuman treatment toward prisoners in prison camps and to crews from torpedoed vessels; and

"Whereas, Such crimes against women and girls strike at the heart of society and the home, besides being crimes under the laws of war and the conventions of the Hague Tribunal; and

"Whereas, The commission of such crimes by the Central European Powers presents to the Peace Congress the alternative of ignoring, save by protest, the organized violation of women and girls in time of war, or of taking measures to penalize definitely those responsible for such offences, the penalization to be similar to that contemplated in cases of inhuman prison camps and submarine commanders;

"Therefore, We, women of the United States, wishing to join our protest to that of the women of France against toleration of violation of womanhood in war, do hereby resolve to urge—

(1) That definite punishment for crimes against women and girls be provided for by the Peace Congress.

(2) That women so injured by a despicable enemy be considered not as shamed or degraded, but as having been honorably sacrificed in their country's service.

(3) That the committee in charge of these resolutions deliver them, duly authenticated and with the number of women represented by the state associations subscribed thereto, to all Governments called to the Peace Congress, and arrange for their publication in every allied country.

Christmas with the W. O. H. in France

By Gertrude Foster Brown

*Director-General of the Women's Overseas Hospitals**

CHRISTMAS day was never more joyously or appropriately celebrated than by the Relief Unit of the W. O. H., which is working in the devastated districts of France. Like the first Christmas of history, this one also was celebrated in a manger. The W. O. H. Relief Unit had been established only a few days in their headquarters in Soissons, but the staff had made eager preparations to reach a number of villages with Christmas cheer. Acy was the one chosen to have a tree and a regular celebration because it was the one to which the greatest number of inhabitants had returned.

The little house in Soissons requisitioned by the Sous-préfet for the unit had had the holes in its roof and walls repaired by German prisoners, so it was no longer necessary to have basins in various places on the floor to catch the water from the continual rain; the empty window sashes had been filled with oiled paper; there was even one pane of glass to each room—and glass is a rare luxury in Soissons—the chimney had been repaired and wood put in the cellar, and on Christmas morning we breakfasted before a little fire, on delicious bacon, bought from the U. S. Commissary, and bread furnished by the French Government.

Across the street, close by the curb, a relic of earlier fighting, was a wooden cross inscribed:

"Hier ruht im Gott
Fahn. R. Langheimer
Fes A. T. H.
geb. 2/12/83
Ges. 31/5/15"

Around the corner stood a long row of Paris omnibuses, which had seen four years of hard service in the war and are now used by the French Government to transport the daily food of the returning population; in the next block were the quarters of the American Field Ambulance, which since the armistice is doing valiant service in the devastated regions.

Going out Christmas morning—driving in our own much used and invaluable truck, given to the W. O. H. by the Colony Club—we passed slowly through street after street where many of the buildings are simply piles of stones, where walls occasionally fall, where every house is more or less in ruins, and where above the desolate city the two points of masonry, all that is left of the towers of the once beautiful cathedral, point upward like accusing fingers.

ACY, the village of our celebration, is fortunate in having one of those Mayor's wives who have done so much for France since the war. Madame Gomot is tenant of the richest farm of the village. The big farmhouse was much damaged by shells and the largest barn was burned with eighteen horses in it, but the sheep stable is still standing with its roof intact. It was the only place to be found water-tight and large enough, so here the Christmas tree was placed. The stable had been cleaned by the German prisoners, and the empty mangers, filled with pine boughs, were heaped with toys. At first sight of these toys the thrifty Mayoress shook her head; the children needed shoes and warm clothing, but we assured her that we had those, too. There were few

Christmas tree ornaments to be bought in Paris, but we had plenty of candles and tiny paper lanterns with R. F. on them, and many small flags, and the tree made a brilliant showing in the dark

stable. There was no need to advertise the ceremony. A half-hour before the time set the entire village had assembled, including some new arrivals who had returned that very morning from Belgium, a trip which had taken fifty-two hours. There were few men except very old ones or those more or less incapacitated. This one was minus a leg, that had lost an eye, another an ear, another had a maimed hand. Here was a mother whose husband was still in the army, who had come back with her seven small children, and with one maid servant was starting to work the farm. Most families were represented by three generations, an old grandmother or grandfather being almost inevitable. The stable was soon crowded with children. First they sang a Christmas carol, then a tiny girl presented a letter thanking the American ladies, and this letter she read in a way to do credit to French schools even in war times.

The joy of the girls over their dolls and of the boys at their tops, drums, and horns was worth going a long way to see. There were warm clothes for everyone, packages of food, rice, cocoa, condensed milk and sugar for the old people and the children, yarn to be knitted into stockings. Thanks to the Mayoress and her knowledge of the village, every family was provided for and it was a happy procession with filled arms that left the farm that Christmas afternoon.

THIS celebration was only a beginning. The following day six more villages were visited at an hour announced beforehand and in each one a Christmas distribution was made.

A generous contribution was made to the Christmas at Acy by the Stage Women's War Relief, and the food was furnished through the kindness of the Free Food for France Fund.

Acy and the other villages east of Soissons in which the Relief Unit of the W. O. H. is working are peculiarly touching, because the people have been driven out of them twice by the Germans. Although they were occupied by the enemy in 1914, as late as last summer they were standing nearly intact. During their first advance the Germans stole most of the house furnishings and took the cattle and other animals, but did not destroy the village. As they retired and were driven back to the other side of the Aisne the inhabitants of this rich farming district came back, bringing new livestock and agricultural implements, and took up their accustomed life again, although under the constant sound of the guns. For three and a half years the Germans were close by, and although their shells sometimes fell in the fields where the people were plowing, they continued their labor of raising much needed food for France. Then came the advance of last summer, when the Boche made his last desperate attempt to reach Paris. Again the people fled, this time with little or nothing but the clothes on their backs; only some of the older ones remained, and these were sent north by the Germans. This time again every house in every village was systematically pillaged; great trucks loaded with furniture, with mattresses, featherbeds and linen, the prized heirlooms of thousands of families, were sent into Germany. Every house was swept clean.

Then as they began to lose ground and had to retire the Germans burned and blew up village after village, church after church. The beautiful twelfth century church at Acy had a set

* Mrs. Brown has just returned to America from a six months' stay in France, during which time she has been in charge of the Overseas Hospitals for the National American Woman Suffrage Assn. Leaving France just after Christmas, she was three weeks in making the ocean trip, owing to the heavy seas and a low-power boat.

of bells by which the village life had been regulated for centuries. The Germans cut the cables, sawed through the supports and let the bells fall through the church before they blew it up.

It is to towns like this that the French refugee, with a love of his own piece of ground deep ingrained in his nature, is coming back to take up life again. Often living in a corner of a building of which part of the roof or one wall is gone, sleeping on boards sometimes laid on their big beds, which were often too heavy for the Germans to move, with no blankets or mattresses; cooking on stones in the place where the chimney used to be, with only the clothes they are wearing, with not a chair or a dish or a knife or a fork or a needle or thread, and with no place to buy any of these things—that people have the courage to face life under such conditions is a marvel.

THEIR great cry is for mattresses and blankets, and the women beg for chemises. It seems as if they feel the need of a change of linen for the sake of their own self-respect. After that come shoes—not the American kind, but felt shoes for the old people and sabots for both old and young because of the terrible mud. The Government supplies food—meat, bread and beans or potatoes—certain days a week, and is encouraging the return of the inhabitants to these villages because this is one of the richest parts of France agriculturally. It is an independent and sturdy people who inhabit the region, and the W. O. H. Relief Unit is working with local persons, like the Mayoress, taking care not to pauperize them. The people do not beg, and when they can they prefer to buy. The W. O. H. takes to them on its trucks not only clothes, mattresses and bedding, but simple kitchen utensils, plates, knives and forks and spoons, and sewing utensils. The W. O. H. is not organized for reconstruction work and cannot supply them with farm implements, but it is trying to secure to the women and children the common necessities of life and to give them a little help in the long, hard struggle for existence.

At Labouheyre another celebration for French refugees was held. In one of the new barracks of the hospital a great tree was set up and the entire refugee population invited. Although many have gone back to their home villages in the liberated regions, about two hundred came, including seventy children.

The "Ognon" Unit, under Dr. Finley, which is now in Germany with the French Army of Occupation, celebrated their Christmas in a hospital at Metz, where they were caring for ill prisoners—American, French and English.

The "Gas Hospital Unit" had for their Christmas their first dinner in their own hospital at Nancy.

Cooperation in America

THE average housewife is ready to take an interest in any plan that promises to bring down the high cost of living. Every thoughtful woman is interested, besides, in any means for bringing more brightness into the lives of that large part of the American people whose energies are absorbed in a desperate struggle to make both ends meet. From both points of view, women have an essential interest in the great spread of the co-operative movement in the United States, as brought out at the first National Co-operative Convention, lately held in the State House at Springfield, Ill. It was attended by hundreds of delegates who represented people of all sorts.

It was decided to organize a National Co-operative Wholesale Association, having for its officers and directors the heads of seven great co-operative wholesale associations already organized and successfully at work in different sections of the country. These represent an annual turnover of \$2,200,000 from consum-

ers' co-operative associations and nearly \$100,000,000 from producers' co-operative associations. And these wholesale co-operative associations, with their chains of affiliated stores, are said to include only about one-third of the co-operative business carried on in this country, two-thirds of the co-operative stores being still unaffiliated. Even so, the co-operative movement of the United States is still far behind that of England. There it has been a solid success for many years; one-third of the population of Britain now get their food from the co-operative stores.

Various causes have made the movement slower of development here. For one thing, food was cheap in America, until the great meat-packing combine was formed and began to profiteer. As the investigation by the Federal Trade Commission has shown, the meat-packers have now extended their monopoly far beyond meat. They control also all the principal meat substitutes—eggs, cheese, etc.—and are reaching out and gathering in one kind of food after another, even the cereals, and putting up the price of all. The war has made things still worse, and there is no such thing as cheap food any more. This has naturally given the co-operative movement a great impetus.

IN Europe, and notably in Belgium, co-operation was used before the war, not only to lower the cost of living, but to provide many comforts and pleasures, and thousands of our naturalized citizens are using it in the same way here. The Finns of upper Michigan, through their co-operative stores, have secured buildings for classes, dances, clubs and meetings; working girls' boarding houses and men's boarding houses, all of them democratically managed; insurance, a newspaper, and a monthly magazine "to educate their women in suffrage and co-operation." Taking the country through, all sorts of co-operative enterprises are now being carried on. People generally begin by clubbing together to get the necessities of life more cheaply through a co-operative store, and then, finding the great possibilities open to them in this way, they go on to buy up sources of production—bakeries, dairies, sausage plants, laundries and boarding houses.

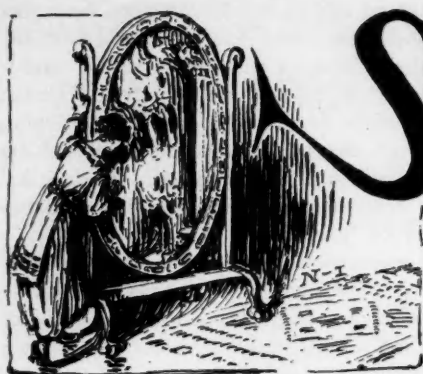
Representatives of co-operative wholesale associations, each running a chain of seventy to a hundred stores, say they could double the number of stores if they had trained managers for them. The recent National Co-operative Convention appointed a committee to develop schools for the training of managers and to secure organizers and send out literature (the Co-operative League of America, 2 West 13th Street, New York City). The Poles in Chicago some time ago started a school to educate co-operative managers. They now have between four and five hundred students in training, nearly half of them Polish girls.

In Seattle, within about three years, the working people have secured a co-operatively-owned laundry, doing a business of \$2,300 a week; a co-operative bakery with three salesrooms and restaurants; a city market, where the meat sales in one month totalled \$75,000; the largest sausage-making plant in the city; a slaughter house, and a \$10,000 milk condensing plant, which they are enlarging to three times its present size.

Incidentally, the women vote and have equal rights with the men in the management of the co-operative associations, thus getting preparation for the full citizenship that is soon to be theirs.

The co-operative movement is fought, of course, by the business interests whose profits it lessens, and sometimes it is fought unfairly. A recent ruling of the Railroad Administration, it is said, prohibits railroad employes from having an interest in co-operative stores; and the employes of the St. Louis and San Francisco Railroad are forbidden to own any interest in any co-operative business which competes with the commercial people along its route.

A. S. B.



Stage Reflections



HERE the Woman Citizen will present from time to time a survey of the plays and players of the American stage.

IN particular we want to bring down to center the interpretations of woman and her ways, the ideals of womanhood as they are staged. We have an idea that there is room for a little genial exchange as to woman's point of view and men's on the subject.

MEANTIME, we shall not, we feel sure, make the mistake of taking ourselves too seriously as we hold this mirror up to the stage.

The Crowded Hour

NOTHING is more evident than the growth of a moral discrimination on the part of our modern audiences, even when the auditors are not quite able to determine the emotions that influence their judgments. In spite of a tense interest in its war features, in spite of splendid acting, and in spite of a role which combines the enormous values of brains and of a gamin attractiveness in her favor, Miss Jane Cowl is never able to carry her audience fully with her in "The Crowded Hour." She works magnificently under the handicap of a situation which not only offends the tastes of her auditors but outrages, consciously or unconsciously, their sense of justice. That she has them merely not with her instead of against her is due, not only to her own dramatic power, but to the introduction, by the playwrights, of a sort of moral *deus ex machina* foreign to the conflict which is the real motive of the play.

The conflict is clearly enough set forth in the first act. It is a fight between a man's wife and his mistress for the dominance of his soul and his affections. That foreshadows the delineation of his character and theirs, the unrolling of a network of motives and characteristics which lead to the denouement. The idealists will expect this to be in favor of the wife. They will want her to win logically, because she proves herself better, at every move, than her antagonist, because, finally, the soul of a man passing through a crucible should be won by what is fine and true. The realists will (probably) ask for just the opposite. They will point out that Peggy Lawrence has brains, force and charm; that she is willing to throw all in the balance; and that a man eager to live life to its dregs, must turn to the woman who is positive in her influence.

The commercialist, however, has sought to evade the solution by a general hodge-podge which permits of "action" and a clever fooling of the audience. The conflict is never con-

tinued as it is foreshadowed. It is side-tracked for a second and third act, in which Peggy Lawrence continues to depict faithfully the ingrained selfishness and coarseness of her nature, where love is concerned, and to prove herself in an entirely new conflict within herself between love and patriotism. She has to choose between sending her lover to what she believes his death and losing the lives of twelve thousand men. She does what, from the beginning of the play, it is apparent is a latent possibility of her nature, and saves the twelve thousand. Then led apparently from one altruistic step to another, she withdraws from the rivalry and hands her lover over to his wife. It would take a gift greater than even Miss Cowl's to overcome the unconvincingness of such dramatic craftsmanship as that.

WE know no more of the wife at the end of the fourth act than at the beginning of the first. We really know little more of Peggy Lawrence. She continues a faithful presentation of what she showed herself in the first act until the terrific pressure of a "crowded" instant gives free play to the intelligence which is at the bottom of her attractiveness. The honesty with which, in the fourth act, she tells her lover the truth is congenial. It is not acquired by the contemplation of anything in his character which may move her remorse or stir her imagination.

In fact, the poorest feature of the play is the lover himself, Billy Laidlaw. Leading a forlorn hope is the only act to which Mr. Orme Caldera's courage in undertaking to play the part may be compared. It is not that Billy is so objectionable. It is that morally he is so supremely nothing. In the first act he is an unfaithful husband without any particular occasion for being so. He is not the more a great lover because, when Peggy Lawrence seeks to

dissuade him from enlisting after his brother has been crucified by the Germans, he tells her with more truth than civility that she can go to hell. In the second act, he bobs up serenely, flirting with the pose of an unloving but duty-bound husband. Nevertheless, he manages to be haughtily jealous of the woman whom he has insulted by expecting her to meet his mistress on the same ball room floor. In the third act, he falls from grace and bids an affecting adieu to the naughty Peggy before he goes out to blow up bridges. His jealousy is disarmed by the sight of the innocent letter which his wife has written. In the fourth, he reappears, proclaiming that he realizes that his wife loves another man, and holds out his arms to Peggy with an invitation to her to look upon them as her shelter hereafter. Peggy has that spasm of honesty—we are constrained to accept what the playwright alleges as the cause of it but it does seem as if she must have been making a pretext to break with such a spineless, stupid, vanity-impelled microcosm—he folds her in his arms in touching farewell, and turns from her to his wife.

THAT may be the sort of stuff which men like to think they are made of. It is not what women would like to think they are made of. First, there is a general feminine consensus that when a man has wooed a woman and sworn himself hers at the altar, she is entitled to fidelity regardless of certain lacks in her character which are counterbalanced by equal lacks in his. The theory that it is her business to go into competition in the arts of love with a woman of the streets is a bit of oriental-ization of our American ideals which may have crept in with our immense foreign immigration. It pervades a great deal of our drama at the present, it is in all French drama, but it is not likely to permanent lodgment here. In "The Crowded Hour" the illegal member of the triangle draws out of the contest. In

all American spirit, it should have been the wife who said to her rival, "For Heaven's sake, take him and welcome. He is not worth any honest woman's worry over him. The man who can fall in love with you, with your slang and your profanity and your gutter-snipe instincts, had better be left to you and all that you imply. He is not worth having."

M. H. F.

Daddies

"DADDIES," which is very like "Three Wise Fools" in its motive and its appeals, is vastly superior to it in plot, in the continued mirthfulness of the dialogue, and in its consistency. The cheap melodrama which interrupts the character comedy of "Three Wise Fools" is replaced, in "Daddies," by a naturally sequent exposition of the character possibilities suggested in the first act. It further rejoices in the possession of three averagely sensible women. The love element supplied by the unexpected appearance of a grown-up female orphan is prettily developed without being marred either by mawkishness or overconfidence.

A subtle distinction to those who perceive it is that the characters in "Daddies" are ladies and gentlemen, while those in "Three Wise Fools" are on a lower plane. If that old saying that it takes three generations to make a gentleman be true, the characters in "Daddies" would represent a fourth generation, while those in "Three Wise Fools" have but attained the third.

The chief blot in its characterizations lies in a family man-servant, patterned on the English variety. We do not readily recognize "Parkers" in America except when they are colored. Winifred Fraser in the over-idealized role of Mrs. Audrey managed to save the part by subtly conveyed hints of plain common sense and of healthy humanity. Little Miss Lorna Volare as Lorry showed stage capacity of considerable strength.

John W. Cope in the role of James Crockett the pronounced misogynist had the difficult role of the play but succeeded in avoiding its quicksands. He turned no mental somersaults, but slid into matrimony with a partner quite as good as he deserved. It was a truly Mikadoesque touch, that of making the punishment fit the crime, and the author, John L. Hobbles, deserves a bow of feminine appreciation.

The work of Jeanne Eagles as Ruth Atkins or of Bruce McCrea as Robert Audrey was characterized as brilliantly by its restraints as by its development. One bit of over-emphasis would have converted two delightfully human beings into unnatural travesties. In fact, the great charm of the presentation is that the actors succeed in giving us something entirely and satisfactorily American without the braggadocio and the "whoop it up" features that mar the average Broadway conception of democracy.

Mr. Belasco should see that a good translation is effected and the play put on in France—not that it is their style, but because it would be such a revelation to them of the underlying sentimentality which they do not suspect in us. Diplomatic compliments put aside for what they are worth, the French have no comprehension of our humor, of our finer sensibilities, of our persistent idealism. "Daddies," coming on the heels of their national disasters, when their minds have been distracted from the overwhelming importance of illicit love, would make a very good opening wedge in a series of dramas to unfold to them America as she sees herself, America in the revelation of her tragedy-avoiding, tender, altruistic humanity.

M. H. F.

Forever After

ONE swallow may not make a summer but that one scene may make a play is admirably demonstrated by "Forever After," still running to crowded houses at the Playhouse. It drags along, a cumbersome vehicle by reason of its "cut-back" construction, with not enough of interest to destroy the critical instinct of the spectator and not enough of boredom to induce him to forfeit his entrance fee till, in the third act, it rises to an emotional climax which not only stirs the audience to its depths but makes a compelling demand for approval. The drop from the tensify of that scene to the passionless melodrama of the last one, great as it is, is not sufficient to efface the impression that has been made. One leaves the theater with a sense of satisfied emotions and of joy in a splendid and purposeful youth, in a manhood that is all manly, a womanhood that is tender and loving and abounding in character.

It is not the war interest which nightly holds its audiences.

It is not the realistic presentation of American character, because that has been effected without the light touches of humor and pathos which are the essentials of clever character delineation.

The secret of its continued attraction lies in one powerful scene and in the general flavor left in the mind of the beholder. Its continuance is proof positive of a healthy moral appetite which may be indifferent to the artistic defects in its preparation but is keenly insistent upon a substantial and nourishing food content. But because it does abound in strong and in mellow characters who are possibilities of everyday American life, one cannot help regretting that the author did not see fit to introduce at some earlier stage in the play, the element of compelling dramatic force which is necessary to counteract the honest realism of the character delineation. Its prosiness is a part of its truth which should not be sacrificed but could be colored by an emotional interest earlier aroused.

M. H. F.

"Ladies First"

THE thin-skinned who have resented the burlesquing of the suffrage movement in "Ladies First," and the embodiment of a suffrage leader in the Gargantuan presence of "Aunt Jim" have been tilting with windmills. "Aunt Jim," old as time as a stage character, was undeniably handsome, in spite of her make-up, and the suggestion was not absent that she would "peel" (I quote a phrase from one of the musical gems of the afternoon) decidedly thinner than she looked. If suffrage never develops anything more pernicious than Aunt Jim, the recording angel will be able to husband his tears till the men start something new of their own. Had it been Betty Burt who represented our movement—Betty, who, as played by Miss Nora Bayes, was never a suffragist at heart and was coerced by her vociferous aunt into running for mayor—we might have winced indeed. Assuming that the author, Mr. Harry B. Smith, had to choose from the material on that stage, we fared not ill at his hands.

There was a delightful little colored girl in the cast and two quite fresh-faced, innocent-looking young men. Whether Benny should be allowed to keep company with Betty Burt is really out of our province to decide. The matter should be referred to the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children:

But how silly to talk like that! When he is only a character in a play! But really he had an awfully nice face—and somehow—though it would be difficult to say just how—he seemed out of place.

M. H. F.

THE amazing thing is that an up-to-date manager could beguile himself or herself into making a production so out of date, so behind the spirit of the times. Can't Miss Bayes keep up? Doesn't she read the papers? Can't she be made to realize that the world and its fun of today are some twenty-five years ahead of the point where she seems last to have taken stock of progress. For even fun makes progress; has its date and its style. Miss Bayes has a delectable talent, so much talent, so much personality that her vehicles of expression leave one constantly wondering why she doesn't treat the talent rather more considerably, give it a little fairer and finer show. She is scheduled as that rara avis, a woman producer, too. She has her own playhouse and the initiative and nerve to run it. Those things predispose women in her favor and are immensely to her credit; but it is really too much to ask even her friends to laugh at a last year's bird-nest. Say what you will, there is something emptily pathetic about a last year's bird-nest.—Ed.]

THE report of the Women's Committee of the Fourth Liberty Loan shows the Stage Women's War Relief second in the list, with a record of \$2,663,350 bonds sold.

PROGRESS OF THE SUFFRAGE FEDERAL AMENDMENT UP TO DATE

KNOWN IN THE

65TH CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES AS
SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 2
and HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 1

*Proposing an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States Con-
ferring upon Women the
Right of Suffrage.*

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several states as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said Legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution namely:

"ARTICLE

"SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

History of Amendment

First introduced in the Senate, January 10, 1878, by Senator A. A. Sargent, of California.

REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE:

In the Senate:

1878, Adverse majority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1889, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1890, Without recommendation.
1893, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Without recommendation.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1916, Favorable majority.
1917, Unanimously.

In the House:

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.
1917, Sept. 24, Woman Suffrage Committee created, yes 181, no 107.
1917, Dec. 15, Reported from Judiciary Committee without recommendation.
1918, Jan. 3, Reported favorably from House Suffrage Committee.

VOTED UPON:

In the House:

January 12, 1915: yeas 174, nays 204 (378 voting).
January 10, 1918: yeas 274, nays 136 (410 voting).

VICTORY!

In the Senate:

January 25, 1887: yeas 16, nays 34 (50 voting).
March 19, 1914: yeas 35, nays 34 (69 voting).
October 1, 1918: yeas, including pairs, 62; nays 34.

Present Status in Senate:

October 3, Motion for reconsideration passed.
Back on calendar.
Jan. 1, 1919. Date for vote pending.

Wisconsin Will Ratify

"THE Legislature of Wisconsin will ratify the woman suffrage amendment as soon as it has opportunity to do so," says the Wisconsin Woman Suffrage Association. This conclusion is inevitable, following the action of the Legislature last week in passing a resolution, which was immediately forwarded to the United States Senate, favoring woman suffrage and the Federal Amendment.

"This resolution was adopted with such speed and unanimity as to startle members of the Wisconsin Woman Suffrage Association, even though they had confidently expected favorable action. The Legislature was absorbed in the prohibition contest, but even before that contest was finished the woman suffrage resolution was introduced in the Senate by Senator Roy P. Wilcox of Eau Claire and in the Assembly by Arnold C. Otto of Milwaukee. Both resolutions were adopted immediately with large majorities. The Senate majority being 24 to 4 and the Assembly majority 75 to 14. Later the Senate concurred in the Assembly resolution, the text of which is as follows:

"RESOLVED by the Assembly, the Senate concurring, that we endorse woman suffrage, following the platforms of the political parties of this state, and favor that the Senate of the United States adopt the legislation now pending before it providing for submitting to the several states an amendment to the federal constitution establishing national, woman's suffrage. Be it further

"RESOLVED that this resolution properly signed and attested by the officers of this Legislature be forwarded to the United States Senate, and a copy thereof to each United States Senator."

Big Work in Massachusetts

DR. ELWOOD WORCESTER, Mrs. Samuel D. Warren, Mrs. Charles S. Bird, vice-president of Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association, and Mrs. Charles O. Tyler, Chairman, constitute the Massachusetts Branch of the National Committee to secure rank for Army Nurses, by the enactment of the Lewis-Raker bill, which is designed to meet a very real need in the condition of Red Cross nurses, and to correct a serious discrimination against this section of the military service. The bill has been side-tracked. But an energetic campaign of publicity will be undertaken to organize public sentiment and push the measure to completion in this Congress.

Preparation for citizenship is to be fathered by the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association in cooperation with local suffrage associations. A committee made up of President Wooley of Mt. Holyoke, President Pendleton

Within the

of Wellesley, Dean Arnold of Simmons, Mr. Ralph Adams Cram, and Prof. W. H. Rolfe of Concord, is outlining a plan that will centralize the many lines of work, civic, industrial, Americanization and legislative, now being furthered by the State Association. Methods of community work suited to particular conditions will be suggested, the aim being to stimulate interest in local conditions and give opportunity for discussion of questions of government and citizenship that are fundamental in a democracy.

Good Government

THE Boston Equal Suffrage Association for Good Government was the first organization in Boston to incorporate the words "goods government" in its name and purposes. Recently a committee, to be known as the Committee on Education for Citizenship, has been formed, with Mrs. William Healy as chairman. A series of talks on citizenship are to be given in the school centers, the settlements, department stores, and before various women's organizations where opportunities can be secured.

The committee also is to issue a Quarterly Bulletin under the title "Your Legislature," Mrs. Lewis J. Johnson of Cambridge being the editor. Its purpose is "to assist the public to form a correct judgment concerning the work and character of the members of the Legislature and to furnish the public with exact information concerning the scope and purpose of proposed legislation." It is to be strictly non-partisan. The first edition will be 10,000 copies and will be distributed free of charge to those interested, both men's and women's organizations who are working for good government. It will contain a complete account of the organization of the Legislature, the process of law-making, and a short account of the more important bills introduced into the Legislature, with brief arguments for and against.

Reconstruction Commission

WOMEN are to play an important part in the solving of the reconstruction problems that confront New York state, five well-known women having been given places on the Reconstruction Commission appointed by Governor Alfred E. Smith in a special message to the Legislature. This commission will devote its efforts to the work of finding solutions for the social and industrial problems that have grown out of the war.

The women appointees of the commission are: Sarah Conboy of New York, a representative of the State Federation of Labor; Mrs. Walter W. Steele of Buffalo, a prominent war worker; Mrs. Ella Hastings of New York

Organization

city, a member of the executive committee of the Democratic County Committee of New York; Mrs. Louis Stuyvesant Chanler of Barryton, wife of former Lieut. Gov. Chanler, and Mrs. William S. Good of New York City, president of the Civic Club and a member of the National League for Women's Service.

For Women Aldermen

CHICAGO women are agitating the question of women on the Board of Aldermen of that city. The Board of Directors of the Chicago Woman's City Club recently passed a resolution to that effect. The resolution states that the committee appointed by the club to canvass the situation and induce women to become candidates in those wards where there was a possibility of their election reported that Mrs. Ella S. Stewart of the 6th Ward and Miss Laura Pierce Young of the 33rd Ward were well qualified by experience to fill positions on the City Council and that they also had a prospect of making a successful campaign.

The Board of Directors of the City Club therefore urges Mrs. Stewart and Miss Pierce to announce their candidacy, stating the support of the club would be given them.

Mrs. Stewart and Miss Young are both prominent in civic and club work in Chicago. Mrs. Stewart was formerly president of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association.

Women Watch Legislation

THE women of Indiana through a Legislative Council, composed of representatives of practically all the women's organizations of Indiana, will keep a close watch on bills affecting the status of women which may be presented at this session of the State Legislature.

While a regular lobby may not be maintained, the Council will attempt to influence legislation through the constituents "back home," who in turn will influence their representatives in the Legislature. Some of the legislation the women will favor includes a women's department on the Industrial Board, shorter hours of service for women and a law providing for part time vocational schools.

Grange for Amendment

THE Connecticut State Grange at its Annual Convention held January 15 at Hartford, passed a resolution demanding "National Political Freedom for Women without further wasteful delay." The resolution also urged Senator McLean and Senator Brandegee immediately to announce their intention to vote for the Federal Suffrage Amendment in the present session of the Senate.

Florida's Press

THE South Florida Press Association at its semi-annual meeting held recently at Winter Haven went on record as favoring the immediate passage of the Federal Suffrage amendment, and called upon Senators Trammell and Fletcher to vote in favor of the measure. Some of the most prominent newspaper men of Florida were present at the gathering. The resolution, which was unanimously adopted, was as follows:

"Whereas, The members of the South Florida Press Association have stood with President Wilson in all things pertaining to the conduct of the war; and

Whereas, We have noted with approval his stand in favor of suffrage for women, who have shown themselves to be fully as good soldiers as men during the world war, and because we have seen in this organization the excellent efforts of women who adorn the press of the state; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we stand with President Wilson in his advocacy of woman suffrage, and we urge our representatives in Congress to vote for the enfranchisement of women; be it also

Resolved, That we urge the Legislature of Florida to submit this question to the people of the state.

With this end in view we urge that copies of this resolution be sent to our representatives in Congress and to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and President of the Senate in Florida."

The committee drafting the resolution included A. P. Jordan, editor of the Punta Gorda Herald; Gilbert Leech, editor of the Leesburg Commercial, and J. G. Worthington, editor of the Tampa Times.

From the Florida Metropolis

THE vote of either of the two United States Senators from Florida will give the people of the nation the opportunity through their Legislatures to say whether the women of the country should have an equal chance with the men to express themselves as to the administration of the affairs of the government under which they live and which they have helped materially to build.

"Senator Fletcher, Florida's senior Senator, and Senator Trammell, the junior solon from the state, have both taken a decided stand against submission of the Susan B. Anthony amendment to the Constitution. That they are not representing the will of a majority of their constituency when they oppose the submission of this amendment is beyond question. From every part of the state comes an insistent call that the Senators change their position. No organization with a state-wide representation

(Continued on page 739)

Are You Keeping Up with the Times?

DO YOU KNOW WHY SUFFRAGISTS LOVE THE YEAR 1918?

ABROAD

Women were granted full suffrage

in	in
Australian Federation.....	1902
Austria.....	1918*
Canada.....	1918*
Czecho-Slovakia.....	1918*
Denmark.....	1915
England.....	1918*
Finland.....	1906
Germany.....	1918*
Holland.....	1919
Hungary.....	1918*
Iceland.....	1913
Ireland.....	1918*
Isle of Man.....	1881
Norway.....	1907
Poland.....	1918*
Russia.....	1917
Scotland.....	1918*
Sweden.....	1919
Wales.....	1918*

Nineteen countries in all!
Ten stars of Victory for 1918!

† According to press dispatches of January 2.
‡ According to word from the president of the Vereeniging voor Vrouwenkiesrecht.

And in the United States

Women Were Granted Full Suffrage

in	in
Wyoming.....	1890
Colorado.....	1893
Idaho.....	1896
Utah.....	1896
Washington.....	1910
California.....	1911
Arizona.....	1912
Kansas.....	1912
Oregon.....	1912
Alaska.....	1913
Montana.....	1914
Nevada.....	1914
New York.....	1917
Oklahoma.....	1918*
Michigan.....	1918*
South Dakota.....	1918*

Three stars of Victory in 1918!

Women Were Granted Presidential and Municipal Suffrage

in	in
Illinois.....	1913
North Dakota.....	1917
Nebraska.....	1917

Presidential Suffrage

in	in
Rhode Island.....	1917

Municipal Suffrage

in	in
South Africa.....	1913
Vermont.....	1917

Primary Suffrage

in	in
Arkansas.....	1917
Texas.....	1918

School or Tax Suffrage

in	in
Kentucky.....	1838
Minnesota.....	1875
New Hampshire.....	1878
Massachusetts.....	1879
Mississippi.....	1880
Louisiana.....	1898
New Jersey.....	1897
Connecticut.....	1897
Ohio.....	1894
Delaware.....	1898
Wisconsin.....	1900
New Mexico.....	1910
Iowa.....	1894

Women Voters of the World!

There are approximately one hundred million women voters in the world today. Eleven million of them, in twenty-one states, will be entitled to vote for the next President of the United States.

Women and Street Cars

"IF the Cleveland street car incident," writes Mr. James M. Lynch, State Industrial Commissioner of New York, to the *Woman Citizen*, "was simply a discrimination against women, then, of course, it is wrong."

Well, was it simply that and simply wrong?

That is what we are trying to discover.

It will be recalled that in the last issue of the *Woman Citizen* the Amalgamated Association of Electric and Street Railway Workers presented the men's side of the Cleveland street car case. As a preface to that presentation we took careful occasion to point out that:

"Organized laboring men have one very strong argument with which they back up their action when they take a stand in opposition to the employment of women in some line of industry; it is that capital is but exploiting the unorganized women at the expense of the organized men."

We were careful to point it out and to leave it on the page quite unchallenged, because it is the most dignified and consequence-fraught of all the objections that men can advance against the entry of women into an occupation that is at the moment held sacred to men. We say at the moment, because the monopoly on an occupation shifts from sex to sex. Men are to-day, for instance, usurping many occupations that yesterday were considered sacred to women—the sewing trades, domestic service, healing and nursing—women and women only were the first tailors, bakers, waiters, doctors and nurses. To go still farther back—until the Woman's Land Army made farming stylish again, present-day civilization rather flinched at the sight of women in the harvest fields, yet it was woman who sowed the first seeds and reaped the first harvest. She was a farmer when man was a hunter. Men's notion, therefore, that an occupation is theirs, not women's, must be taken at its true worth and its true worth is that men may happen to dominate a trade or profession today and happen not to tomorrow.

BUT to return—what must have popped into your head—it would have popped into anybody's head—as you read that in Cleveland the women were being exploited at the expense of the men, was:

"Why don't the men bring the women forthwith into the unions, so that the organization can be on guard for itself in the case of the woman as in the case of the man? Why does the union allow itself to be menaced by this unorganized woman any more than by the unorganized man? The first thing the union does with the man is to organize him; why not organize the woman?"

Having asked that question, a superstructure built on the plea that unorganized women can be exploited at the expense of organized men falls to the ground like a house of cards for any union which, while complaining of the menace in unorganized women, refuses women the privilege of union membership.

Again, surely no man or group of men can hope in this day and generation to impress women with any abstract argument as to woman's place. Not after the war. The war has shown with what ease society, country and family can scrap-heap tradition and convention in order to use women to the best advantage in any and every place. Having survived the war and its industrial demands on them, women really ought not to be asked to spar with those old ghosts of dead and gone talk fests.

If a case is to be made against a specific occupation as hurtful to woman herself, let it be made on its own merits, not on the specious ground of "woman's place."

THE women's answer in the Cleveland street car case, and its companion piece, the Detroit street car case, has been well summarized by the National Women's Trade Union League through its executive secretary, Miss Ethel M. Smith, of Washington. We shall now rest the women's case in her hands:

"For what seems to be the first time in the country's industrial history organized working men have made an open fight against working women to secure for men a monopoly of certain kinds of work. The issue, therefore, is nothing less than women's fundamental right to work in fair competition with men."

"The facts in the Cleveland case were these: The women conductors were employed in September, when men had in great numbers gone into the army and into the remunerative war industries. The women who took conductors' jobs were all self-supporting women from the poorer-paying occupations, attracted in their turn to what were better wages for them—for street car wages had been raised in July from 35 cents to 43 and 48 cents per hour, or as much as \$125 to \$150 per month."

"The women proved competent and highly satisfactory to their employers and the public. And they played the game fairly with the men from every point of view, meeting the same terms of employment, and receiving the same wages as the men."

"The women also complied with every trade-union requirement, and asked for membership in the men's union, the local division of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees. But the men refused to admit them to membership—not because of anything the women had done or failed to do, but because if the women were members of the union the union would have to protect them in their jobs, whereas it demanded, instead, their dismissal."

"PLEASE note again that there was no strike at the time the women were employed, and that the women received the same pay as the men, had the same hours and seniority rights, and met every other condition to which the men were subjected. This fact is established by the records of the case on file with the National War Labor Board, and these records are public. It has been charged that some time ago the union motormen and conductors of Cleveland struck for more money and their places were filled by women, whose services were tantamount to those of strikebreakers. This statement is not only flatly untrue, but it is flagrantly unjust as a reflection on the women conductors; a reflection which trade union women, as well as all other fair-minded women, are bound to resent. Men resent the term 'scab' and 'strikebreaker' when applied to themselves. Women resent it, too."

"Furthermore, as to the facts in regard to the strike of the men: This strike occurred *after* the women were employed on the cars, and there was no wage dispute at the time. The wage question had been settled *two months before the women were employed* by an award of the National War Labor Board, dated July 31 and retroactive to May 31. This award raised the wage scale from 35 cents an hour to 43, 46 and 48 cents an hour, and under the terms of that award *the case could not be reopened until February 1, 1919, at the earliest.*

"The men, however, denied the jurisdiction of the National War Labor Board and demanded that the company dismiss the women. The company refused, and as the men persisted in their demand, the women sought an interlocutory order from the Board. This order was granted November 29, forbidding the dismissal of the women and ordering the men to withhold their insistence pending a decision of the Board upon the merits of the controversy."

"NEVERTHELESS, on December 2 the men struck because the company had not yielded to their demand and dismissed the women. This was the avowed reason for the strike, and this alone. The strike was, of course, in violation of the Board's interlocutory order of November 29, and the Board itself, in its recommendation of December 3 for the dismissal of the women, violated its own order. Because of these facts, and the fact that the women had never been heard on the question at issue, a petition was filed by the women for a reopening of the case. This petition is now pending before the Board, and is to be argued for the women by Frank P. Walsh, former joint chairman of the Board.

"In Detroit the situation was similar to that in Cleveland, but differences in the contract between the union and the company limited the scope of the Board's inquiry and consequently its findings. The decision in this case, however, handed down by Chairman Taft the other day, requires that the women now employed be retained, although under the existing contract no women can be engaged in future. The Cleveland case is broader, and involves a decision as to the actual right of women to compete with men for the street car jobs.

"The Cleveland case, moreover, because of its vital import to working women, has been the subject of public meetings, telegrams and letters of protest all over the country. These protests have come from women's organizations and individual trade union women and suffragists, who appreciate the possible effect of the precedent in the War Labor Board's recommendation of December 3 for the dismissal of the Cleveland women.

"But the action of the Detroit and Cleveland locals of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees in striking against the women, and in refusing them membership in their union, is not defended by many trade union men, and probably would not be sustained by any other national or international trade union body in the world. It does not represent real trade unionism, for real trade unionism stands for equal opportunity for men and women alike. The platform of the American Federation of Labor, and of practically every state and local federation of labor in the world demands equal rights for women. One of the "14 points" of the new Chicago Labor Party, and all the other labor parties is "Complete equality of men and women in government and industry."

MISS ROSE MORIARTY, of Cleveland, who took local charge of the women's case early in the street car crisis, presents the following:

CLASSIFICATION OF WOMEN CONDUCTORS

LIST AS OF SEPTEMBER 25, 1918.

Widows		Support		Relatives in Army.	Total.
With Children.	Without Children.	Others.			
15	13	1	1		28
Married Women.					
Husband in Army	Supports Self	Supports Children.	Husband in Next Draft.	Husband Sick, Dependent Have Children.	Dependent Mothers
15	5	12	3	4	
Supports Self.	3	Buying Home.	Helps Support Home.		Total.
	1		8		51
Single Women.					
Supports Self.	Dependents.	Total			
42	21	63			
Widows		28			
Married women		51			
Single women		63			
Total		142			

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Batiste, featuring the new Buster Brown collar with plaited frill. 34 to 44. 3.95



Batiste with high neck, tucked turnover collar and vestee; yoke in back. 34 to 44. 3.95



French Voile. Plaited vestee and back Trimming of crochet balls. 6.95

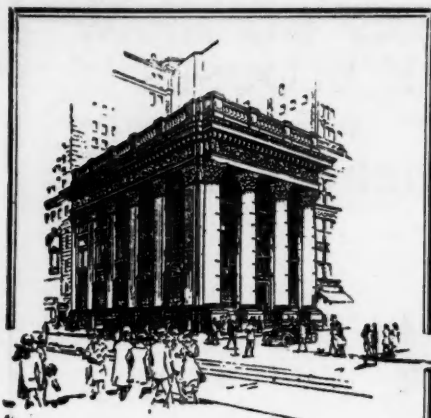
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Abdominal Hip Reducer
Long Graceful Lines

Double straps of elastic keeps abdomen flat at all times and reduces the hips.

Personal

NEW YORK women generally and women attorneys in particular are enthusiastic over Attorney-General Charles D. Newton's announcement that he is considering the appointment of a woman as First Deputy Attorney General. The women are keenly alive to the importance that attaches to the position of assistant to the Attorney General in a state like New York. The salary is \$4,500.

One of the aspirants for the office is Mrs. Jean Nelson Penfield, an attorney and well known suffrage leader. She is a lecturer in the Department of Practical Law in the Brooklyn Law School. She organized the Bronx for suffrage and seven years ago was the city chairman of the Woman Suffrage Party. Mrs. Penfield has the endorsement of the State Federation of Women's Clubs and of the Women's Bar Association of Brooklyn.

MRS. CLAUDE U. GILSON has resigned her position as legislative chairman of the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association and Mrs. Anna C. M. Tillinghast of Cambridge has been appointed to that position.

Mrs. Gilson was scheduled to sail for France the last of January to act as chaperon member of the War Victory Commission group that is being sent to France from Massachusetts by the General Federation of Women's Clubs. This group will constitute a furlough centre for American boys in khaki under the recreation department of the Y. M. C. A.

MRS. H. M. SCHWEPPE, President of the Alton Branch of the Illinois Humane Society, in the January 11 issue, writes that it is seven hundred, not seven dollars, that she collected for the Fatherless Children of France Committee. This sum represents one year's support for twenty-five children. Mrs. Schweppe says that some three hundred dollars more will be forthcoming this week for the fund.

MRS. MARY S. BURNHAM is the first woman to be appointed a Deputy Sheriff in the state of Maine. Mrs. Burnham has had much experience in police work, having served as matron in the Portland Police Department. She has also been active in investigating for the Society for the Protection of Children.

MRS. JOHN E. MOORE of Kokomo, Indiana, has been elected a director of the Women's Franchise League. Mrs. Moore is president of the Indiana Federation of Women's Clubs.

MRS. ZELL HART DEMING, Treasurer of the Ohio Woman Suffrage Association, is the only woman member of the Associated Press, according to the Ohio Headquarters News Bulletin.



DONE WITH THEM

Suffrage a Necessity

ONE of the first acts of Mrs. Emily C. McDougald of Atlanta, recently elected chairman of the Georgia Equal Suffrage Party, upon taking up her new duties, was to send out a letter to the 400 women war workers on all committees of Georgia, urging that they do all possible to bring about the early enfranchisement of women. After recalling that now that the hard tasks incident to the war period are over and the women are confronted with the even more difficult problems of the construction period, Mrs. McDougald said: "We know that unless we are given the fullest possible enfranchisement, such as all the allied nations are giving to their women, we will be unable to meet the great responsibility to which we are called—the solution of problems essentially vital to women and children."

"Our duty, therefore, is to ask that immediate enfranchisement be granted women by the passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, that we may take our part in these affairs on an equal footing with men."

Mrs. McDougald is chairman of the Atlanta War Work Council and a member of the Nation War Work Council of the Y. W. C. A. She was the first state chairman of the Equal Suffrage Party of Georgia. She has also served as congressional chairman.

Associated with Mrs. McDougald as state officers are the following women: Mrs. S. B. C. Morgan of Savannah, Georgia, and Mrs. John Dozier Pou of Columbus, Georgia, vice-chairman; Mrs. Elliot Cheatham of Atlanta, congressional chairman, and Mrs. C. C. Harold of Macon, vice-congressional chairman; Mrs. Beaumont Davison of Atlanta, corresponding secretary; Mrs. A. C. Helmer of Atlanta, recording secretary; Miss Julia Fleisch of Augusta, treasurer; Miss Annie G. Wright of Augusta, auditor, and Miss Stella Akin of Savannah, press chairman.

McCutcheon's

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LINEN EPONGE a heavy Linen in plain and heather mixture,

checks, etc. 45 inches wide. **\$1.25 yard**

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White and plain shades; every color represented; two qualities.

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DEVONSHIRE CLOTH, White, Pink, Blue, Tan, Brown; also neat stripes

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HANDKERCHIEF LINENS, White and a complete range of the new plain shades; fine sheer quality and soft finish. 36 inches wide. **\$1.25 yard**

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Within the Organization

(Continued from page 735)

has refused to endorse the amendment recently when the matter has been brought up. The same is true in a vast majority of cases where local organizations throughout the state have been asked to take a position on the question. The *Metropolis* has carefully observed the swing of sentiment in Florida in the past two years. The change has been remarkable. Up to this time the people of Florida have been but passively interested in the Susan Anthony amendment. Today they feel and realize that the women of the nation are being denied a privilege that should be justly theirs from every point of view when they are not given the right to participate in elections on an equal footing with men. The interest is no longer passive. There is strong demand that Florida's delegation in the upper branch of Congress represent them truthfully. To represent them truthfully, both Senators Trammell and Fletcher must recede from their former opposition to the amendment."

Urge Senators to Vote Yes

SENATORS Trammell and Fletcher of Florida again heard from the men and women of that state on the question of Federal Suffrage when a resolution urging the Senators

to vote for the Amendment was passed unanimously at the mass meeting held in January at Orlando. More than 1,600 persons were present. Dr. Anna Howard Shaw was the speaker of the evening, the occasion being a two-day conference of the suffragists of that section of the state.

The conference was one of a series of Sectional Equal Suffrage Conferences which the Florida Equal Suffrage Association plans to hold throughout the state during the coming months. Mrs. W. R. O'Neal gave the address of welcome and included in the program of the sessions were talks by Mrs. John T. Fuller, Chairman of the Woman's Council of Defense; Mrs. W. S. Jennings, who spoke on the "Two Roads to Victory—Federal Amendment or State Constitution," and Mrs. Edgar Lewis, President of the State Federation of Women's Clubs.

Organization work will be pushed by the suffragists of Florida, and to this end the conference voted to engage a state organizer.

Baptists for Amendment

DELEGATES to the Florida Baptist Convention, held recently at Tampa, joined the hundreds of men and women of that state who are appealing to the Florida Senators to vote for the Federal Amendment. As political

action is not in accord with the principles of the Church the convention, as a body, could not take action, but those present signed a petition appealing for prompt action on the Federal Amendment and the support of the Florida Senators.

The Florida Engineering Society, which met recently in Jacksonville, also adopted resolutions asking their State Senators to take action.

Gov. Sproul Urges Suffrage

SUFFRAGE for the women of Pennsylvania was one of the points stressed by Governor William C. Sproul in his inaugural address delivered on January 21. The Governor gave his endorsement to suffrage by federal or state route as follows:

"The wonderful devotion, superb efficiency and noble patriotism of the women of Pennsylvania should bring them prompt recognition of their claim for and inherent right to full citizenship. If Congress shall submit an Amendment giving universal suffrage, we should promptly approve it. If Congress shall not act favorably upon the matter a resolution proposing a state amendment should be passed."

Is There Room at the Top?
See Page 743

These Hotels



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Shall Women Serve on Juries?

By Mary Sumner Boyd

[At a time when the practical question of whether or not women "shall be allowed" to sit on juries is attracting attention, state by state, it is of interest to look into the jury question more generally and more closely. The appended article by Mrs. Boyd assembles the record of women and jury duty and shows how the question has been handled in woman suffrage states.—Ed.]

terms as men. As to the proportion of women who serve on juries, I will say that very rarely indeed do women serve." . . . "In practice, if summoned as jurors, it is more than likely that the judge would accept an excuse and relieve them from duty."

THERE are only five other equal suffrage states in which women are even permitted to serve on jury. These are Kansas, Nevada, Utah, Washington and California.

"In Kansas," says the Attorney General, "women are exempt if they plead sex. However, they may serve, if they desire to and qualify." So willing have the women been to serve that they defeated a bill designed expressly to exempt them.

Such a bill as was defeated in Kansas has actually become law in Utah. The District Attorney writes: "There is nothing in the Constitution or laws of this state which would prevent a woman from acting as a juror, provided she is a citizen of the United States, over the age of twenty-one years, can read and write the English language, has the required statutory residence, is a taxpayer in the state, and is of reputable sound mind and discretion, and not disabled in body so as to be unable to serve as such. However, by a statute a female citizen is expressly exempt from jury duty."

Since this letter was written, however, a woman juror did actually serve in Utah in spite of the exempting statute.

In general women in equal suffrage states, like the women of Kansas, do not wish to be exempt. There is no reason why sex in itself should constitute an exemption, since any reasonable judge would relieve a woman from

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service in those cases where her children's needs demanded her presence at home.

AS for the equal suffrage states where women do not serve, the attorney general states:

Montana: "Women are not qualified as jurors in any case."

Colorado: "Only men are eligible for service on juries."

Arizona: "Our law does not provide for women serving on juries."

Alaska Territory: "Women are excluded by the terms of the jury law."

In Illinois, Wyoming and Oregon they did actually at one time serve on juries, only to be deprived of the right later. In Wyoming they served even before they had the vote. After woman suffrage Judge Howe frankly took the law into his own hands. He deliberately stretched the right to vote to cover jury duty and drew women on his juries, on the ground that in the outlaw communities of his state, they were the only solid and reliable citizens capable of just decisions. This is a point worth calling to the attention of those who claim women are too emotional for jury duty.

Judge Howe's right to women jurors was constantly questioned, and on one occasion a threat was made of carrying a case to the higher court. The judge pointed out that he himself was on the Supreme Court and that the majority on that Court were in sympathy with his policies. "Well, in that case, your Honor," said the opponent, somewhat growlsomely, "as judges do not resign, there is a possibility of their dying, and all one can do is to wait." It was not death but illness that

JURY trial is the oldest of freemen's rights and jury duty was a responsibility of the freeman long before he had political rights and duties and was known by the name of citizen. Yet in no states where women citizens cannot vote, and in but few where they can, are women called to serve on juries. Conversely, in the states where they do not serve the woman accused of crime is deprived of trial by her peers.* It is natural that this should be so where women do not vote, but the assumption has naturally been made by many that jury duty was a part of full voting citizenship. Most people have assumed that in equal suffrage states jurors' names were chosen from the poll lists without regard to sex.

In a few equal suffrage states women do serve legally, in others they do not, and never have; and in still others they did so serve for a time, drawn by local magistrates actually in contravention of the law.

Idaho is the only suffrage state which so interprets the jury law as to force jury duty on women, and in this state, the compulsion is largely theoretical.

"Women are not excluded from jury duty," writes the Attorney-General of Idaho, "either by constitutional provision or by statute, nor can they be exempt if they plead sex, and they may be forced to serve upon exactly the same

* Since 1215, when Magna Charta King John promised that "no freeman shall be taken, imprisoned, dispossessed, outlawed or banished; nor shall we go upon him, nor send upon him except by legal judgment of his peers," whatever courts may try the case, whatever judges determine the penalty, the fundamental question of a man's guilt or innocence, in all criminal cases, and whenever he asks it in civil cases, has always been decided in open court on written charge by a jury of his peers, namely, by freemen like himself.

brought Judge Howe's services in Wyoming to an end; but with his withdrawal, came the end of the Wyoming women jurors.

No Wyoming case has been decided by the Supreme Court. One male prisoner in that state did demand women jurors, but the court decreed that the question could not be decided in case a woman demanded trial by her peers.

In Illinois women served in the early days of woman suffrage, then the Attorney General withdrew this right on the ground that "without express legislation they are not qualified."

In Washington and California women jurors served, were deprived, and the right was restored to them by legal enactment, Washington in 1911 and California in 1917.

The ground on which in these eight states women have not been allowed to serve on juries as part of their citizenship is an interesting one. It was laid down in the Harland case which deprived Washington women of their right to serve as citizens, and necessitated special legislation on this matter. The common law term by which a juror is described in the law is *homo*—human being—and under this word *homo*, as used in the jury law, says Blackstone—that wealth of information on the legal suppression of women—"though a word common to both sexes, the female is, however, excluded *propter defectum sexus*."

This "defect of sex," first recognized in the Harland case, has been removed by law in Washington and California. Such a law has been pushed but not yet passed in some of the other states where women are not allowed to serve. It should be passed also in those four states where women are now actually serving without special legislation, for the common law principle underlying the Harland case may at any time be adopted by Attorney Generals in these states and the right of jury duty be withdrawn.

New York women lawyers have been foresighted in this respect. One of the first laws relating to women introduced into the New York Legislature after women got the vote was the bill of the Women Lawyers Association to give women the right to serve on jury. It did not pass in 1917, but it will be pushed till it does, so that in that state the question of "defect of sex" will never arise.

Woman Jury in Michigan

MICHIGAN has been treated to the novelty of a woman jury, and according to the *State Journal* of Lansing, "Michigan's first female jury distinguished itself." The case was one of intoxication. Two male juries had heard the testimony, but, failing to agree, a woman's jury was impanelled as, a last resort. It took the women just twenty minutes to return a verdict of "guilty." "The women seized upon facts and dealt with them summarily which is one of the disconcerting ways that the women have," says the *Journal*. "Maybe women are not out of place in a courtroom after all?"

Representative Warner has introduced into the Legislature a bill which will wipe out all the provisions regarding limited suffrage formerly held by Michigan women. These laws are now obsolete as Michigan women have complete suffrage.

Bulletins setting forth the qualifications for voters in Michigan and advising women what they must do in order to qualify for the vote have been issued by the Wayne County Equal Suffrage Association.

THE Austrian Parliament has passed a motion to admit women to juries, according to a Vienna dispatch of January 23.

150 Towns Canvassed

THE work of enrolling the adult women of the state on the side of suffrage is being pushed with vigor by the Ohio suffragists. More than 150 towns in the state have been canvassed, and the records show that in each instance a majority of the women are enrolled for suffrage. The list of cities includes Cleveland, the largest city in the state.

Missouri Entertains

THE wives of the Missouri Legislators were honor guests at a tea given recently by the members of the board of the Missouri Equal Suffrage Association. Among those present were Mrs. Frederick Gardner, wife of the Governor, Mrs. O'Fallon, wife of the Speaker of the House, and Mrs. J. W. McKnight, whose husband is sponsor for Bill No. 1, in the Senate, the Presidential Suffrage Bill.

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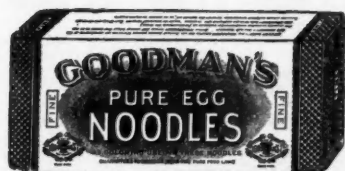
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Women in the Air

The British Women's Royal Air Force, which was not in existence in 1914, numbered 23,000 at the close of hostilities.

The Mothers' Member

"A T last the long fight to have the women of Madison represented on the city school board is won. Last night the common council, by an almost unanimous vote, named Mrs. E. Ray Stevens as a member of the board. Mrs. Stevens has the distinction of being the first woman to occupy such a position in Madison. For years Madison mothers have been pleading, urging and demanding that a woman be on the school board. And the city council has consistently denied this rational, sensible appeal. We have had many excellent men on the board but the mother-mind can make an administrative contribution that no masculine mind can fill.

"But all the pleading, urging and demanding could not accomplish what the ballot did. It took a referendum vote of the people to force the city council to yield to this insistent year after year, and year after year demand for a woman on the school board. When the city council was at last compelled to put a woman there, it chose wisely. Mrs. Stevens will bring

to the board the woman's viewpoint on school administration. She has the capacity to work with others to help to co-ordinate policies, plans and purposes. She will bring a vision that will be a decided contribution and in every sense she will be a worthy and helpful representative of the mothers of Madison."

—State Journal, Madison, Wis.

Teachers and Salaries

THE School Board of Des Moines, Iowa, recently voted an advance of \$5.00 per month in all teachers' salaries. This is the third advance voted since the war in 1914.

The teachers of Oregon are planning to go before the Legislature with a request for a law establishing a minimum wage of \$75 for teachers in that state.

A minimum salary of \$100.00 per month is necessary, according to the Atlanta Teachers' Association. At a recent meeting of the Association it was unanimously agreed to give the Federal Bureau of Labor a permit to investigate the cost of living among teachers of the public schools. The teachers believe the board will find that \$100.00 should be the minimum salary.

Women Bacteriologists

THAT the women have taken advantage of the wartime opportunity opened to women in the bacteriological field is indicated by a report from the New York College of Agriculture. Thirty-nine women graduates of this institution are employed in important capacities in public health institutions throughout the United States, twelve of them being stationed in government hospitals.

Low Salaries to Blame

THE enormous number of vacancies in the teacher's forces in the public schools is due primarily to the low salaries of teachers, according to school representatives, and the fact that other lines of business are proving more attractive because of a higher scale of pay and better working conditions.

\$450,000 in Produce

THE Boys' and Girls' clubs of South Dakota with a membership of 19,027 produced material valued at approximately \$400,000 during the past year. They worked along the avenues of sewing, canning, gardening, corn-growing, potatoes, poultry, sheep, pigs. The gardeners led with 8,742 members and the products worth \$90,420.

Is There Room at the Top?—

For Women, We Mean,—

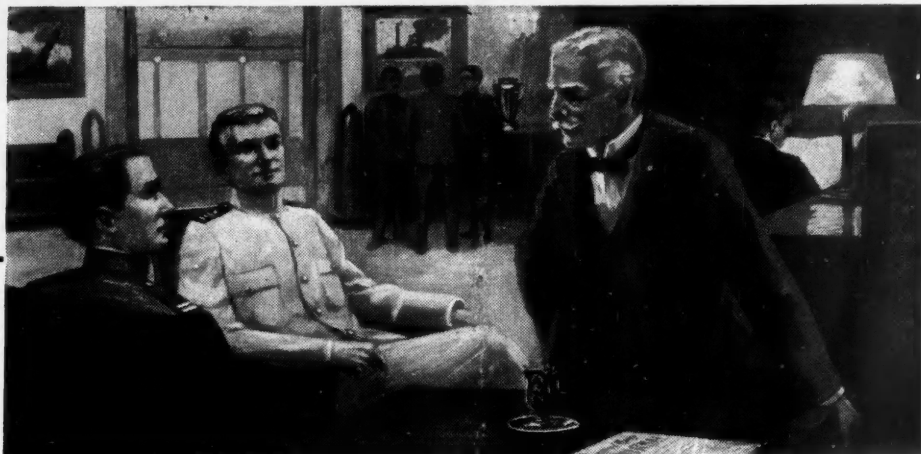
And it is the World
of Business, of Finance,
of the Professions, of Civics
and Politics that
We are talking about.
Women are out in that world.
Naturally they began at the bottom.
Are they half way up to-day?
Can they go farther?
Should they be encouraged?
Or held back?
What does the past prove?
What does the future hold?
In a word, what's to pay—

For Women?
For Society?

Momentous questions these!
And the answers are momentous.

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WOMAN CITIZEN



The Last Word About the War

And How Colonel Sibley Was Helped to Write It

SCENE: (Army and Navy Club, New York, where Commander Ellsworth, U. S. N., and Captain Trowbridge, U. S. A., are having a conference and an after-dinner cigar in the Club Library and are joined by Colonel Sibley, U. S. A., retired)

The Colonel: Well, comrades, I win!

The Commander: Been fighting again, Colonel? Who says you're retired?

Colonel: I was retired, but now I'm in action again or soon will be, and this time with the pen instead of the sword.

Captain: How's that?

Colonel (Drawing closer to the table and glancing around): Well, comrades, I don't mind telling you in confidence that I just signed up with the Editor-in-Chief of a big magazine (name censored for the present) to write a series of articles on the Great War.

Commander: Tell us about it.

Colonel: Well, it's going to be a long campaign. The Editor, whom I have just left, wants an extended series of articles, to begin with an exhaustive survey of the causes which led up to the War.

Captain: The causes? All of them? Well, you've sure got your work laid out for you.

Commander: I should say you had.

Colonel: The Editor feels that way

himself. He's now concerned chiefly about what has happened up-to-date and the authority upon which my statements will be based. The Editor's a big gun in the business, you know, and his rivals will be getting his range if he exposes himself. He wants to secure a strategic position so that he can't be successfully attacked on anything he prints.

Captain: Well, what did you suggest?

Colonel: I'll tell you. While he was talking I was thinking and I finally told him that what he wanted as a reserve-force was some late general reference work of recognized reliability that he could fall back on. "That's it," he said, and then asked: "Which one?"

Commander (Turning his head and glancing at a set of The New International Encyclopaedia in its special case): I'll bet I can tell which one you named.

Captain (Glancing at the set): Ours, of course.

Colonel: You're both good guessers. Of course I named The New

International and the Editor nodded his head and said: "That's the very work I had in mind, not only as an authority on the causes of the War and what has already happened, but when peace comes I hear the publishers are to bring the war-volume down to date at once and are to send it to all subscribers in exchange for the war-volume now in their possession so they'll know the last word about the conflict."

Commander: Well, that settled it, I suppose.

Colonel: Yes, I told the Editor that the selection of The New International as our authority simplified the problem and he added that it not only simplified the articles, but solidified them and made them so authoritative that he would be able to follow out with safety his plan to publish the series of articles in book form.

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